# ARTICLES, ESSAYS, SYMPOSIA REMARKS, AND SPEECHES

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by BAYARD RUSTIN

(arranged by subject)

# CIVIL RIGHTS, 1960s

## IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

### Attack on Political Alignments Now Blocking Reform Urged

To the Editor of the N.Y. Times

Your Dec. 3 editorial ("Too Much Delay on Civil Rights") tends to counterpose my views on the future strategy of the civil rights movement to those of Roy Wilkins. M.S. Handler's interview of me at the Washington Conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a similar effect.

Actually, I welcome Mr. Wilkins's announcement that the NAACP will seek to "purge" (is that word his or yours?) all members of Congress who oppose civil rights legislation. This new policy promises an intensification of political action by Negroes and a renewed assault on the coalition of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans that controls vital Congressional functions.

The disproportionate power of this coalition not only frustrates civil rights legislation; it subverts the representative-democratic character of Congress and impedes enactment of social legislation for all Americans. An assault on this coalition should not divide the Negro from his liberal friends, but should reinforce their natural alliance.

In urging the civil rights movement to "broaden its social objectives," I was not proposing abandonment of nonviolent direct action pending over-all social reform. Indeed, should our movement lose its cutting edge, the prospects for many liberal causes would dim.

### LONG RANGE PERSPECTIVES

I do contend that radical tactics, to be more than symbolic, must flow from radical analysis--i.e. analysis which goes to the roots of problems. It is not concession to gradualism to insist on a long-range perspective on the structural obstacles to equality in employment, schools and housing.

How, for example, do we secure fair employment in the midst of growing technological unemployment? If existing employment opportunities were integrated, even on the basis of "preferential treatment," how many Negroes would benefit? How do we integrate Northern schools when Northern housing patterns are increasingly segregated?

Alone the Negro lacks the political and economic power to break through tokenism in these areas. Self-interest dictates that he join with other dispossessed groups in demanding basic social and economic reforms.

The March on Washington was a step in this direction. In calling for a massive Federal works program, higher minimum wages, and extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act--as well as a Federal Fair Employment Practice Code--Negroes joined liberal, labor and religious groups to address the needs of all Americans segregated from the "affluent society."

## BASIC PROBLEMS

I am not advocating absorption of the Negro's struggle into liberalism-as-usual. Our allies will be useless unless they are prepared to examine basic problems of automation and structural unemployment. They must emulate the audacity of the Birmingham children by fighting for bolder concepts of social welfare, urban reconstruction and economic planning.

Our present political alignments are the principal obstacles to social reform; they mock the electorate by transforming liberal votes into conservatice Congressional chairmanships: they will ultimately frustrate the best Executive intentions and impose a limping, piecemeal approach to civil rights.

A stronger liberal-labor-Negro alliance is needed in 1964. But that alliance must openly struggle for political realigment; for Negroes are tired of voting for parties which permit themselves to be used as vehicles for the entrenchment of racist and conservative power.

Perhaps our next marches should be on the Democratic and Republican party conventions.

BAYARD RUSTIN

Commentary — Article

There are probably more people concerned today with the future course of the civil rights movement than at any time in the history of American race relations.

The concern may spring from positive, negative, or confused feelings, but it is there, and it has grown noticably in the past year. Part of the reason, I think, is that the movement's ingernal quest for successful strategies and policies has attracted increasing public attention. The now-famous July 25th "moratorium" statement signed by Negro leaders was a public articulation of the movement's political responsibilities in a crucial election year. Next came the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge at Atlantic City, a chance for millions of television viewers to tune in on a tactical debate with implications far beyond the problem at hand.

Finally, the election result, revealing the highest Negro "bloc vote" for a national ticket in history, has unquestionably increased respect for the Negro's political power. How can that power be most effectively mobilized, and what are its limits? These questions have become more compelling to more people.

Within the movement itself, a re-evaluation of strategy and tactics is underway. It is not proceeding systematically with the confrontation of debaters or documents. For better or for worse, the movement is not structured for this kind of self-defining analysis. It is interesting to note that the civil rights "revolution" is unique among its counterparts in not possessing anything like a theoretical organ (a situation which may have altered by the time these words appear in print).

No, the re-evaluation proceeds in the spirit of the movement itself -- chaotically, sporadically, andlargely in response to local events yielding parallel conclusions. But the tendency is unmistakable.

At meetings and conferences throughout the country, one sees greater efforts toward conceptualizing, toward generalizing from specific experiences. In part, these tendencies result from the influx of white college students into the movement; and their influence is perhaps reflected in the frequency of fuzzy theoretical (which is to say, bad theoretical) language -- e.g., references to "the power structure" a piece of shorthand which has always struck me as less interesting and as analytically useless as what we say in Harlem: "The man."

This problem aside, the tendency to think more about the movement and where it is going is good and necessary, notwithstanding the caveats of some white intellectuals who mourn the passage of spontaneous activism in much the way Rousseau mourned the passing of the noble savage. Moreover, it is important to understand that the tendency is indigenous to, grows out of, the concrete experiences of the movement itself. The simple fact is that there is a limit to how often the masses can be called into the streets without victories. This is not an argument against demonstrations per se, only a recognition that they are but a tactic. Unlike principles, tactics rarely have universal applicability, they must fit into a strategy, and they must be altered to specific circumstances. When a given tactic does not produce the desired result, it must be modified or abandoned, at least tentatively. I think there is today among civil rights activists a stronger disinclination than heretofore to embark upon direct-action projects and demonstrations without first evaluating the likely consequences. The danger that so dynamic a movement might become paralyzed by a Hamlet-like indecision seems to me extreme extremely remote. In any case, a far more dangerous conservatism lies in the mystical adherence to fixed tactics and slogans in the midst of changing circumstances.

Ultimately, the central question is strategy, and in speaking before various audiences around the country, I am impressed with the extent to which they are preoccupied with it. What the local groups seek is not tactical directives from a centralized source, but a conscious direction, a sense of priorities and emphases, a pattern of action by which to define their own relevance and effectiveness. Such a pattern is needed not only as a guide to victories but also to place defeat in a perspective.

In this article I do not presume to dictate a blueprint of action for the civil rights movement but to encourage a dialogue already underway. Certainly the organizational components of the movement will continue to develop their distinctive functional skills. At the same time, the many new people enterring the struggle need to be educated beyond the morality of the cause and the imperative of militant action. They need to think strategically and historically. On the whole, I think we know where we want to go. How do we get there from where we are? First, where are we?

## I.

The decade begun by the 1954 Supreme Court decision and terminated by the Civil Rights Act will doubtless be recorded as the time-span in which the legal foundations of racism were knocked out. To be sure, pockets of resistance remain; still I think no one can quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. For this achievement, we are indebted to a combination of direct action and litigation.

Looking back over the past four or five years especially, we may be astonished at the rapidity with which public accommodations have been integrated. Actually, we need to remember (as C. Van Woodward reminds us) how recent a phenomenon Jim Crow is and how rapidly it was established in the South. Indeed, we should be surprised if in the 1960s we cannot tear down in a decade what it took less than twenty years to construct at the turn of the century.

I trust no one will think I am deprecating the achievements of the direct action movements; I would rather not trot out my own record of arrests and beatings. Yet, without making light of the human sacrifices involved, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly industrialized, twentieth-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensible, and vulnerable -- in hotels, lunch-counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. For in these forms, Jim Crow does impede the flow of commerce in the broadest sense: it is a nuisance in a society on the move (and on the make). It is not surprising, therefore, that the most mobility-conscious, semi-liberated groups in the Negro -community -- lower-middle class college students -- should have launched the attack that brought down the imposing but hollow structure.

The students' weapon, the sit-in, was peculariarly adopted to the target. For not only did the sit-in draw attention to the evil exactly where it was, but it directly eliminated the evil. Sitinners, by occupying seats, compelled a proprietor to serve them or to close down, his facilities having been rendered inoperable. I am of course depicting a classical confrontation, abstracted from complicating circumstances, for the purpose of focusing on the essential mechanism utilized by direct action in achieving social change at a fairly primitive level.

Somehow, the term "classical" appears especially apt for this phase of the movement's development. In the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments occurred that make it exceedingly difficult to separate out "complicating circumstances" and leave anything left. One was the shifting focus of the Southern movement, symbolized by Birmingham; another was the spread of the revolution to the North; and the other, common to both, was the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community.

One does violence to these three strands by attempting to disentangle them. David Danzig's perceptive article, The Strategy of Birmingham" ( Commentary) correctly saw in the Birmingham events the victory of the concept of collective struggle over individual achievement as the road to freedom. Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industralized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movements' classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment , housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth. Thus the Southern movement began to tackle areas of discrimination which were not so remote from the Northern experience as were Jim Crow lunch counters.

Simultaneously, the interrelationships of these areas became increasingly evident. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? At the point when the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. What also became clear is that these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action, or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered was through getting rid of the local sheriff, which meant political action. And in the South that meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic Party where the only meaningful primary contests are fought.

And so, in Mississippi, thanks largely to the courageous perseverance and foresight of Bob Moses, a turn toward political action was made. More than voter registration has been involved. There is a conscious bid for political power, in the course of which there is a tactical shift: direct action techniques are properly subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community institutions or power bases. Qnd out of this strategy emerges a problem whose implications reach far out of Mississippi and challenge the entire movement: How does what began as a protest movement translate its demands, and even itself, into a political movement? And should it?

## II.

The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of de facto segregation is our most fundamental socio-economic institutions.

More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gat between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57% to 54% that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago.

More Negroes attend de facto segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision. While school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities, and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category today than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions of life. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How does the perhaps misnamed civil rights movement deal with this problem?

First let me insist that the task of the civil rights movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experiences of various ethnic immigrant groups. I trust I shall not be accused of anti-Semitism when I express a special irritation toward Jewish intellectuals who homilize about self-help and romanticize about the ghettos of their youth. I single them out here because Commentary is perhaps the best medium through which to scold them, and because they should know better.

There are three simple but profound reasons why the analogies don't hold. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a condition affording them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve an intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country were forbidden by law to read or write. Secondly, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image, I shall assume to be sufficiently known to Commentary readers to require no elaboration from me. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission. The right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old. Thirdly, Jews are white and have the option of relinquishing their cultural-religious identities, intermarrying, passing, etc. After all, the strong anti-assimilationists current within Jewish life are reactions against a possibility. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option.

Let me add a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable by standards of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic structures and roles bear little resemblance.

I am aware, in listing these reasons, that I am saying nothing new. All have been listed before. Why then the persistence of the false analogies? The answer, I think is two-fold: first, the uniqueness of the Negro's historical experience in this country is simply not adequately grasped by most Americans; secondly, Jews have, for well known reasons, a special affinity for the Negro's agony and are often led, out of good motives, to overlook crucial differences.

I have spent too much time on specifically Jewish misconceptions of the Negro's situation. For the greater problem is that the nation as a whole is only beginning to awaken to the fact that we are moving into a qualitatively new economic era in which the natural functioning of the market does not automatically ensure every man with will and ambition a place in the productive process.

The immigrant who came to this country during the last and present centuries entered a society which was expanding territorially and/or economically. It was then possible to start at the bottom, as an unskilled or semiskilled worker, and move up the ladder, acquiring new skills along the way. Particularly was this true when industrial unionism was burgeoning, giving new dignity and higher wages to organized workers.

Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the western frontier is settled, labor organizing has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is radically altering the structure of the labor force. Unskilled and semiskilled jobs are being destroyed -- jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

I do not wish to become embroiled in a debate with economists on the pace of the technological revolution or how many workers are currently being displaced by it. The direction is clear. The lower rungs of the economic ladder are being dropped off. This means that one will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; one must start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Of course, this is not a problem affecting Negroes exclusively. It is reported that there are now 50% fewer unskilled and semiskilled jobs. than there are high school dropouts. ~~About~~ Almost 1/3 of the 26 million young people entering the labor market in the Sixties will be dropouts. But the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57%, and in New York City, the percentage of dropouts among Negroes 25 years of age or over is 68; they are without a future.

To what extent can self-help campaigns cope with such a situation? First, I would advise those whites and Negroes who are strong advocates of such campaigns to familiarize themselves with the long history of self-help efforts in the Negro community and to analyze why so many foundered on the shoals of ghetto life. I do not want to be misunderstood: I favor any effort to combat demoralization and apathy. But it must be recognized that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common sense response to an objective reality. Negro youth have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in the society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents: vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resortto illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American. To push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional paths (schools, work, etc.) are superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruetly to harrangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, then I am confident that we will see motivation and self-help in abundant quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the concepts of self-help advocated by many liberals and that of the Black Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. Let us bear in mind, however, that for every prostitute the Mislims convert to a model of Calvinist virtue, the ghetto replaces her with two more.

Dedicated as they are to maintenance of the ghetto, the Muslims are powerless to affect substantial moral reform. The same is true of every other group or program which is not aimed at the destruction of slums, their causes and effects. Self-help efforts, directly or indirectly, must be geared to mobilizing people into power units capable of effecting social change. That is, their goal must be genuine self-help, not merely self-improvement. Obviously, where self-improvement activities succeed in imparting to their participants a feeling of some control over their environment, with the self-respect and dignity that feeling brings, those involved may find their appetites for change whetted; they may move into the political arena. This is not the place to draw fine lines, so long as the principle I am driving at is clear.

## III.

Let me sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: the civil rights movement is evolving from a protest phenomenon into a full-fledged social movement -- an evolution calling its very name into question. It is concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full opportunity but with achieving the fact of equality. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have moved into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization and political action.

As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of an enormous magnitude: automation, urban decay, de facto school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet, not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.

These propositions have won increasing recognition and acceptance, but with a curious twist. They have formed the common premise of two apparently counterposed lines of thought which simultaneously nourish and antagonize each other.

First is the reasoning of The New York Times moderate: the problems are so enormous and complicated that Negro militance is a futile irritation. The need is for "intelligent moderation." Thus, during the New York school boycott, The Times editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; thus the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in linking Negro demands to broader pressures for radical revision of existing policies. They apparently see no contradiction in the fact that ~~In the last twenty five years~~ in the last twenty0five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing slums, and really abolishing poverty. My disagreement with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their admonitions of moderation are therefore admonitions to the Negro to adjust to the status quo, and are therefore immoral.

The more effectively the moderates argue their case, the more they convince Negroes that American society will not or cannot be reorganized for full racial equality. Michael Harrington has stated that a successful war on poverty might well require the expenditure of a $100 billion. Where, the Negro wonders, are the forces now in now in motion to compel such a commitment? If the voices of the moderates were raised in an insistance upon a reallocation of national resources at quantitative levels that could not be confused with tokenism (that is, if the moderates stopped being moderates), Negroes would have greater grounds for hope. Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation.

It is precisely this sense of isolation that gives rise to the second line of thought I want to examine. This is a tendency within the civil rights movement which, despite its militancy, pursues what I have called a 'no-win" policy. Sharing with many moderates a recognition of the magnitude of the obstacles to freedom, spokesmen for this tendency survey the American scene and find no forces prepared to move toward fundamental, radical solutions. They conclude that the only viable strategy is shock; above all, the hypocrisy of white liberals must be exposed.

They are often called the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. At bottom, they seek to change white hearts -- by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. To believe this, of course, you must be convinced, however unconsciously, that at the core of the white man's heart is an affection for Negroes -- a proposition of which I am extremely doubtful.

In any case, I am not primarilly interested in hearts. I do not believe that racial affinities or hostilities are rooted there. I am interested in social, political and economic institutions. These, I continue stubbornly to assert, are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed today, and

and let the irreducible gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.

My disagreement with the "no-win" tendency in the civil rights movement (and the reason I have so designated it) parallels my disagreements with the moderates outside the movement. As the latter lack the vision or will for fundamental change, the former lack a realistic strategy for achieving it. For it, they substitute militance, which is a matter of posture and volume.

If, in the paragraphs that follow, I address myself mainly to the "young Turks" of the movement, it is precisely because I feel closer to them tempermentally and philosophically -- not because I am more critical of them than of the moderates. Also, I want to take this opportunity to explain a position which has been misunderstood by some of my critics. The more charitable among them accuse me of a dualism in thinking. The less charitable say I use radical rhetoric to cover up a conservative strategy.

From many platforms I have indicated why I believe that the Negro's struggle for equality is essentially revolutionary. While subjectively most Negroes unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot objectively be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations. The young Negro who would demonstrate his way into the labor market may be motivated by a thoroughly capitalistic acquisitiveness, but he will end up having to favor a considerable expansion of the public sector of the economy. At any rate, that is the position the movement will have to take as it looks at the number of jobs being generated by the private economy, ~~and if~~ and if it is to remain true to the masses of Negroes.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the worst features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted de facto school segregation in theurban centers, that the issue of quality education for all children stirred motion. Finally, I think it is pretty clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

But, it will be argued, these byproducts of the Negro struggle are not revolutionary. First, let me make it clear that the term revolutionary, as I am using it, does not connote violence but the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same. Secondly, the Negro struggle has ~~hardly~~ hardly run its course; and it will not until it has been defeated or won substantial equality. I fail to see how the movement can be victorious in the absence of radical programs for full employment, abolition of slums, the reconstruction of our educational system, new definitions of work and leisure. Adding up the costs of such programs, we can only conclude that we are talking about a refashioning of our political economy. It has been estimated, for example, that the cost of replacing New York City's slums with public housing would be $17 billion. Again a multi-billion dollar federal publics work program, dwarfing the currently proposed $2 billion program is required to reabsorb unskilled and semiskilled workers into the labor market -- and this must be done if Negro workers in these categories are to be employed, for "preferential treatment" cannot help them.

I am not trying here to dilineate a total program, only to suggest the scope of the economic reforms which are most immediately related to the plight of the Negro community. One could speculate on their political implications -- whether, for example, they do not indicate the obsolescence of state government and the superiority of regional structures as viable units os planning. Such speculations aside, it is clear that the breakthroughs the Negro needs also take us beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda.

If the rhetoric is radical, that is because I see the problems as radical and the solutions as necessarily radical. Now the question becomes, how are these radical programs to be achieved. The answer is simple, deceptively so, but painfully obvious: through political power.

The very utterance opens a Pandora's box of controversy. There is a strong moralistic strain in the movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts. But this is not the view I want to debate here, for it is waning. Our problem is posed by those who accept the quest for political power but do not understand the nature of the object and therefore lack sound strategies for achieving it; they tend to confuse political institutions with lunch counters.

A handful of Negroes, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as directly to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will. They could, so to speak, throw a nonviolent monkey-wrench into the works; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely represented. In the execution of a political decision a direct confrontation may ensue (as when federal marshalls escorted James Meredith into the University of Mississippi -- to turn from an example of nonviolent coercion to force backed up with the threat of violence). But in arriving at a political decision, numbers and organization are crucial, especially for the economically disfranchised.

Needless to say, I am assuming that the forms of political democracy exist, however imperfectly, that they are valued, and that their elitist or putschist conceptions of exercising power are beyond the pale of discussion for the civil rights movement.

Neither that movement nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition which put on the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide -- Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.

FREUDENBERG

QUESTION: Now that we have almost finished with an unsympathetic administration, and are going to embark on a new unsympathetic, administration, what do you envision will be the strategy of the civil rights movement in the years to come?

ANSWER: Well, I don't think the civil rights movement can determine a final strategy at this point. I urge you to bear in mind, that though I am highly skeptical of what Mr. Nixon will do in the field of civil rights, we have had many examples in American history of men who were opposed to civil rights until they assumed the Presidency. Most American Presidents never knew the world existed until they became President and then they would discover the world, or at least regard it from a completely new perspective.

There are two outstanding examples. Mr. Truman's civil rights record in the Senate was ~~abominable~~ terrible. But a few months after he became President he established the Civil Rights Commission which was the government's first real effort to get an understanding of the racial problem in this country. A. Philip Randolph had a much easier time ending discrimination in the Armed Forces under Mr. Truman than he had under Roosevelt who was not anxious to move on that matter.

Another illustration is Lyndon Johnson who despite his abominable record in Vietnam is undoubtedly, and will be remembered as, the man ~~who did~~ more for civil rights in America than any other President. For example, had Johnson done nothing more than win passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which has enabled thousands of poor people to get higher education, he would have made a major contribution to our struggle.

Now, I think what we have to watch is Mr. Nixon's budget~~, because the budget~~ which will establish his priorities. After we see it we will be able to map a strategy, ~~and~~ but not before. There is some evidence already, however, that he may be going in the wrong direction. He has hit upon something that is called "black capitalism" which is of course a preposterous notion since the lumpenproletariat will not be lifted into the working classes by lending a few millions of dollars to black capitalists. In fact, this would only exacerbate the already dangerous conflicts which exist between middle class and lower class Negroes. In that regard it will be interesting for you to know that when Dr. King and I went to ~~Waitt~~ Watts in 1965 in the midst of the riot, a young Negro said to us, "What are you house niggers doing here? We are against niggers who have made it as much as we are against whites who have made it."

Even after we have seen Mr. Nixon's priorities we shall not be able to ~~XXX~~ map out a single strategy because the Negro community is not a monolith as some today would think; it is composed of many political factions. Therefore, Elijah Mohammed will behave in one way in regard to Nixon, CORE in ~~a~~ another, the NAACP in another, the Urban League in another, the young militants in another, the separatists in another, and the back-to-Africanists in another. So we shall not have a simple strategy.

QUESTION: In regard to what you just said, I would like to ask you why it is that there are so many little groups in the Negro Community, each fighting its own battles. Why can't they get together in some way, so that there could be some strength in their movement.

ANSWER: That is because color is not a basis on which political organization can be built. Political organization is built on three things. The first is philosophy, on the basis of which there is a great difference between the Panthers and myself, for example, or between black socialists and black capitalists.. In addition to philosophy there is a concept of history in a movement. Because of my experiences I have come to certain conclusions that others may not have reached. One of them is that no matter how many weaknesses the organized American working class, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., may have, our future lies in alliance with the labor movement, and a lot of people don't think that. Beyond a concept of philosophy and of history, I believe there is the class basis of organization.

Now this is not peculiarly Negro. Look at the great fights which went on among the Jews for years, and amongest the Irish. The history of the conflict which existed between the middle class and the shanty Irish would fill books. Furthermore, why did Jews after they moved from Allen Street go to West End Avenue, and then to Park Avenue and then grasshop over to estates on Long Island? Or why did the Irish, as soon as they could get out of Hell's Kitchen, go to now what is Harlem. Nor do you find affluent Italians living on Mott Street. Class is more important to organization than race or ethnicity, and given the class cleavages that exist between the black lumpenproletariat, the working class, and the middle class, it is a miracle that we have as much unity as we do in the black community.

But while we must strive for unity, I believe that the conflict in the Negro community over methodology is one of the most creative things that has ever happened to us. We must debate issues if we are to find solutions. A movement cannot be creative without conflict; no movement is. A great debate was carried on in the 1920's between the separationist philosophy of Marcus Garvey who urged Negroes to return to Africa, The elitist philosophy of W.E.B. DuBois who advocated the development of "a talented tenth" of the Negro population, the black culture philosophy of the Negro Renaissance leaders like Alain Locke and Countee Cullen, and the socialist philosophy of A. Philip Randolph who emphasized the necessity for economic measures in the black struggle for equality. That debate is being revived today, and I think that is something positive.

QUESTION: Which costs more to the government, tax incentives to industry to hire and train people or direct federal aid to the poor, and what decisions can be made on Mr. Nixon's proposal about tax incentives for industry?

ANSWER: I think we must see that the problem we face in this society is not one of training a few poeple but the creation of work. Now the trade unions are under great attack by the liberals for discriminating against blacks, and I think the liberals are mis-guided. Trade unions do not create work, they organize people who have jobs. And anyone whooknows America ought to know that where there are an inadequate number of jobs there is always going to be an increase of discrimination, because in a situation of scarcity whoever is the more powerful- black, white, blue or pink- will hold on to that which he has.

I am not unalterably opposed to The government~~s~~ giving businessmen subsidies from which they profit in order to train a few poeple here and there. If, however, that proposition is used as sand in the eyes to obscure the real need of creating work in the society- a need that can be met only by the Federal government which is not out to make a profit- then of course it is most dangerous and must be actively opposed on these grounds.

QUESTION: Do you think it is realistic today to tell black people that they can make alliances with whites? Who will they ally with? Not with the Wallace people or the Nixon people. Hasn't this society forced the black man to go it alone?

ANSWER: Alliances are made on the basis of common interest, and Negroes share a common interest with poor and working class whites, as well as with those middle class whites of good will who want to build an equalitarian society. The vast majority of poor people in this country are white, and that is true even in the central cities. If all those groups which have an interests in equality could coalesce- and here I include primarily Negroes and poor whites, the trade union movement, and the liberal community-they would become the political majority in this country.

The problem is they do not know that it is in their economic and social interest to do so, but as you know, men who have common interests as members of the same class have to be educated that they are members of a class, and this does not happen automatically. In fact one of the most terrifying things in America today is the degree to which ordinary workers getting very poor salaries are behaving as if they were aristocrats. There is an educational process that must go on. And just as these white workers have to be educated that it is in their interest to ally with blacks, so too must Negroes see that it is in their interest to join forces with these whites. And I might add that those liberals who are today telling ~~the~~ Negroes that the labor movement is their enemy and that the followers of Wallace are dumb, evil, and hopelessly racist are not only giving evidence of their own deep-seated elitism, but they are doing a great disservice to both disadvantaged whites and blacks. I think these liberals must be educated most of all.

QUESTION: What do you think will be the role of the S.C.L.C. in the next few years?

ANSWER: I am not sure, because I feel that the S.C.L.C. at this time is not fully aware of the new situation in which we find ourselves. Dr. King was struggling to find a new direction that at the time of his death, but I think S.C.L.C. has missed the significance of this. For when Dr. King was murdered he was beginning to discover a totally new approach to the problem of racism and inequality. He had earlier been interested in equal access to public accommodations, legal guarantees against discrimination in jobs and housing, and police behavior, all of which are really secondary. Dr. King died in an industrial dispute organizing the unorganized sanitation workers of Memphis. Now what Dr. King was beginning to see was that the civil rights struggle had moved beyond the need to desegregate public accomodations and into a period in which the requirements for racial equality were fundamentally economic. He understood that mere access to hotels and lunch counters was not sufficient if black people did not have the money to spend there. And he saw that Negroes would not be free as long as they were brutalized by poverty. He therefore turned his attention to the necessity for getting billions of dollars from Congress for full employment programs, decent housing, and better schools. And he also joined the struggle to organize the unorganized so That theworking poor of Memphis and elsewhere might look forward to a life of dignity and opportunity.

Now Dr. King's insight was far more relevant to the burdens of black Americans than ~~some of~~ the conclusion of the Kerner Commission Report that white racism is the primary problem. I think, in fact, that it would be dangerous for white people to recognize how racist they really are, for this would only lead to trememdous guilt feelings, and guilt has never led to anything really creative. The problem is not that white people are individually racist, and if they really are I don't care. The point is that our institutions are racist, and those institutions must be transformed.

The fact is we are, we have always been , two nations, and even those people who have most loved Negroes in this nation, who went to jail for them, who were beaten for them, and who died for them- the abolitionists- never really understood the problem because after they helped abolish slavery they abandoned the struggle for "forty acres and a mule", that would have given the freedmen economic freedom. Anatole France once said that the rich man and the poor man have an equal right to sleep under a bridge, and the same thing can be said for the Southern Whig and the freed slaves after the Civil War. Can the child born in Harlem look forward to the same opportunities as the child born in Scarsdale? The problem is exceedingly simple and it is very Marxian, if I may be able to say so. Every freedom that a man can enjoy in organized society springs from economic freedom. Social freedom is like flesh, political freedom is like skin, and they cannot develop unless they grow on the bone of economic freedom. Now of course if you want to believe the Kerner report that the problem really is that Americans are racist, then let's provide everybody with a psychiatrist and after 10 years of analysis they will be able to start grappling with their own problem. No, no, not at all. The problem is economic at base, it is rooted in our institutions, in our economic relations, which must be changed if racist attitudes are to be eliminated and if black men are ever to be free.

I'll give you a simple illustration. People are fighting day and night for Negroes to have the right to vote in Mississippi, but we have almost reached the end of the number of black people who will vote there, because so long as they do not have the freedom of a job, so long as they are under the thumb of someone, they can not vote. The plantation owner says, "Don't you dare to go and vote, I know the sheriff. You may think nobody knows how you vote, but the sheriff knows how everybody voted an hour after the polls have closed, so don't you go and vote". Or there is the possibility- because Negroes are not economically free- for them to be intimidated in a thousand other ways. So the basic problem is one of social reorganization to bring about basic changes in institutional racism, and it has to do with individual attitudes only in so far as they derive from institutional relations.

QUESTION: Don't you think that the militancy and apparent impatience which is growing among younger black people might have some value in pointing out problems and telling the society to do something that is productive?

ANSWER: Maybe and maybe not. There are two things happening. First of all there is an internal psychological process, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ that is going on, but it must be judged not in itself but in relation to its social consequences. I want to made this clear if I can.

Thirteen years ago if a Negro had walked into this room, and was amongst white people he had known and who knew him, what he would do would be to reveal that history had made him feel inferior. What most white people did in that situation was to reveal that history had made them feel superior. Under these conditions the Negro always understated what he felt, he wouldn't tell the truth.

Now what has happened is that pendulum has now swung in the opposite direction. Now he has hot to call you whitey and blue-eyed devils, and he must claim that black people are superior. I cannot make more than $800/$900 for giving a lecture, and I just want to assure you that I am not making that tonight, but Rap Brown and Stokley Carmichael don't speak for less than $1,500, and that is because white people want to be brutalized by blacks who are overstating their feelings to compensate for past understatement. Sooner or later the pendulum will fall to rest in the middle, and then we can begin to talk rationally and seriously.

Now, no matter how ugly and brutalizing this is, it is individually a good thing for young Negroes, for they must go through this process to seek truth. But while that may be good for them as individuals, I am not sure that it contributes anything creative to the political struggle to achieve social and economic justice. Amongst other things, if your objective politically is to seek allies, then your individual behavior must not be such as to make it impossible for you to have allies. This is what I fear most of all, because black people as 1/10th of the population cannot go it alone, but the rhetoric of the militants is forcing them into isolation.

QUESTION: I wonder what your attitude is towards the violence that grows out of some of the frustrations of Negroes?

ANSWER: Well, I happen to be both a Quaker and a consientious objector, and I am philosophically committed to non-violence. I believe that violence feeds on itself, and that to the degree that violence is used, to that degree the problem is not really solved and new problems are created. However, in the real world I know that conflict is inevitable and therefore while I would urge men to use non-violence, I understand that they may see violence as the only alternative to acquiescence. If the choice is between violence and submission to oppression, then I opt for violence which at least is not cowardly. But one may resist oppression non-niolently which I regard as both a noble and more effective form of social struggle.

But let us get to another point, and I want to say this carefully, because I don't want to be misunderstood. Never compare the positive violence of the oppressor to the reactive violence of the oppressed. Anybody who thinks that there is a relationship of equivalence between a Negro who curses, burns, loots and a member of the Ku Klux Klan does not know anything about human nature. The Klan member says, "I don't care who you are or what you hope to accomplish. You are black and you must be held down, and I will use any imaginable overt and covert violence to keep you there". That is totally immoral.

What is not totally immoral, though not entirely moral either, is the black man who says, "I must be a man, and as long as you deny to me my manhood I will hate you and I may even be forced to kill you". Stokely Carmichael is not saying what the Ku Klux Klan is saying. He is reacting against that primary violence. He is saying, "Look man, my father tried to get along with you, my father worked for you, his father worked for you, my great grandmother washed your clothes and cooked your food and tried to be kind to you, and every time we would come to embrace you, you would slap us. Now before you have the opportunity to slap us again, I will react because I cannot be harmed by you again. I cannot hold my manhood and permit you to do that to me".

I am not excusing burning, I am against it, and I am also against riots. But I am trying to get you to see the moral difference between positive violence visited upon people because you feel they are inferior and the reaction to this violence by these people in an effort to gain their manhood. Therefore I pity the Panthers, they will bring much destruction upon us. You can't go around shooting at police stations or killing cops, even if those cops are doing many things which we all know they should not be doing. One must distinguish here again between the individual moral struggle to become a man and the consequences that may bring to the social process.

QUESTION: I am interested to know why you hold tenaciously to pacifism while at the same time you maintain good relations with some supporters of the war in Vietnam?

ANSWER: There is no contradiction here. When I was a conscientious objector and spent almost four years in jail, I came out to organize a committee for equality in the Armed Services, and my friends said to me, "How inconsistent". No inconsistency whatsoever. I am a concientious objector. I want to maintain an integrity of behavior, which is to say, a consistent relationship between belief and action for myself. Now let us assume you are not a conscientious objector. I want for you the same thing that I want for myself, which is to say consistency between belief and action. Therefore, as a conscientious objector I would not act like those young people who say, "Don't go to Vietnam, don't go to Vietnam". A man goes to Vietnam because conscientiously he feels he should or he shouldn't, and he must not be made into a political football. Now when I was in jail the three people I was writing to, my three best friends were all in the Army. I didn't want them to adopt my moral standards and I refused to have them dictate theirs to me.

QUESTION: Since World War II the total number of workers in America has risen from 50 million to 75 million, while the number of organized workers has remained constant. Isn't the labor movement today taking a short-sighted selfish view of providing for the people that are already organized, and doing nothing whatsoever for people who need organizing now, which includes black people and other minorities?

ANSWER: This is said constantly, so let's see what the facts are. The AFL-CIO came into New York with the leadership of Harry Van Arsdale two years ago and organized the taxi workers. The AFL-CIO is spending almost $50,000 per month in helping Cesar Chavez to organize the Mexican farm workers. All over the country ~~we~~ They are organizing the garbage workers. It may be true that the trade union movement is not doing this vigorously enough or over broad enough areas. But we are not to say that they are sitting around on their haunches satisfied only to service the workers they already have. It costs money , a tremendous amount of money to organize taxi workers, garbage workers, hospital workers, or farm workers, and it will take years before the unions will get any of it back so that they will be able to organize more workers.

Unions like the UAW and The Steelworkers do not arise automatically over-night. Somebody in the trade union movement puts money and organizers in to make that possible. Now the argument that since World War II the trade union movement has been static is also wrong. At the end of World War II there were about 12 million in the organized labor force. Now, one can say that they haven't organized enough, but there are now about 17 million. So let us be temperate in our judgment.

However, let me say this one other word. To the - degree that Negroes have been made affluent in this country, it has been fundamentally through the trade union movement which has lifted them out of the lumpenproletariat into the working classes- 2 million of them. I shall never forget, when I was with Dr. King in Montgomery a couple of days after the bus protest began, and he said, "Look Bayard, we don't have any transportation, I don't know how to get cars to get these people to work". So I said, "Well, that is a very simple problem to solve. We shall find cars wherever there are organized black workers, because they are the ones with the economic resources to purchase cars." So we went to Birmingham where there were organized Negro steel workers, and that is where we found the cars.

QUESTION: Isn't the basis of conflict in the New York City Schools the opposition between the goals of the U.F.T. and the aspirations of the black community?

ANSWER: I do not think that there exists a fundamental opposition here. On the contrary, I think there is a basic-and necessary-mutuality if ~~in trust~~ interest. The U.F.T. has certain legitimate claims as does every union. Any union which permits its teachers to be kicked about is not worthy to be called a union. Any union which does not insist upon due process for its workers is not fit to be a union. Now the conflict comes because any Negro parent who does not want more to say about the schools which have brutalized her children is not worth her salt. Any Negro parent who does not want decentralization with certain conditions is obviously out of touch with reality. However, the Negro community must not go about getting those two things by flying into the face of established union practices. Let us not forget that these practices, such as job security and seniority, protect black workers, as well as, and perhaps more than, white workers. If due process is destroyed, I assure you that black trade unionists — and there are 2,000,000 of them in America-will be hurt most of all because, as has always been the case, they will be the first ones to be fired. It is quite possible for the Negro community to get what it wants, but it will do so only when it recognizes the legitimate needs of teachers, and when the teachers recognize the legitimate needs of the community. There will be no decentralization in New York City unless the U.F.T. and the groups in the community combine to get it, and I think that the central problem is the necessity to build such an alliance.

How many of you who work would permit yourself to be represented by a union which permitted people to hire you, fire you, transfer you without three things: a) a written report of what you had done wrong, b) the right to face your accusers, and c) an impartial judge to decide the case? If you don't have these rights, you ought to be fighting for them and you ought to be thankful that Shanker is. Every union must guarantee that its workers possess these rights. Do you think Walter Reuther is going to have a single worker transferred involuntarily without a hearing? If he tries it, he'll have a strike on his hands which he didn't call. I think no worker in this society should be permitted to be shoved around. This is not the 16th century, and I am going to stand for due process no matter what some people in the Negro community think. I'll give you a good illustration.

Suppose that in the middle of Harlem there is a school district which the Panthers control. CORE is now trying to get control, and two years ago the NAACP controlled it. In order to maintain control the Panthers will threaten people with guns and knives. I can attest that this has already happened in many cases. They have put their own little board in there, but I can tell you that the following year, if CORE gains control of that school district, the Panther board is going to go whether it is doing good or bad work, because CORE doesn't want anyone but its own people to run the schools. And if a year later the NAACP gains control, the CORE leadership, principals, supervisors, and teachers will be told to get ~~the hel~~l out. Do you think that under that kind of system Negro children are going to get educated? I am not backing Shanker, I am backing the Principle that you cannot have a stable educational institution when teachers can be shunted about by political factions. And moreover, it is not community control when half a dozen people on the steps of a school can say this teacher we want and this one we don't want- that is anarchy.

QUESTION: Will you please define your concept of community control, and also the relationship of the trade unions to that control?

ANSWER: That is a very good question, and I would like to say something about it, if I may, before I answer ~~the question~~ it,. How many people in this room are solidly and emotionally committed to decentralization? How many are against it? All right~~s~~, of the people who are for it, would anyone be kind enough to tell me what kind of decentralization you are for in regard to due process? Would anyone tell me what his thinking is on that?

AUDIENCE: I would say, that as far as any worker is concerned, as you said, he is entitled to know why he is being censured or transferred, that he is to have the right to, I would say, more than a trial by an impartial judge as you said, but I would say a trial- in the case of decentralization- where there should be a representative of the teachers union on a hearing committee.

ANSWER: That is precisely what Shanker has proposed. Parent, teacher, and community representative, making that final decision. Number two. Would you tell me, those of you who are for decentralization, what the fiscal policy is that you advocate.

AUDIENCE: The local board must have some fiscal control other than just functional. The money would come from the State or Federal taxes, and they would spend it wherever they see fit. I would go a step further and say that I think they should submit a budget, which the parental community should vote upon.

ANSWER: OK. What about accountability? What about the definition of power of the district superintendent? What about the definition of power of the principal?

AUDIENCE: Somebody will have to differentiate just how these things are going to be concluded, and that is one of the problams right now, because everything is so vague. Nobody knows who does have the power.

ANSWER: You got my point. There is a great battle raging, some saying, "I am for decentralization", others,"I am against it," and nine times out of ten, they don't know what they are talking about, for they have not examined any one of these questions.

But furthermore, I want to say another matter about this. From 1954 until 1965 the white community had 12 years of talking and doing nothing about integration. They therefore said that integration did not work, even though it had never been tried. Now people in the white community are tired of the problem, they're tired of all the fuss and bother involved in the struggle for racial equality. And a good bit of support for decentralization, and a good deal of criticism of Shanker, is based on the fact that some white people are asa saying, "Let the niggers take their schools and do what they want with them. We don't want oto be bothered." Now this is all very irresponsible. A great number of white people today don't want to think about the race problem, anymore, and therefore they say, "Give the whole thing to Rhody McCoy, that's his problem", But I think it's our problem-black and white-and if we permit decentralization to become a trap for escapism and resignition and not a constructive reform, we shall find ourselves in far more trouble in several years than we are in today.

Moreover, because their has been so little progress on the basic questions of poverty and segregation, many people are permitting themselves the privilege of mystification. This also is an escape. We hear so often that there is a revolution going on. Let me be clear on this point. The Negro is not in revolt. There is no black revolution. It is true that 99.9/10th% of the Negroes are angry and enraged, but ~~no~~ revolution is not just anger. The question one must ask is, "What are they enraged about"? I think the answer is that when America cuts up the pie, Negroes do not get their fair share of it.

Only Jimmy Baldwin and Leroy Jones talk about the American Negro having rejected the values of the American middle class. Every Negro I know is grasping to get into that class, if he is not already a part of it. Now some white people may be a little dissatisfied with middle class life. They suffer from a psychological poverty of affluence. They have so much wealth they are tired of it, and they feel alienated and disaffected. But the Negro is angry and in motion because he wants to become a part of these institutions, not to destroy them. And I would say that the demand for community control reflects the frustration that black people feel at not having access to equality within the larger society.

There has been a turning inward and of despair, and this reaction is of course a manifestation of the rage and frustration that black people feel because our society does not seem prepared to grant them full equality. And most tragically, this rage has produced a terrible reaction in the white community.

What I want you people to know is that what gave Wallace 13% of the vote in November is the same thing which causes riots. Wallace got his votes because of white fear, and the Negro is acting with violence out of frustration. What is crucial to understand is that white fear and black frustration stem from the same source-economic scarcity. When there are not enough jobs for everybody, whites will fear that blacks are demanding their jobs. When there is scarcity, a deprived and frustrated group will alway seem to be in conflict with the group immediately above it. If there are also racial differeneces involved, the conflict can be explosive-but it is not revolutionary. I think it is tragic and reactionary, because it divides those groups who have a common interest in struggling together for more jobs and other social improvements.

The answer to Wallace and to black violence is the creation of an economic program which will uplift blacks as well as whites, have-nots as well as have-littles, so that the fear or frustration no longer can co-exist. That is the real answer.

QUESTION: How do you go about achieving this. It will take 15,20, or 30 years? A lot of the Negroes can't wait that long.

ANSWER: Well, I think there is only one answer, and that is the answer that was outlined in something my organization (The A. Philip Randolph Institute) put out called "The Freedom Budget". It calls for the expenditure of 18.5 billion annually for ten years over that which we are now spending, and we can do it. We can do it very practically, because as we put the unemployed to work through government investment, they are going to spend what they earn, and as they spend it the G.N.P. will go up, as will government tax receipts, thus providing more money for Federal expenditures. Very simple economics.

The problem is not whether we have the money. We can even carry on the war in Vietnam and enact the Freedom Budget. I am certainly against the war in Vietnam, don't misunderstand me, but it could be done. The question is ordering your priorities, so that you put first things first, and economic justice for the poor is much more important than going to the moon or developing antimissile missiles, much more important than Vietnam, much more important than the white man's hustle of tax loopholes, tax incentives to corporations, and subsidies to the rich. We must not fall into the conservative trap of making poor people help themselves while permitting the government to help the rich. The biggest relief program in this country is the subsidy given to Eastland in Mississippi, who gets $150,000 a year not to plant cotton and corn on his plantation. And it is people like Eastland who protest the $80 Mrs. Jones and her five children receive.

The poor in this country have never "lifted themselves" entirely by their own efforts. The Italians, the Jews, the Irish, the Hungarians will all tell you how their dear old stooped grandaddy came from the old land, how he had a store of one room, and then developed it into two rooms, and then got a whole house and why he doesn't own Macy's today I don't know.

What actually happened is that society in the 19th century, without quite knowing it, established the steps by which the lumpenproletariat and the poor were able to rise economically.

The poor, uneducated, uncouth immigrants who came here didn't make it because they were nice people or industrious, because Negroes coming from Mississippi today are nice people and industrious. The difference is that in the past, society made it possible for immigrants to find work, by permitting them to sell their muscle power. People coming here from Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama today cannot sell their muscle power because ~~there are no jobs for their~~ manual jobs are being automated out of existence.

If society in the past provided the conditions for the economic advancement of the poor, it must do so again today, and it must do so not by creating tax incentives for the rich and "community action" for the poor, but by establishing a comprehensive economic program to uplift those who are deprived.

The Federal Government and nobody else must take the responsibility for a new series of stairsteps by which today's poor can achieve economic stablility. These would include such things as full employment, public~~a~~ housing, free education for all people who want it, free medical care, a $2 minimum wage, guaranteed income for those who cannot work, etc.

QUESTION: Do you think that a Negro family ~~instabili~~ instability, as claimed by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, is the cause of Negro poverty?

ANSWER: No, I think it is the other way around and I also think you misunderstand Moynihan here. A Moynihan report could have been written about the shanty Irish in this country in the 19th century, or about the Italians or the Hungarians. I think it is important to emphasize the family, but I want to make a little map for you.

Let's take the shanty Irish. You know that when the Irish were in New York, about 1890- they had the highest crime rate, all the things that they say about the Negro now, but this is what happened. As the economic independence for the head of the Irish family rose, the characteristics which were unsound in the Irish neighborhood and family diminished. Now this is exactly what is happening in the Negro community today. We do not find a high crime rate in Harlem amongst the educated or those who have good jobs. You find it amongst those who cannot find jobs, especially amongst those whom Lindsay calls the 80,000 youngsters in New York,City between the ages of 18 and 36 who can find no work, They must support themselves-and their families, if they have them-in any way they can. So they are selling numbers, women, marijuana, they are selling dope, they are robbing, they are mugging. And I might add that psychologically a young Negro who sells marijuana on the street is far closer to individual salvation than the Negro who takes ~~the~~ dope. One is an entrepeneur without capital, and the other one is completely demoralized.

QUESTION: You have emphasized the economic aspect of the problems and I would agree with much of it, but it seems to me that the events of the last decades have shown that men are also, and to a much larger degree than is usually expected, motivated anddreached by nationalism in one form or another, and racism on either side is really just one form of lnationalism, which is a sort of irrational reaction.But it is ~~just~~ at least as real, ~~or more so,~~ as economic concerns.

ANSWER: I emphasize economics, precisely because nobody else does, and I an aware that what you are saying is true in part. Nationalism is an important factor, but let us search out its origins.

The American Negro has turned his attention to nationalism and to Africa on four occasions: in 1830, in 1880, in 1920, and during the present period. I want you to know that there is a syndrome here. Progress and high expectation on the part of the Negro people followed by economic decline, followed by black nationalism. In 1830, during a surge of democracy, The free Negroes in Philadelphia and New York thought that the

President of the ~~U.S.~~ United States was going to give them real freedom, and when he didn't they started a "back to Africa" movement and they also established the African Church.

The second time was when the expectation of freedom and equality, after the Civil War, was crushed by the compromise of 1876. Negroes had hoped for "40 acres and a mule". What they got was Jim Crow. Things got much worse for them and a "separatist" movement evolved here that was led by Booker T. Washington who urged Negroes to "improve themselves" and who made what has come to be called the Atlanta Compromise, which was an acceptance of social and economic inferiority. The third time came soon after World War I when there was great expectation by the Negroes who had fought for freedom abroad that they would get it when they came home. But the Ku Klux Klan moved into the North, civil liberties were curtailed, Negroes began to move into the ghettos, unemployment increased, and more Negroes were being lynched than at any other time in our history. Out of that general social and economic condition Negores turned towards Africa, and Marcus Garvey organized two million ~~Negroes~~ of Them to purchase ships on which they hoped to return to Africa. ~~Finaly~~ Finally today, after a tremendous upsurge of progress and civil rights legislation, ~~and~~ people saw that outlawing discrimination in public accommodations, and even winning the right to vote, didn't give them in the North what they needed for full equality. There is still great unemployment, particularly among the unskilled who are losing jobs due to automation, housing is substandard, and our schools are not educating black children. You will note that there is no black nationalist movement in the South where the effect of at least in terms of distroying Jim Crow and increasing the political power of blacks. the Civil Rights legislation has been felt, It is in the North where these bills did not have any effect that we have had a turning inward among Negroes, a rejection of the society they think has failed them, an emphasis on psychological-as opposed to social and economic- problems that are immediate and seemingly easy to manage, and a general disaffection with our social institutions tha t has manifested itself as a movement for separatism. I find it ironic that nationalism- the assertion of independence and pride- should be so heavily dependent on what is going on in the rest of the society. And until black people have equality with whites within that society- and I mean economic and social equality which must be the basis for freedom, self-determination, and all of those ideals for which men give their lives- until they have this, they will be stridently asserting their nationalism, turning back towards Africa, and separating themselves from the society,all of which is an expression of profound despair with the conditions under which they are forced to live. And I think it would be a grave error for anyone- white or black- to romantisize this nationalism as a desired end, for in effect it is but a protest against poverty and injustice. And it is a demand that the society create the conditions that will make equality a reality and not a dream that will breed frustrations and dissatisfaction as long as it remains unfulfilled.

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## MEMORANDUM

## ACTION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

I. Purpose: The project outlined below has a two-fold purpose

A. To dramatize popular support for the Civil Rights Bill; and

B. To register opposition to the Southern Senatorial filibuster as an undemocratic and dilatory attempt to obstruct the will of the nation.

II. "Freedom Congress -- Let Democracy Work!"

A. It is proposed that a large church be secured in Washington to house a Freedom Congress. The activities of the Congress are to be organized in the following manner.

1. The upstairs portion of the church would be the scene of a [redacted] 9am 'till midnight [redacted] meeting for one week, featuring discussion and exposition of the need for strong civil rights legislation. The discussion should be well-structured and relevant, directed toward one or more Titles of the Bill each day with particular emphasis on the more controversial Titles. In addition to explaining why civil rights legislation is needed at this time, the discussion should show how the tactics of the Southerners undermine the democratic character of Congress itself. Experts and prominent citizens would be asked to participate in this continuous session to present the American people with the arguments for civil rights that are being obscured by the filibuster. Representatives of the rank and file of our movement would also be selected for participation.

2. In order to increase the identification of the national Negro Leadership with the struggle for the Civil Rights Bill, it is proposed that every evening of the Freedom Congress week be devoted to a mass meeting addressed by national civil rights

leaders. The following pairs of speakers are suggested:

| | |
|---|---|
| Clarence Mitchell | Joseph Rauh |
| Roy Wilkins | Sen. Hubert Humphrey |
| Martin Luther King, Jr. | Eugene Carson Blake |
| James Farmer | Rabbi Joachim Prinz |
| Whitney Young | Archbishop O'Boyle |
| John Lewis | Sen. Jacob Javits |
| A. Philip Randolph | Walter Reuther |

Extensive publicity efforts would be made to attempt the largest possible audiences from Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, Philadelphia and vicinity.

3. To underscore the necessity for Title IV, the basement of the Washington church should be given over to testimony relating to police brutality and the need for Federal protection of Constitutional rights. This testimony should be presented to a panel of prominent lay Americans, religious leaders and attorneys.

B. Downtown poster-walking and leaflet distribution contingents should be organized from the ranks of young civil rights activists who may prefer direct contact with the Washington population to the church activities. The poster-walks and leaflet-distribution would be orderly. Their purpose would be to propagandize for the Civil Rights Bill, to arouse public opposition to the filibuster and to advertise the mass meetings and discussions of the Freedom Congress.

C. Delegations to Congress:

1. Ministers, labor and civil rights leaders, and other representatives of the community should be organized to witness the Senatorial debate from the galleries. It is suggested that these silent

observors wearsblack armbands.

2. In consultation with Clarence Mitchell, it should be decidd whether to encourage these delegations to visit their Congressmen, urging their support of speedy enactment of the Civil Rights Bill.

D. In the interest of maximum cohesion and organization, all groups who participate in this project will be asked to limit their Washington activities for this period to the program outlined above. Naturally, any group would be free to act independentally prior to or following the proposed project.

E. The sponsors of the anti-filibuster project should call upon all local groups to demonstrate their support of the Washington effort in ways appropriate to their circumstances and in a spirit consistent with the project. Local efforts should concentrate on the issue of civil rights legislation. Possible activities might include

1. petitions to their Senators
2. letters to their Senators
3. marbhes or demonstrations at appropriate points in their cities and towns.

III. Sponsorship: For the following reasons, it is proposed that this project be sponsored by the March on Washington:

A. The March on Washington is an enduring symbol of unity of the Civil Rights Movement. It is precisely the display of such unity, which must be brought to bear in the present situation.

B. The March on Washington has approximately $3,000 on hand. Thus, we would be relieved of initial fund-raising burdens.

C. Sponsorship by the March on Washington would also spare us the burden of organizing a new structure. It is to be hoped that the major civil rights organizations would again contribute personnel to the staff.

March 24, 1964
New York, N.Y.

Office of Public Information
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027
Telephone: (212) 280-5496
- -
Fred Knubel, Director

FOR USE UPON RECEIPT

Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin will describe "a new agenda" for the black struggle when he delivers the 1973 William Radner Lectures at Columbia University next week.

The series, titled "From Freedom Ride to Ballot Box: The Changing Strategies of Black Struggle," is set for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday October 9, 10 and 11 at 8:30 P.M. in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Columbia's Morningside Heights campus. The lectures are free and open to the public.

Individual lecture topics are: Tuesday, October 9, "The Early Years: Building a Consensus for Freedom"; Wednesday, October 10, "The Protest Era," and Thursday, October 11, "Strategies for a New Agenda."

Mr. Rustin, who is 63, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. His career in civil rights spans more than 30 years, during which he has taken part in the leading events of the struggle and has been arrested 24 times. He once worked on a chain gang.

During the 1940s, he was race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and in 1941 he was a youth organizer for

-more-

A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington. The same year, he became the first field secretary of the newly formed Congress of Racial Equality.

In subsequent years, he worked closely with Martin Luther King, helping organize the 1955 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and drawing up plans in 1956 for the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Rustin coordinated the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage that brought 35,000 persons to Washington, D.C. He was deputy director of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, in which 250,000 persons participated and which paved the way for passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

He directed the 1964 New York school boycott and organized the massive march in Memphis, Tenn., following Dr. King's assassination in 1968.

Mr. Rustin, who is a native of West Chester, Pa., has also joined pacifist causes and has at various times worked with leaders of African nations and India.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, named for the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Mr. Rustin's long-time associate, was set up in 1964 to promote voter registration, economic equality and better relations between blacks, liberals and unions. Mr. Rustin has been the Institute's director since 1966.

He writes a biweekly column on civil rights and, in 1971, published "Down the Line," a collection of his essays and newspaper reports and columns.

Mr. Rustin is the seventh William Radner lecturer. Preceding

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him were: former President Harry S. Truman, who launched the lectures in 1959; Lord Boothby, former rector of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, in 1960; Robert R. Bowie, director of the Center for International Affairs and Clarence Dillon Professor of International Relations at Harvard, in 1963; Lord Harlech, who as Sir David Ormsby-Gore was British Ambassador to the United States from October 1961 to April 1965, in 1965; Professor Richard E. Neustadt, director of the Institute of Politics in the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government at Harvard and also associate dean of the school, in 1966; and Robert Wood, director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, in 1970.

The lectures, covering subjects pertaining to public law and government, were established at Columbia in 1956 by a grant from the Radner Family Foundation at Chevy Chase, Md. They serve as a memorial to the late William Radner, a graduate of Columbia College and the Columbia School of Law. Mr. Radner, who died in 1951, was counsel for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in Washington and the United States Maritime Commission in the 1930s and for the War Shipping Administration during World War II.

Lecturers are appointed by the University Trustees on the nomination of the Department of Political Science. An expanded version of the texts of Mr. Rustin's lectures will be published by the Columbia University Press for distribution in educational, governmental and legal circles.

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Bayard Rustin, the veteran civil rights activist, will deliver the seventh William Radner lectures at Columbia University on October 9, 10, and 11. The series is entitled: "From Freedom Ride to Ballot Box: The Changing Strategies of Black Struggle."

Mr. Rustin will analyze the changing nature of the civil rights movement in the 20th Century. He himself participated in and helped organize many of the most important and well-known protest campaigns, including the early Freedom Rides, the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham campaigns, and the 1963 March on Washington.

The central thesis of the lectures is that "when blacks have adhered to integration, non-violence, and coalition politics, they have succeeded in moving the man-made mountains of Jim Crow." Rustin further argues that racial progress has been blunted "when the doctrines of hopelessness dominated the Negro community." Among the "doctrines of hopelessness" Rustin identifies separatism, nationalism, violent revolution and cultural elitism. Rustin states:

> The course of the Negro American's history during the 20th Century has been marked by a remarkable and unprecedented social transformation. For centuries blacks have been looked on by the larger society as sub-human entities--"Invisible Men." Brought here in bondage, and abandoned with the end of Reconstruction, the Negro comprised the bottom layer of a caste system engraved into the public institutions and legal structure of the South. Discrimination was also rampant in the non-South, where blacks were excluded from the wealth of industrial America.
>
> And yet blacks have risen from oppression and discrimination to create the most dynamic social movement in American history. They have achieved through this movement a sense of dignity--a feeling of worth that derives from the ennobling nature of their struggle.
>
> Once considered political nonentities, blacks have become a vibrant political force, whose special needs no politician can afford to disregard. And from an economic underclass--landless, poverty-striken, consigned to menial, dead-end occupations--blacks have begun to participate in the mainstream of modern technological society.

The first lecture, on October 9th, discusses the difficulty Negroes encountered in trying to build a national consensus over the validity of their demands. Rustin asserts that the civil rights movement achieved that consensus through a strategy combining legal action and non-violent direct action protests.

The most important figure during the early years of the civil rights movement, Rustin says, was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and organizer of the first March on Washington.

"Randolph possessed a total social vision," Rustin says. "He was aware of the economic dimensions of discrimination, and he directed his various protest campaigns at both racial and class bias."

The second lecture concerns the era of civil rights protest between 1954, when the Brown decision was issued by the Supreme Court, and the passage of the Voting Rights act in 1965, an event which Rustin says "signaled an end to the period when protest tactics were the most effective weapon in the struggle for racial progress."

The final lecture deals with the period since the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Rustin asserts that the changes wrought by the civil rights movement created unprecedented progress for blacks.

> Although the nation did not realize it, the civil rights movement was in the midst of a profound transformation as the Voting Rights Act was enacted in 1965. Until that time, the tactics of protest had served as the major weapon for civil rights forces. Until that time, blacks were demanding basic constitutional rights that had historically been denied them--their agenda was an essentially "black" agenda. Until that time, blacks had asked few concessions from the larger society--they sought only to be recognized as human beings, possessing the same social rights as the rest of mankind. And until that time whites had served as a peripheral part of the civil rights movement; useful, but not essential.
>
> The passage of the Voting Rights Act changed all that. The bill represented a watershed in the struggle for racial justice for, with the exception of the open housing legislation enacted in 1968, it completed that part of the civil rights agenda dealing with social rights. Now the focus changed from civil rights to economic progress, and this required that we devise a new set of tactics and strategies.

# THE WILLIAM RADNER LECTURES
BY
BAYARD RUSTIN

# FROM FREEDOM RIDE TO BALLOT BOX: THE CHANGING STRATEGIES OF BLACK STRUGGLE

## LECTURE 1 - THE EARLY YEARS: BUILDING A CONSENSUS FOR FREEDOM

THE COURSE OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN'S HISTORY DURING THE 20TH CENTURY HAS BEEN MARKED BY A REMARKABLE AND UNPRECEDENTED SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION. FOR CENTURIES BLACKS HAD BEEN LOOKED ON BY THE LARGER SOCIETY AS SUB-HUMAN ENTITIES--"INVISIBLE MEN." BROUGHT HERE IN BONDAGE, AND ABANDONED WITH THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION, THE NEGRO COMPRISED THE BOTTOM LAYER OF A CASTE SYSTEM ENGRAVED INTO THE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND LEGAL STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTH. DISCRIMINATION WAS ALSO RAMPANT IN THE NON-SOUTH, WHERE BLACKS WERE TO BE EXCLUDED FROM THE COMING WEALTH OF INDUSTRIAL AMERICA.

AND YET BLACKS HAVE RISEN FROM OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION TO CREATE THE MOST DYNAMIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. THEY HAVE ACHIEVED THROUGH THIS MOVEMENT A SENSE OF DIGNITY--A FEELING OF WORTH THAT DERIVES FROM THE ENNOBLING NATURE OF THEIR STRUGGLE.

ONCE CONSIDERED POLITICAL NONENTITIES, BLACKS HAVE

BECOME A VITAL POLITICAL FORCE, WHOSE SPECIAL NEEDS NO POLITICIAN CAN AFFORD TO DISREGARD. AND FROM AN ECONOMIC UNDERCLASS--LANDLESS, POVERTY-STRICKEN, CONSIGNED TO MENIAL, DEAD-END OCCUPATIONS--BLACKS HAVE BECOME PARTICIPANTS IN THE MAINSTREAM OF MODERN TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE MOVEMENT WHICH ENABLED BLACKS TO SURMOUNT THE TWIN HANDICAPS OF RACIAL AND CLASS DISCRIMINATION WAS ROOTED IN THREE BASIC PRINCIPLES: A BELIEF THAT RACIAL PROGRESS COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN AN INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK; A COMMITMENT TO THE TACTICS OF NON-VIOLENCE; AND THE REALIZATION THAT BROAD, PERMANENT CHANGE CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY A MOVEMENT CONFINED TO BLACKS--A BELIEF, IN OTHER WORDS, IN COALITION POLITICS.

THESE THREE PRINCIPLES SHARE ONE COMMON THEME--AND THAT IS THE THEME OF HOPEFULNESS. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT QUALITY. FOR WHENEVER BLACKS HAVE ADHERED TO INTEGRATION, NON-VIOLENCE, AND COALITION POLITICS, THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN MOVING THE MAN-MADE MOUNTAINS OF JIM CROW. THEY HAVE REMOVED RACIAL BARRIERS THAT HAD BEEN CAREFULLY ERECTED OVER THE SPAN OF THREE CENTURIES. THEY HAVE WON DECISIONS FROM THE COURTS, LAWS FROM THE CONGRESS, THE SUPPORT OF PRESIDENTS, AND THE ENCOURAGE- OF A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IT IS TRUE, OF COURSE, THAT INTEGRATION HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN THE DOMINANT PHILOSOPHY WITHIN THE NEGRO

MOVEMENT; THAT LONG-SIMMERING ANGER HAS BOILED OVER INTO EXPRESSIONS OF VIOLENCE; THAT NATIONALISM HAS HAD ITS DAY. DOCTRINES BRED OF FRUSTRATION AND HOPELESSNESS HAVE MARKED THE HISTORY OF ALL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE CONFRONTED WITH SEEMINGLY INSURMOUNTABLE ODDS LIKE THE ONES BLACKS HAD TO FACE. THE POINT IS THAT THOSE PERIODS WHICH SAW THE RISE OF THE IDEOLOGIES OF HOPELESSNESS WERE PRECISELY THE PERIODS WHERE PAST ACHIEVEMENTS WERE BLUNTED; WHERE A HARD-WON CONSENSUS OF SUPPORT WAS DIMINISHED; WHEN CONFUSION, AIMLESSNESS, AND DISARRAY REPLACED UNITY AND PURPOSEFULNESS.

THE CONTRASTING CAREERS OF THE TWO MOST PROMINENT RADICALS OF THE 1920'S--MARCUS GARVEY AND A. PHILIP RANDOLPH--UNDERSCORE THIS POINT.

ONE CANNOT ARGUE WITH THE PROPOSITION THAT MARCUS GARVEY WAS AN IMPORTANT AND INFLUENTIAL FIGURE. THE MASS MOVEMENT HE COMMANDED, FOR A FEW STORMY YEARS, NUMBERED IN THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS. THE MORE ARDENT OF HIS FOLLOWERS EMBRACED GARVEY'S DOCTRINES OF PAN-AFRICANISM AS A LEGITIMATE ALTERNATIVE TO INTEGRATION WHILE OTHERS, CARING LITTLE ABOUT THE PHILOSOPHICAL SUBTLETIES WHICH SEPARATED GARVEY FROM THE MAJORITY OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS, NEVERTHELESS ENTRUSTED GARVEY WITH THEIR MEAGER SAVINGS, AND THEN EAGERLY AWAITED THE COMING BLACK-CAPITALISM BONANZA WHICH HE HAD PROMISED.

AND YET, DESPITE HIS WIDESPREAD POPULARITY, GARVEY LEFT LITTLE OF PERMANENCE TO THE RACIAL STRUGGLE. TODAY

HIS CAREER DRAWS THE NOTICE OF HISTORIANS, BUT HIS IDEAS MEAN LITTLE INDEED TO THE STRUGGLE OF BLACK MASSES, WHO AS EVERY OPINION POLL DEMONSTRATES, CONTINUE TO AFFIRM THE VALIDITY OF INTEGRATION. AND AS EACH PASSING YEAR BRINGS MORE PROGRESS FOR BLACKS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY,GARVEY'S NATIONALIST IDEAS BECOME LESS AND LESS RELEVANT, LESS AND LESS UNIQUE.

SOME WOULD EXPLAIN GARVEY'S ECLIPSE AS THE RESULT OF FINANCIAL BUNGLING. GARVEY THE MAN FAILED, THEY SAY, BUT THE PHILOSOPHY HE ESPOUSED CONTAINED MERIT.

SUCH AN EXPLANATION IS INSUFFICIENT. ULTIMATELY, GARVEY FAILED BECAUSE SOCIETY JUDGED HIS IDEAS IMPRACTICAL. MOREOVER, THOSE BLACKS WHO WERE ACQUIRING A SENSE OF THE SHAPE OF THE COMING STRUGGLE RECOGNIZED THAT GARVEY WAS NOT THE REVOLUTIONARY HE CLAIMED TO BE, BUT WAS IN FACT A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY, MORE OF THE MOLD OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. HE WAS A THOROUGH-GOING CAPITALIST AND, IN A SENSE, AN ACCOMMODATIONIST. LIKE WASHINGTON BEFORE HIM, GARVEY ROSE TO PROMINENCE AT A TIME WHEN IT WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY OBVIOUS THAT THE RISING EXPECTATIONS OF NEGROES WERE ABOUT TO BE SHATTERED. FOR WASHINGTON, THE TIME WAS THE ACKNOWLEDGED END OF RECONSTRUCTION: A TIME WHEN THE FREEDMAN WAS DISENFRANCHISED, DEPRIVED OF HIS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS, STRIPPED OF WHAT HE THOUGHT TO BE THE LEGITIMATE LEGACY OF EMANCIPATION. FOR GARVEY, THE TIME WAS THE period immediately after World War I, when returning troops discovered that making the world safe for democracy did not automatically signal the spread of democracy at home. And Garvey, like Washington before him, urged the Negro to cast down his bucket where he was. The Negro worker, he counseled, should "always keep his scale of wages a little lower than the whites until he is able to become, through proper leadership, his own employer."

It is ironic that A. Philip Randolph, perceiving in Garvey the makings of an incipient radical, should have provided Garvey with his first soap-box speaking opportunity in Harlem. For the two were soon to become bitter antagonistS. as Randolph's life was to take a sharply different turn.

Randolph did not move with the swiftness which marked Garvey's rise and fall. But his contributions were far-reaching and lasting. Where Garvey's social vision was narrow, Randolph's was total--he was always aware of the economic dimension of discrimination: his various campaigns were directed at both class and racial bias. Randolph understood that for Negroes the arena of struggle was right here in the United States, and that the particulars of that struggle must be aimed at a massive restructuring of this nation's basic institutions including a major redistribution of wealth.

Randolph also possessed a keen sense of strategy.

It was this sense that set him apart from the rest of the black leadership in those painful years when the nation began to hear the first, faint murmurings of a civil rights movement.

The nation heard those murmurings first in 1909, when the Niagra Statement was issued, and then again, a little louder, in 1910, when those who had prepared the Niagra Statement formed the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People. Since its founding the NAACP has served, often alone, as the pillar of black resistance. Its first broad program, drawn up in 1919, was the cornerstone of the black agenda for decades to come. It asked:

. The right of each qualified Negro man and woman to vote.

. The same access to an education that whites enjoyed.

. The right to a fair trial, presided over by judges whom blacks had a chance to help elect and a jury the members of which would be chosen without regard to a person's color.

. An end to "lynching and burning at the hands of mobs."

. Equal and integrated service on public transportation, integration of parks, libraries and other public facilities, and equal job opportunities.

. "The abolition of color-hyphenation" and the substitution of of 'straight Americanism.'"

This program addressed itself to basic principles of human dignity and constitutional rights. It did not encompass economic rights; this dimension was added later by A. Philip Randolph.

Nor did the NAACP's 1919 document deal with a strategic means for resolving discrimination. However, this lapse is in no sense a reflection on the NAACP; during those difficult years no one person or organization knew the means that would work to help blacks achieve equality. DuBois and Garvey thought they knew, but the course of history has demonstrated how deeply flawed their philosophies were.

The fact is that the racial caste system had so pervaded American society in the early 20th century, that it had destroyed the potential for creative mass action, and had demoralized black leadership.

The American political process, which had provided some measure of hope for the burgeoning immigrant populations of the urban North, was foreclosed to black participation. Woodrow Wilson looked upon Negroes with an aristocratic disdain. Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover were suited neither by temperament nor philosophy to lend moral or political support to the oppressed. Even Roosevelt, the recipient, from 1936 on, of the overwhelming majority of the black vote, declined to throw the prestige of his office behind anti-lynching

LEGISLATION, EVEN THOUGH THE BILL HAD STRONG NATIONAL SUPPORT.

NOR COULD BLACKS APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT FOR REDRESS. REPUBLICAN APPOINTEES TO THAT BODY GAVE IT A VISIBLY CONSERVATIVE TONE. NOT UNTIL MIDWAY THROUGH THE 1940'S DID THE INFLUENCE OF ROOSEVELT'S APPOINTMENTS BEGIN TO MAKE ITSELF FELT SUFFICIENTLY TO BRING ABOUT A LIBERALIZATION IN THE COURT'S RACIAL OUTLOOK.

SHUNNED BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES, AND REJECTED IN THE COURTS, BLACKS HAD TO LOOK OUTSIDE THE NORMAL CHANNELS OF DEMOCRACY TO PRESS THEIR CAUSE. BUT EVEN HERE THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY SEVERELY LIMITED THE OPTIONS.

A PROTEST MOVEMENT OF THE SCALE MOUNTED IN THE 1950'S AND 60'S WAS UNTHINKABLE. MOST NEGROES LIVED IN THE RURAL SOUTH, WHERE AN EFFORT TO INTEGRATE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, OR SIT IN AT A LUNCH COUNTER WOULD ELICIT IMMEDIATE, AND PROBABLY VIOLENT, REPRISAL. SOME 277 LYNCHINGS WERE RECORDED BETWEEN 1922 AND 1934. IN THE SOUTH, MEMBERSHIP IN THE KU KLUX KLAN REACHED ITS PEAK DURING THE 1920'S, WHICH WAS ALSO THE TIME WHEN OTHER PROTO-FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS BEGAN SYSTEMATICALLY TERRORIZING BLACKS, JEWS, AND CATHOLICS IN THE NON-SOUTH.

THE CONCERTED EFFORTS TO DESTROY NASCENT RADICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE U.S.--CLIMAXED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER'S "RED SCARE" OF 1919--DID NOT, EXCEPT IN A FEW INSTANCES, AFFECT BLACKS DIRECTLY. BUT THESE DID CONTRIBUTE TO THE ATMOSPHERE OF REPRESSION AND THEREBY DISORIENTED THOSE FORCES WHICH MIGHT, UNDER MORE TOLERANT CIRCUMSTANCES, HAVE SERVED AS VALUABLE ALLIES FOR BLACKS.

THE RADICAL PARTIES DISPLAYED LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING BLACK AMERICANS. THE SOCIALIST PARTY, FOR INSTANCE, WAS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO THE IDEAL OF RACIAL EQUALITY, BUT FAILED TO OFFER A PLATFORM DIRECTED AT SPECIFIC RACIAL INJUSTICES. IT DID, HOWEVER, HAVE A PROGRAM WHICH, HAD IT BEEN IMPLEMENTED, WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE UPLIFTED THE CONDITION OF THE BLACK MASSES. THAT PROGRAM WAS, OF COURSE, SOCIALISM--THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS AND THE INSTITUTION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND ALLOCATION OF GOODS AND RESOURCES. BUT THE SOCIALISTS HAD NO RACIAL PLATFORM. AS ITS ESTEEMED LEADER, EUGENE V. DEBS, EXPLAINED: "WE HAVE NOTHING SPECIAL TO OFFER THE NEGRO, AND WE CANNOT MAKE SPECIAL APPEALS TO ALL THE RACES." AS A LONGTIME SOCIALIST, AND AS NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, U.S.A.--THE PARTY OF DEBS AND NORMAN THOMAS--I LOOK UPON THE FAILURE OF THE SOCIALISTS TO MAKE THAT SPECIAL APPEAL AS A TRAGIC ERROR. BECAUSE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S LACK OF FORESIGHT IN THIS ONE RESPECT, A GENERATION

OF NEGROES CAME AND WENT, UNTOUCHED BY THE DOCTRINES OF SOCIALISM, AND UNACQUAINTED WITH ITS BRILLIANT, VISIONARY SPOKESMEN. AS A DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION, GENUINELY MOVED BY HUMAN SUFFERINGS, THE SOCIALISTS MIGHT HAVE CHANGED THE WHOLE COURSE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND HASTENED RACIAL PROGRESS HAD THEIR VISION IN THE AREA OF RACIAL INJUSTICE BEEN LESS NARROW.

THE OTHER LEADING RADICAL ORGANIZATION, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WENT OUT OF ITS WAY TO ENLIST BLACKS--PARTICULARLY BLACK ACTIVISTS AND INTELLECTUALS--INTO ITS RANKS. BUT WHILE THE COMMUNISTS HAD A LARGER BLACK MEMBERSHIP DURING THIS PERIOD THAN OTHER LEFT-WING GROUPS, THEY TOO ULTIMATELY FAILED TO EFFECTIVELY APPEAL TO THE BLACK MASSES.

FOR ONE THING, THE COMMUNISTS WERE ALWAYS VIEWED WITH SUSPICION AS A POTENTIALLY SUBVERSIVE GROUP; THEIR LEADERS NEVER HAD THE RESPECT THAT DEBS OR NORMAN THOMAS ACHIEVED. AS A PEOPLE ALREADY STIGMATIZED BY THE COLOR OF THEIR SKINS, NEGROES WERE NOT EAGER TO FURTHER EMBURDEN THEMSELVES WITH THE NOTORIETY OF BELONGING TO AN ORGANIZATION MANY CONSIDERED UN-AMERICAN. FURTHERMORE, THE COMMUNISTS' POSITION ON THE RACIAL QUESTION--THEY FAVORED THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE BLACK NATION CARVED OUT OF SEVERAL SOUTHERN STATES--WAS UTOPIAN, HARDLY

RELEVANT TO THE NEGRO'S DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.

FINALLY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY FAILED TO ATTRACT BROAD SUPPORT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY FOR THE SAME REASON IT FAILED TO WIN PERMANENT FOOTHOLDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD, IN POLITICS, OR IN ANY OF THE OTHER INSTITUTIONS IT TRIED TO DOMINATE. SIMPLY PUT, THE COMMUNISTS' PRIMARY CONCERN WAS NOT WITH THE BLACK MASSES OR WITH WORKING PEOPLE, BUT WITH THE GLOBAL OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION. SOONER OR LATER THESE OBJECTIVES WERE BOUND TO CONFLICT WITH THE NECESSITIES OF THE RACIAL STRUGGLE.

I LEARNED THIS FIRSTHAND, HAVING BEEN FOR SEVERAL YEARS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE. I WAS DRAWN TO THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY APPEARED TO BE THE ONLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION EXPRESSING ANY CONCERN ABOUT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. I FIRST ENCOUNTERED THE COMMUNISTS AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON THE SCOTTSBORO CASE, WHERE A MAN APPROACHED ME AND ASKED IF I WAS INTERESTED IN PASSING OUT LITERATURE IN THE BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS OF PHILADELPHIA. LATER, AFTER I HAD JOINED, THE COMMUNISTS SENT ME TO CCNY WHERE, INSTEAD OF ATTENDING CLASSES OR STUDYING, I ORGANIZED FOR THE YCL.

EVENTUALLY, I WAS PLACED IN CHARGE OF A CAMPAIGN

RELEVANT TO THE NEGRO'S DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.

FINALLY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY FAILED TO ATTRACT BROAD SUPPORT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY FOR THE SAME REASON IT FAILED TO WIN PERMANENT FOOTHOLDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD, IN POLITICS, OR IN ANY OF THE OTHER INSTITUTIONS IT TRIED TO DOMINATE. SIMPLY PUT, THE COMMUNISTS' PRIMARY CONCERN WAS NOT WITH THE BLACK MASSES OR WITH WORKING PEOPLE, BUT WITH THE GLOBAL OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION. SOONER OR LATER THESE OBJECTIVES WERE BOUND TO CONFLICT WITH THE NECESSITIES OF THE RACIAL STRUGGLE.

I LEARNED THIS FIRSTHAND, HAVING BEEN FOR SEVERAL YEARS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE. I WAS DRAWN TO THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY APPEARED TO BE THE ONLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION EXPRESSING ANY CONCERN ABOUT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. I FIRST ENCOUNTERED THE COMMUNISTS AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON THE SCOTTSBORO CASE, WHERE A MAN APPROACHED ME AND ASKED IF I WAS INTERESTED IN PASSING OUT LITERATURE IN THE BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS OF PHILADELPHIA. LATER, AFTER I HAD JOINED, THE COMMUNISTS SENT ME TO CCNY WHERE, INSTEAD OF ATTENDING CLASSES OR STUDYING, I ORGANIZED FOR THE YCL.

EVENTUALLY, I WAS PLACED IN CHARGE OF A CAMPAIGN

TO COMBAT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES. THIS WAS, OF COURSE, DURING THE PERIOD OF THE HITLER-STALIN PACT, WHEN WORLD WAR II WAS REFERRED TO AS ROOSEVELT'S WAR OF IMPERIALISM. THE INVASION OF RUSSIA BY NAZI GERMANY CHANGED ALL THAT. NOW THE WAR WAS NO LONGER AN IMPERIALISTIC VENTURE, BUT A STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. EVERYTHING WE WERE TOLD, MUST BE SACRIFICED FOR THE WAR EFFORT. THIS MEANT, OF COURSE, THAT MY PROJECT WAS TO BE DISSOLVED AND THAT THOSE BLACKS LIKE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, WHO CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WAR TO STRUGGLE FOR BETTER RACIAL CONDITIONS, WERE TO BE SUBJECTED TO A DRUMFIRE OF CRITICISM. I RESIGNED IMMEDIATELY, AND DID SO NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE MY PROJECT WAS BEING DROPPED, BUT BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS HAD NOW DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY WERE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT WITH WHAT IN THEIR VIEW WAS BEST FOR THE SOVIET UNION; THEY WERE PREPARED TO SACRIFICE EVERYTHING--INCLUDING THE URGENT NEED FOR IMPROVED CONDITIONS FOR NEGROES--FOR THE USSR.

RACE RIOTS, IN WHICH BLACKS SUFFERED BY FAR THE HEAVIEST CASUALTIES, WERE A COMMON OCCURRENCE. THESE RIOTS WERE OFTEN TRIGGERED BY THE EFFORTS OF NEGROES TO ASSERT THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. THE BRUTALITY WHICH MARKED THESE OUTBURSTS--OVER 40 NEGROES WERE KILLED IN A 1917 OUTBURST IN EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL. --CAST A PALL OVER A NEGRO COMMUNITY WHICH ASPIRED TO

SHARE IN THE "NORMALCY" AND WEALTH WHICH FOLLOWED THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

THE TOTALITY OF REPRESSION, TERRORISM, AND POLITICAL INDIFFERENCE WAS TO RENDER ANY EFFORT AT COLLECTIVE ACTION IMPOSSIBLE. THE ONLY ALTERNATIVES WERE THE UTOPIAN FANTASIES OF MARCUS GARVEY, OR SOME FORM OF PERSONAL, ARTISTIC, OR SPIRITUAL OUTLET. THE PREVAILING SENSE OF HOPELESSNESS CONTRIBUTED TO THE CULTURAL PHENOMENON KNOWN AS THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE. SINCE BLACKS COULD NOT MAKE REVOLUTION, EITHER PEACEABLY OR NON-PEACEABLY, THEY WERE FORCED TO WRITE ABOUT IT. THUS WE HAD CLAUDE MCKAY'S FAMOUS SONNET "IF WE MUST DIE.":

> IF WE MUST DIE--LET IT NOT BE LIKE HOGS
> HUNTED AND PENNED IN AN INGLORIOUS SPOT,
> WHILE ROUND US BARK THE MAD AND HUNGRY DOGS,
> MAKING THEIR MOCK AT OUR ACCURSED LOT.
> IF WE MUST DIE--OH, LET US NOBLY DIE,
> SO THAT OUR PRECIOUS BLOOD SHALL NOT BE SHED
> IN VAIN; THEN EVEN THE MONSTERS WE DEFY
> SHALL BE CONSTRAINED TO HONOR US THOUGH DEAD!
> OH, KINSMEN WE MUST MEET THE COMMON FOE;
> THOUGH FAR OUTNUMBERED, LET US SHOW US BRAVE,
> AND FOR THEIR THOUSAND BLOWS DEAL ONE DEATHBLOW!
> WHAT THOUGH BEFORE US LIES THE OPEN GRAVE?
> LIKE MEN WE'LL FACE THE MURDEROUS, COWARDLY PACK,
> PRESSED TO THE WALL, DYING, BUT FIGHTING BACK!

If the 20's were one of the Negro's darkest decades, the 1930's brought of a new sense of hope. Depression visited itself more harshly on blacks than on anyone else. But a series of developments set the stage for future progress while it relieved that feeling which Claude McKay described so appropriately as being "pressed to the wall."

The strategies of despair, symbolized by the Garvey movement, now gave way to the high expectations which accompanied the formation of the CIO. These expectations, shared by black and white alike, proved well founded. The unions which formed the nucleus of CIO strength--the Autoworkers, Steelworkers, Mineworkers, and others--organized the mass production industries where blacks made up an increasingly large percentage of the work force. Along with racially progressive AFL unions like the ILGWU, these CIO unions added an important dimension to the American social context. Namely:

--The unions were the driving force in the fight to win substantial improvements in the material conditions of black industrial workers.

--Most were led by men who, for both practical and principled reasons, believed that black and white workers should be organized together.

--The unions hastened the end of the manipulation of black workers by employers who saw in the Negro

WORK FORCE A SOURCE OF CHEAP LABOR, A POTENTIAL STRIKEBREAKER, AND A WEDGE WHICH COULD PROFITABLY BE USED TO DEPRESS WAGES.

--THE UNIONS BECAME THE FIRST, MASS INTERRACIAL INSTITUTION IN A NATION WHERE SEPARATION HAD BEEN THE RULE.

--AND THEY PRESENTED NEGROES WITH ORGANIZING SKILLS AND A SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN AN IMPORTANT SOCIAL STRUGGLE; THIS WAS TO HAVE INCALCULABLE EFFECTS ON THE LATER CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

LIKE THE UNIONS, THE NEW DEAL, ALTHOUGH IT DID NOT ADDRESS THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS CREATED BY RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, PROVIDED INDIRECT ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. FOR THE COMING OF THE CONSERVATION CORPS, THE WPA, THE WAGNER ACT, AND OTHER PROGRAMS INAUGURATED UNDER FDR'S ADMINISTRATION BROUGHT AN END TO THE LAISSEZ-FAIRE TRADITION WHICH HAD GOVERNED AMERICAN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS FROM THE NATION'S BIRTH. IF THE GOVERNMENT COULD ASSIST THE RETIRED WITH SOCIAL SECURITY, OR THE JOBLESS WITH UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, WHY THEN COULDN'T IT INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF BLACKS?

THE WAGNER ACT HAD A MORE IMMEDIATE EFFECT FOR BLACKS THAN OTHER PIECES OF NEW DEAL LEGISLATION IN THAT IT BROUGHT TO A VICTORIOUS CONCLUSION A. PHILIP RANDOLPH'S 12-YEAR CAMPAIGN TO ORGANIZE THE SLEEPING

Car Porters. That victory made Randolph the best-known Negro in the United States, and it also paved the way for the emergence of the most important movement in the annals of American social struggle.

The coming of the 1940's brought a heretofore unknown coherence to the strategy of the civil rights movement. As America busied herself with wartime preparations, civil rights forces launched their assault in two directions: A. Philip Randolph and his followers were organizing for non-violent, direct-action protests, and the NAACP was piling case after case on the dockets of the court system.

To understand Randolph's unique ability as civil rights leader, one must recognize that he was a product both of the Negro experience and of the radical political tradition. As a Negro, Randolph understood the depths of discrimination as no white man could; he learned to persevere in the face of seemingly insuperable odds; he valued racial pride--and what it meant to the common black worker. From socialism Randolph gained the ability to order and discipline his thinking; he gained a tactical sense; and, most important, he gained an understanding of the economic underpinnings of discrimination.

It was the combination of these two traditions that gave depth to Randolph's vision and that led

HIM TO ACTIVELY REJECT THE PREDOMINANT PHILOSOPHICAL CURRENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY: BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S GRADUALISM; GARVEY'S NATIONALISM; AND THE CONCEPT THAT BLACK PROGRESS WOULD COME ONLY WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EDUCATED NEGRO ELITE, THE "TALENTED TENTH," TO USE THE PHRASE OF W.E.B. DUBOIS, ITS MOST PROMINENT ADVOCATE.

RANDOLPH RESISTED THESE TRENDS AND, INSTEAD, CONCEIVED AND IMPLEMENTED THE FIRST MARCH ON WASHINGTON IN 1940-41. THIS CAMPAIGN WAS THE SYMBOLIC INAUGURATION OF THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

THE MARCH WAS THE FIRST MASS-PROTEST EVER SERIOUSLY THREATENED BY NEGRO AMERICANS, WHO UNTIL THEN HAD FOUGHT DISCRIMINATION THROUGH COURT ACTIONS THAT WERE GENERALLY UNSUCCESSFUL, OR THROUGH INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF PROTEST, OR THROUGH CULTURAL REBELLION. THERE HAD NEVER BEFORE BEEN AN ATTEMPT AT SUCH A LARGE-SCALE COLLECTIVE, MASS, DIRECT ACTION AS RANDOLPH WAS THEN PROPOSING.

RANDOLPH'S CAMPAIGN WAS THE FIRST INSTANCE OF ORGANIZED PROTEST AGAINST ECONOMIC OPPRESSION. EARLIER EXPRESSIONS OF PROTEST HAD BEEN DIRECTED AT TERRORISM IN THE SOUTH, THE POLL TAX, THE GRANDFATHER CLAUSE, AND OTHER MORE BLATANT MANIFESTATIONS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED JIM CROW. THE ORGANIZERS OF THE MARCH, HOWEVER, HAD ONE, OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE: JOBS FOR THE BLACK WORKERS

WHO, WEARY OF THE IMPOVERISHMENT AND SHRINKING OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH, WERE STREAMING INTO DETROIT, CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES, AND OTHER URBAN AREAS OF THE NORTH AND WEST IN SEARCH OF A BETTER LOT IN INDUSTRIAL AMERICA.

WHILE THESE NEW MIGRANTS TO URBAN LIFE WOULD BE THE ULTIMATE BENEFICIARIES OF THE MARCH'S DEMANDS, THEY THEMSELVES HAD, BY THE ACT OF THEIR MIGRATION, IN FACT MADE THE MARCH PLAN FEASIBLE. FOR UNTIL THE MID '30S AND '40S THERE WAS NO BLACK WORKING CLASS LARGE ENOUGH OR CONCENTRATED ENOUGH TO SUPPORT A NATIONAL, MASS MOVEMENT OF THE SCOPE ENVISIONED BY RANDOLPH.

IN TERMS OF ITS STRATEGY, THE MARCH'S MAJOR SUCCESS WAS IN FORCING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY TO DEAL WITH NEGROES AS EQUALS, BLACK PEOPLE HAD COME A LONG WAY FROM THOSE DARK HOURS IN 1917, WHEN PRESIDENT WILSON HAD INSULTED MONROE TROTTER, THE BRILLIANT AND OUTSPOKEN EDITOR OF THE BOSTON GUARDIAN, DECLINING TO TAKE SERIOUSLY TROTTER'S COMPLAINTS CONCERNING THE RIGID SEGREGATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA--A SEGREGATION INTRODUCED BY WILSON HIMSELF. ROOSEVELT HAD, OF COURSE, MET PRIVATELY WITH SUCH NEGRO LEADERS AS WALTER WHITE AND MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, HAD ASSURED THEM OF HIS PERSONAL CONCERN FOR THE PLIGHT OF SOUTHERN BLACKS, AND HAD THEN DONE NOTHING. FOR IN TRUTH ROOSEVELT WOULD DO NOTHING UNLESS HE WAS CONFRONTED WITH A MOVEMENT THAT

DEALT FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH; WHATEVER HIS INNER SENTIMENTS MIGHT HAVE BEEN, FDR'S POLITICAL IMPULSE WAS TO IGNORE THE COMPLAINTS OF BLACKS FOR FEAR THAT ANY POSITIVE ACTION WOULD DIVIDE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND DEAL A MORTAL BLOW TO HIS DOMESTIC PROGRAM.

RANDOLPH, WHO HAD ONLY RECENTLY WON HIS OWN STRUGGLE WITH THE PULLMAN COMPANY, WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT NEGROES WERE IN NO POSITION TO ISSUE ULTIMATUMS IF THEY WERE WEAK AND UNORGANIZED. THUS WHEN HE ANNOUNCED THE MARCH PLANS TO THE PRESS, RANDOLPH SAID:

> ONLY POWER CAN EFFECT THE ENFORCEMENT AND ADOPTION OF A GIVEN POLICY, HOWEVER MERITORIOUS IT MAY BE. THE VIRTUE AND RIGHTNESS OF A CERTAIN CAUSE ARE NOT ALONE THE CONDITION AND CAUSE OF ITS ACCEPTANCE. POWER AND PRESSURE ARE AT THE FOUNDATION OF THE MARCH OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND REFORM...POWER AND PRESSURE DO NOT RESIDE IN THE FEW, AN INTELLIGENTSIA, THEY LIE IN AND FLOW FROM THE MASSES. POWER DOES NOT EVEN REST WITH THE MASSES AS SUCH. POWER IS THE ACTIVE PRINCIPLE OF ONLY THE ORGANIZED MASSES, THE MASSES UNITED FOR A DEFINITE PURPOSE. HENCE NEGRO AMERICA MUST BRING ITS POWER AND PRESSURE TO BEAR UPON THE AGENCIES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO EXACT THEIR RIGHTS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE EMPLOYMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES OF THE COUNTRY...

RANDOLPH ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT RACIAL PROGRESS WOULD NOT RESULT FROM GENERALIZED UNSPECIFIC COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE DISCRIMINATORY CONDITIONS WHICH BLACKS EXPERIENCED. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, RANDOLPH BELIEVED, MUST BE PRESENTED WITH A CONCRETE LIST OF DEMANDS WHICH, IF

AGREED TO, WOULD BRING ABOUT MEASURABLE PROGRESS FOR BLACK AMERICANS. FURTHERMORE, RANDOLPH REFUSED TO CAPITULATE AND COMPROMISE THOSE DEMANDS - EVEN IN THE FACE OF ENORMOUS PRESSURE AND EVEN WITH THE PROMISE OF FDR'S GOOD INTENTIONS. RANDOLPH DEMANDED THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARANTEE, AND THE MARCH WAS NOT CALLED OFF UNTIL THAT GUARANTEE WAS SET DOWN IN WRITING.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802, WAS ISSUED ON JUNE 25, 1941, A WEEK BEFORE THE MARCH WAS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE. IT BANNED DISCRIMINATION BY DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND THE GOVERNMENT, AND ESTABLISHED A FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION TO ENFORCE THE ANTI-BIAS DECREE. IT WAS NOT A POPULAR MEASURE IN THE SOUTH, AND THE POWERFUL SOUTHERN BLOC WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ATTACKED THE FEPC IMMEDIATELY. AND YET DESPITE THE CRITICISM, AND DESPITE THE FACT THAT, AS THE FIRST GOVERNMENT ANTI-BIAS AGENCY THE FEPC WAS NOT OVER-ZEALOUS IN ITS ENFORCEMENTS, THE FIRST MARCH ON WASHINGTON CAN BE SAID TO HAVE HAD AN ENORMOUS EFFECT ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NEGROES. PRIOR TO THE EXECUTIVE ORDER, BLACKS FILLED LESS THAN ONE PERCENT OF ALL DEFENSE INDUSTRY JOBS; WITHIN A FEW YEARS AFTER 8802 WAS ISSUED, HOWEVER, BLACKS FILLED 8 PERCENT OF THOSE JOBS AND HAD, MOREOVER, GAINED A PERMANENT FOOTHOLD IN THE INDUSTRIAL NORTH.

The March also set crucial strategic prededents for the civil rights movement. Where there had been a vacuum, there was now a mass base of potential strength among concentrated, organized black communities. Now the Negro masses' tactical vision began to expand. Randolph had after all acted within a constitutional framework: he had not shut down the machinery of government or undermined the war effort. By shifting the racial struggle to economic needs, and by blazing new trails in terms of strategy, Randolph had demonstrated that the Negro masses represented an untapped source of creative energy. For their part, Negroes were becoming increasingly aware of their potential power. There was a new sense of expectation and, in the young, impatience with the persistence of Jim Crow and the nation's apathetic response to injustice. They were determined that what had been won with the exigencies of war would not be surrendered with the war's conclusion.

Nor was the executive decree the only source of hope. For now, midway into the 1940's, the three-decades-long campaign of the NAACP in the courts was beginning to have a positive effect. Persuaded by the skillful arguments of such NAACP attorneys as Thurgood Marshall and William Hastie, the Supreme Court issued a series of rulings which drove the first important wedges into the heretofore solid legal structure of Jim Crow. Laws which barred Negroes from participation in Democratic Party primaries were invalidated; the Grandfather Clause was ruled unconstitutional; the right of blacks to enter into collective bargaining agreements was upheld. And, in the most momentous decision to that date, the high court ruled, in 1946, that segregated seating in interstate transportation was unconstitutional.

With the Irene Morgan decision, as the ruling on interstate transportation was known, and the success of A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington, the civil rights movement was confronted with a dramatically different situation. The combination of direct action and legal action was forcing the nation to confront the ~~all~~ CAll for racial equality. Both the federal government and the courts had, with much prodding, begun to admit not merely the existence of discrimination, but also their own obligation under the constitution to correct its more apparent manifestations. Blacks and their white allies were in turn encouraged to seek out new targets, and to experiment with different, more daring tactics of direct action.

Thus it was only natural that an organization committed to the spread of such non-violent techniques of direct action should form around the goals of the Negro movement. The Congress of Racial Equality was just such an organization.

The CORE that was founded in 1942 bears little resemblance to the CORE of today. The early CORE was established by individuals passionately dedicated to the principle of integration; today 's CORE is run by black segregationists. Roy Innis, its current national director, preaches a crude brand of separatism. He has advocated Senate confirmation of G. Harold Carswell on the grounds that Carswell's apparent hostility to integration would help balance the court's integrationist majority. Even more celebrated was Innis' conference with Lester Maddox and other Dixiecrats which met in an effort to devise a formula to reinstitute dual school systems.

The philosophical framework which guided CORE in its early years was rooted in a far different tradition from those underlying black nationalism and black capitalism. It was founded by pacifists mostly members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Democracy, integration, and non-violence were its hallmark principles, and its activists were scrupulous in their adherence to these doctrines. Officers were democratically elected, and all protest campaigns were carefully discussed before they were implemented. Up to 1966 all of CORE's protest campaigns were models of biracial cooperation, and all of its campaigns were carried out peacefully, without disruption or violence on the part of the demonstrators.

These principles were Gandhi's principles. Next to A. Philip Randolph, Gandhi had more direct influence on the development of a civil rights strategy during the 1940's than any other individual, here or abroad. Gandhi believed that social movements must evolve democratically, and that those who participate in a specific movement must give their services willingly, without economic or physical coercion. To be completely democratic and genuinely progressive, he believed, a movement must have the support and participation of all oppressed races and classes. He thus insisted that the lowest class in India, the untouchables, become a part of his political party. He taught that no movement can survive simply by having the correct program, or by following intelligent tactics. A movement must also possess a relationship to, and have an understanding of, the roots of the social struggle in which it is engaged. Without such an understanding, Gandhi felt, a social movement will ultimately collapse from a lack of discipline.

To understand Gandhi, one must keep in mind that his philosophy is always related to the specific conditions in India. But his wisdom often has a universal application. Certainly the history of the civil rights movement bears out his assertions about the need for understanding the historical background of the black man's struggle.

Why, then, in the mid - 1960's did factions within the black community turn their backs on Gandhi and adopt instead the rhetoric of revolution, when in fact armed struggle was both implausible and irrelevant? Why did the New Left embrace violence, knowing full well that interracial violence has historically visited itself most terribly on the black masses?

Part of the answer is that the advocates of Black Power in fact lacked precisely what they chided other, less-vocally militant leaders, for failing to acquire. That is a sense of black history, of black culture, of the tradition and ethos of American Negroes. These militants spoke of "culture" and "history," but the culture and history they described was contrived, artificial, and self-imposed. Its roots were not planted in the firm ground of personal experience, but in the hardened soil of despair and in the substanceless soil of fantasy.

For most Negro-Americans, a sense of their heritage arises naturally out of their own personal experience. Even my own early background, though it was in many ways atypical, was sufficient for such a feeling to implant itself.

I was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, a town rich in the history and culture of Negro Americans. There was a strong Quaker tradition in West Chester; thus it became an important stop on the Underground

Railroad in the period leading up to the Civil War. The anti-slavery sentiment of the inhabitants was revealed in the town's architecture, for beneath its aging, Colonial homes ran hidden passageways which had concealed runaway slaves from the southern plantation owners who had journeyed north to reclaim their "property,' and from the bounty hunters--men who collected fees for each runaway captured and returned to its southern master. A few miles away was the town of Christiana, where Negroes collectively and violently repulsed a Maryland slaveholder searching for a runaway in what was to become one of the most celebrated incidents of the abolitionist era. - The christiana riot.

Thus while West Chester was certainly no utopia of interracial harmony--indeed, "segregation" and "discrimination" were two of the first words that had significant meaning for me--the extent of racism was not so deep as to prevent a black youngster from becoming aware of his culture and historical heritage. In this I was more fortunate than most blacks: West Chester was not the deep South, with its rigid enforced Jim Crow and its shambles of an educational system. Nor was it the archetypal northern ghetto, with its malignant pattern of social dislocation. The high school I attended was integrated, and while I was deprived of honors I had earned--because of my blackness--my intellectual and athletic achievements were recognized. Moreover, West Chester's black community was economically and socially heterogeneous: there were occasional representatives of the "black bourgeoisie" mainly businessmen and property owners; and there were wroking-class blacks, some of whom were struggling to break the bonds of impoverishment, and others who had given up the struggle--the down-and-outers.

From these diverse people and their diverse experiences, I learned about my own heritage. They sang me Negro ballads, quoted me Negro poetry, recited folktales told by slaves. I met black ministers, black political leaders, and black visionaries. And through all these encounters, I gained an understanding of the Negro struggle. This happended simply because these indigenous forms are about precisely that: they tell of the struggles of blacks, first against slavery and then against discrimination. They are, in short, chronicles of my history.

So the raw materials are present for the Negro rebel. He is already in touch with his past, if he only troubles to look for it. He can easily attain a sense of the history of the Negro struggle.

However, Gandhi did not mean that the rebel's point of view should be purely subjective, as some contemporary militants would have it. Gandhi insisted that the struggle include and appeal not only to the rebels themselves but also to the

MAJORITY OF THE COMMUNITY. AS GANDHI TAUGHT, A SOCIAL MOVEMENT RELYING ON THE TACTICS OF NON-VIOLENCE CANNOT SUCCEED UNLESS IT IS ABLE TO CONVINCE A FULL MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE THAT ITS CAUSE IS JUST. THUS WHEN CORE MEMBERS DEFIED SOUTHERN TRADITION IN THE 1940'S AND 50'S AND REFUSED TO SUBMIT TO SEGREGATION, THEY WERE FORTIFIED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT MOST AMERICANS APPROVED THEIR ACTS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE CONFRONTATIONIST TACTICS OF NEW LEFT-INSPIRED STUDENTS DURING THE 1960'S FAILED IN THE LONG RUN TO WIN ANY PERMANENT OR FAR-REACHING CHANGES; INSTEAD THEY PROVOKED A WIDESPREAD COUNTERREACTION FOR THE VERY REASON THAT MOST AMERICANS DID NOT SYMPATHIZE WITH THEIR TACTICS, THEIR VALUES, OR THEIR PROGRAMS.

GANDHI ALSO TAUGHT THAT, IN A SITUATION WHERE THE OBJECTIVES OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT ARE ACCEPTED AS VALID BY THE MAJORITY, PROTEST BECOMES AN EFFECTIVE TACTIC TO THE DEGREE THAT IT ELICITS BRUTALITY AND OPPRESSION FROM THE POWER STRUCTURE. ONE CAN READILY UNDERSTAND THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS THEORY. FOR IT WAS NOT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S PROGRAM WHICH AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION, BUT THE SIGHT OF SMALL CHILDREN ENTERING A LITTLE ROCK HIGH SCHOOL UNDER A FEDERAL TROOP ESCORT THAT COULD NOT PROTECT THEM FROM THE JEERING CADENCES OF AN

UGLY AND IRRATIONAL MOB. NEGROES GAINED MORAL AUTHORITY NOT BECAUSE AMERICANS OPPOSED SEGREGATION, BUT BECAUSE BLACK PEOPLE WERE SUFFERING, BECAUSE CHURCHES WERE BOMBED, AND CHILDREN FIREHOSED.

THE CONCLUSION OF WORLD WAR II BROUGHT AN ALTERED DOMESTIC SITUATION WHICH ENCOURAGED CORE TO TEST OUT THE GANDHIAN PRINCIPLES THAT HAD PROVIDED THE ORGANIZATION'S PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERGIRDING. THE TIME WAS PROPITIOUS, WE BELIEVED, BECAUSE IT WAS APPARENT TO ALL THAT THE NATION'S ATTITUDES ON THE RACE QUESTION WERE UNDERGOING A SLOW BUT PROFOUND CHANGE. NEGROES WERE GROWING INCREASINGLY INTOLERANT OF INJUSTICE; THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF RETURNING TROOPS WHO EXPECTED SOMETHING TANGIBLE IN RETURN FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT. THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PERIOD WAS A TIME OF PROSPERITY, AND MANY AMERICANS FELT THAT BLACKS SHOULD SHARE IN THIS WEALTH. THE PUBLIC WAS BEGINNING TO BE PERSUADED THAT JIM CROW WAS MORALLY WRONG, AND THE SOUTH WAS LEARNING THAT ITS TRADITIONS WERE NOT SHARED BY THE NATION.

NATIONAL SENTIMENT WAS CHANGING; THE SUPREME COURT WAS BECOMING MORE SYMPATHETIC; AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AFTER MUCH PRODDING, WAS BECOMING MORE RESPONSIVE. THE INSTITUTIONS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

WERE TREATING THE RACIAL QUESTION FROM A POINT OF VIEW TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT THEY HAD ESPOUSED FIFTEEN YEARS EARLIER.

IN LIGHT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS, CORE WAS STIMULATED TO UNDERTAKE A PROTEST CAMPAIGN THAT WOULD PROVIDE A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO JIM CROW. OUR CAMPAIGN WAS CALLED THE JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION, AND IT CONSISTED OF INTERRACIAL GROUPS RIDING THE BUSES AND TRAINS OF THE UPPER SOUTH TO TEST THE IRENE MORGAN DECISION. BLACKS SAT IN THE SECTIONS OF THE BUS RESERVED FOR WHITES, WHILE THE WHITE DEMONSTRATORS SAT IN THE BACK, IN THE "COLORED" SECTION. WE LIMITED THE CAMPAIGN TO THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH, BELIEVING THAT TO EXTEND THE PROTESTS INTO MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, OR OTHER DEEP SOUTH STATES WOULD HAVE INVITED CERTAIN VIOLENCE.

OUR PURPOSE IN LAUNCHING THE JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION WAS EDUCATIONAL: WE FELT IT NECESSARY TO EXPLODE THE MYTH, WIDELY CIRCULATED BY THE SOUTH, THAT BLACK PEOPLE WERE CONTENT WITH AND IN FACT FAVORED SEGREGATION. MY FEELING ABOUT THIS PROCESS OF EDUCATION WAS DEEP AND PERSONAL. I CAN RECALL ONE OCCASION WHEN HAVING GOTTEN ON A BUS AND PASSED BY A WHITE CHILD SEATED NEAR THE FRONT WITH HIS MOTHER, I THEN REALIZED, AFTER I HAD FOUND A SEAT IN THE BACK, THE INJUSTICE I HAD COMMITTED. FOR BY MY VERY ACT OF SUBMITTING TO SEGREGATION, BY MY SUBMISSION TO DISCRIMINATION, I

HAD REINFORCED IN THAT CHILD'S MIND THE STEREOTYPE OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO AS HAPPY IN HIS STATE OF SERVILITY. I HAD DAMAGED THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AS WELL, BY MAKING IT THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE WHITES THAT WE HATED THE ROLE SOCIETY ASSIGNED TO US. IT WAS THEN THAT I VOWED NEVER TO SIT IN THE BACK OF THE BUS AGAIN.

SOME BLACKS REGARDED THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION WITH SCARCELY MUTED HOSTILITY. THOSE WITH A VESTED STAKE IN THE STATUS QUO, WHO PROFITED FINANCIALLY OR PSYCHOLOGICALLY FROM THE NEGRO'S PLACE OF INFERIORITY IN THE SOCIAL ORDER, WERE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE RESTIVENESS OF BLACK YOUTH OR PACIFIST DEMONSTRATORS. THEY WERE OFTEN PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE, LIKE THE BLACK SCHOOLTEACHER IN CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA, WHO ACTUALLY GOT DOWN ON HIS KNEES AND BESEECHED ME TO STOP MAKING TROUBLE AND MOVE TO THE BACK.

THIS MAN DID NOT REPRESENT THE MAJORITY OF SOUTHERN NEGROES. THE MASSES WERE NOT YET READY TO ENTER INTO ACTIVE STRUGGLE, BUT THEIR SYMPATHIES WERE WITH US. THEY WAITED AND WATCHED, HOPING FOR THE EMERGENCE OF A STRATEGY THAT WOULD LEAD TO THE CREATION OF A MASS MOVEMENT IN WHICH THEY COULD PARTICIPATE WITH [redacted] A REALIZABLE EXPECTATION FOR BROAD CHANGE.

The renewed activities of A. Philip Randolph were also drawing the attention of Black people. Randolph's second mass-action effort, launched in 1947, was directed at one of the most rigidly segregated major institutions of American society--the armed services. Randolph demanded an executive order, similar to the earlier one issued by Roosevelt, that would abolish Jim Crow in the military. And he promised that, should President Truman fail to respond, a call would go out to all young black men to refuse conscription into the army. This was indeed a bold gesture, made more audacious because many in the nation believed Randolph might actually follow through on his threat. For he had pledged "to oppose a Jim Crow army till I rot in jail."

While Randolph was prepared to take considerable risks, to perform illegal acts of civil disobedience, and to push protest tactics to their limit, he was not prepared to cross the line from non-violent protest into violent actions. Always, he retained his basic faith in non-violence. He saw non-violence in absolute terms; there could be no compromise here, no capitulation to the despair which breeds violence. As Randolph explained to a Senate committee:

> WE WOULD PARTICIPATE IN NO OVERT ACTS AGAINST OUR GOVERNMENT... OURS WOULD BE ONE OF NON-RESISTANCE... OURS WOULD BE ONE OF NON-COOPERATION; OURS WOULD BE ONE OF NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE COUNTRY... WE WOULD BE WILLING TO ABSORB THE VIOLENCE, ABSORB THE TERRORISM, TO FACE THE MUSIC AND TO TAKE WHATEVER COMES, AND WE, AS A MATTER OF FACT CONSIDER THAT WE ARE MORE LOYAL TO OUR COUNTRY THAN THE PEOPLE WHO PERPETRATE SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION ON NEGROES BECAUSE OF COLOR OR RACE.

AND WHILE THERE WERE THOSE AMONG THE ESTABLISHED BLACK LEADERSHIP WHO EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT A CAMPAIGN OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE DIRECTED AT THE DRAFT, THE SENTIMENTS OF THE YOUNG, INCLUDING RETURNING VETERANS, WAS OVERWHELMINGLY FAVORABLE. EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981, CALLING FOR AN END TO MILITARY DISCRIMINATION "AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE," WAS SIGNED BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON JULY 26, 1948. THE DECREE WAS A TESTIMONY TO RANDOLPH'S CAREFUL DARING, HIS SENSE OF TIMING AND STRATEGY.

BUT IT SYMBOLIZED MUCH MORE THAN THAT. IT REFLECTED THE CHANGING TEMPER OF THE COUNTRY AND OF ITS POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. FOR AT THE SAME TIME THAT RANDOLPH WAS DISCUSSING THE POSSIBILITY OF RESISTING THE DRAFT, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WAS IN THE MIDST OF ADOPTING THE STRONGEST RACE-RELATIONS PLATFORM IN HISTORY OF ANY OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES.

In an open rebuff to the Dixiecrats, the party's liberal wing, led by Hubert Humphrey, pushed through a platform that addressed itself to the specific economic and social injustices suffered by racial minorities. It called for an anti-lynching bill, a voting rights measure, the establishment of a permanent FEPC, integration in interstate travel, home rule for Washington, D.C., and the creation of a civil rights commission and a civil rights division within the Justice Department.

This platform represented a sharp break from the political programs of the past, which spoke in generalized language about the sanctity of democratic freedoms, while offering no concrete proposals for relieving the misery of the oppressed. But perhaps equally as important, the platform signified an acknowledgement of the growing importance of the Negro vote, which was in fact to play a crucial role in the close, four-party Presidential contest that year.

Thus another mass institution, this time the political party which the South had considered its own, had bowed to the considerable weight of the Negro protest movement. In 1919 the NAACP had

ISSUED ITS PROGRAM FOR HUMAN DIGNITY; NOW, THIRTY YEARS LATER, THE POLITICAL PROCESS, SO LONG CLOSED TO BLACK PEOPLE, WAS RECOGNIZING THESE DEMANDS AS VALID.

# THE WILLIAM RADNER LECTURES
BY
BAYARD RUSTIN

## FROM FREEDOM RIDE TO BALLOT BOX: THE CHANGING STRATEGIES OF BLACK STRUGGLE

### LECTURE 2 - THE PROTEST ERA

THE 1950'S ARE USUALLY CHARACTERIZED AS A DECADE OF APATHY, HIGHLIGHTED BY MCCARTHYISM, THE MEDIOCRITY OF THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION, AND A NARROWING OF AMERICA'S SOCIAL VISION. CERTAINLY AN UNLIKELY TIME FOR THE BIRTH OF SUCCESSFUL PROTEST MOVEMENTS OR REVOLUTIONARY CHALLENGES TO MASS INSTITUTIONS.

AND IN FACT IT SEEMED, AT THE DECADE'S OUTSET, THAT DESPITE ITS URGENCY, THE CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT A MORE PROPITIOUS TIME, WHEN THE HYSTERIA OF THE RIGHT HAD ABATED AND THE LEFT HAD OVERCOME ITS FATIGUE. THE EXPECTATIONS RAISED IN 1948 BY HARRY TRUMAN'S FORTHRIGHT RACIAL PROGRAMS WERE TO BE DASHED ON THE ROCKS OF CONGRESSIONAL INDIFFERENCE AND THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE STILL-POWERFUL SOUTHERN BLOC. THUS WHILE TRUMAN HAD PROPOSED AN EXTENSIVE PACKAGE OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATION MEASURES, NOT ONE BILL PASSED CONGRESS.

A VACUUM WAS LEFT BY THE DECLINE OF RADICAL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS THAT HAD ONCE BEEN IDEOLOGIALLY INFLUENTIAL. THE RADICAL PARTIES HAD NEVER fared well at electoral politics; their role had been that of theoretical vanguard. They had been tireless in pointing out the injustices of the capitalist system and in calling for legislation that would curb specific abuses: Social Security, labor legislation, unemployment compensation -- demands like these had formed the substance of the socialist program years before they were transformed into law. But now the radical parties were impotent, having succumbed to their own mistaken assumptions about American society and the persecutions of Joseph McCarthy.

Within the Democratic Party, the liberals who were instrumental in formulationg and pushing through the civil rights plank at the 1946 party convention were unable to sustain the impetus generated by that struggle. Their progress was beaten back in Congress, while the party's, mantle of leadership passed to individuals possessing a discernible lack of feeling for race issues. To Adlai Stevenson, the struggle against racial discrimination was more a potential liability than an opportunity for moving the party forward. He did not seek to enlist blacks in his crusade. In a south-ward gesture that was a clear signal of retreat, Stevenson selected Alabama's John Sparkman as his 1952 running mate. The Democratic Party's 1952 platform was without substance, proposing little of positive merit to curb the widespread abuses of Jim Crow.

The Republican Party's attitude was even worse. As a military leader,General Eisenhower had shown himself no friend of the Negro, having on several different occasions, made special trips to Washington to testify against the abolition of Jim Crow in the armed forces. His political philosophy was a warmed-over version of traditional Republican laissez-faire: the federal government's role in social and economic affairs should be reduced, he said, staking out a position hardly designed to arous the passion of those whose first glimmerings of hope were the result of the government intervention in domestic policy.

These uninspiring political developments came in the wake of disturbing economic trends. The boom of the post-war years had subsided; unemployment was on the rise. And as has historically been the case, blacks felt the most immediate and widespread impact of the deteriorating economic picture. Unemployment among black workers rose from 5.9 percent in 1948, to 9.9 percent in 1954, to over 12 percent in 1958. And the gap between the black and white median income, which had been steadily narrowing since the conclusion of World War II, began to widen once again, so that where the average black family had earned 57 percent of what its white counterpart was earning in 1952, by 1958 the median black income was but 51 percent of median white income.

In sum, political and economic institutions were retrenching; the consensus which seemed within out grasp had eluded us; America was lapsing into passivity.

Among the major institutions of governemtn, only the courts did not reflect a weakening of national will. Adhering to a pattern established in the late 1930's and the 1940's, the Supreme Court continued to hand down decisions which hastened the desegregation process. In 1948 the high court ordered the State of Oklahoma to provide law school facilities to Negroes; two years later it directed Oklahoma to end the segregation of its university graduate school and it ordered the University of Texas to integrate its law school.

These directives were but a prelude to the 1954 Order--the now-famous Brown decision--ruled that segregated school systems violated the equal protection guarantee of the 14th Amendment. There is no need to discuss here the legal implications of that case. However, I think it is important to understand a few of the Brown decision's political and social consequences.

--First, Brown defined the arenas of struggle for the coming period. When blakcs marched, demonstrated, and litigated, the target was now to be the schools. And similarly, when the South plotted its strategy of "massive resistance," its principal objective was to forestall school desegregation.

--Because it affected in a fundamental way one of the most important socializing institutions of society, it touched the lives of millions of whites in a direct personal way. Therefore Americans were now forced to confront the meaning and future implications of Negro demands.

- It signified that at least one arm of government, the courts, was the unambiguous ally of the black man. The knowledge that they could count on the courts for redress fortified southern blacks with a new sense of confidence. If the Supreme Court had upheld dual school systems, however it is unlikely Rosa Parks would have refused to move to the back of the bus; there would have been no Montgomery bus boycott; no Dr. King, and the whole course of the civil rights movement would have been set years back.

--The decision represnted a head-on challenge to the legal fabric of segregation' thus evoked immediate and widespread reaction from the South's political leadership. In its most extreme manifestation, the resistance devised by the South amounted to a unique form of civil disobedience, in which entire governmental units defied federal law and watched passively while white citizens brutalized black citizens. The result was not to inhibit integration, as the South had hoped, but to isolate the South itself from the rest of the nation and ultimately to hasten the breakdown of its system of racial stratification.

As the Brown decision also broadened the arena of protest, it imposed on the various civil rights groups a sense of unity which was a necessary precondition for even more substantial progress. The NAACP, with its middle-class constituency, favored a legalistic approach; CORE, comprised of pacifist radicals, engaged in highly disciplined, but individualized direct action; and A. Philip Randolph, drawing from his scoialist and labor traditions, pioneered in mass-action campaigns.

Each had been working towards a common object. And each had cooperated with the others. When CORE members were arrested, the NAACP often provided legal aid. The NAACP and CORE also held joint discussions to determine when and where protests might take place and what tactics might be appropriate.

Each, however, had a tactic it tended to prefer, often because it suited the style of the organization's social base. But with new opportunities opening up, these groups now found it imperative to move closer together. Where once they had been satisfied to work separately, now they could not afford not to work together.

Parenthetically, I would like to point out that the NAACP was not merely legalistically-oriented. For decades it was the bedrock of the Negro movement, particularly in isolated areas of the rural South too forbidding for northern activists. Following the

BROWN DECISION, THE MISSISSIPPI WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL, WHICH DESCRIBED THE NAACP AS A "LEFT-WING, POWER MAD ORGAN OF DESTRUCTION," CARRIED OUT A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN OF TERRORISM AND ECONOMIC COERCION IN AN UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO CRUSH THE ORGANIZATION. THE WCC COMPILED LISTS OF NAACP MEMBERS, NEGROES WHO WERE MEMBERS, OR WHO WERE SUSPECTED OF BEING MEMBERS, WERE EITHER FIRED FROM THEIR JOBS, OR IF THEY OWNED A BUSINESS, WERE REFUSED CREDITS BY WHITE BANKS AND FROM WHITE SUPPLIERS. IN ADDITION TO FINANCIAL REPRISAL, THOSE KNOWN TO HOLD LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE NAACP SUFFERED BEATINGS AND SAW THEIR HOMES BURNED. A FEW, PARTICULARLY THOSE CONDUCTING VOTER-REGISTRATION DRIVES, WERE MURDERED, SOMETIMES IN PLAIN DAY, WITH NEVER SO MUCH AS AN ARREST MADE.

THE GROWING UNITY WITHIN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT WAS NOT AS MUCH A MATTER OF CONSCIOUS CHOICE AS THE RESULT OF OBJECTIVE NECESSITY. STRATEGY HAD TO BE REFINED IF THE VICTORIES WON IN THE COURTROOM WERE TO BE ENFORCED IN STATES THAT WERE PREACHING OPEN DIFIANCE OF THE LAW. SYMBOLIC SUCCESS WAS NO LONGER ENOUGH. THE BROWN DECISION MEANT NOTHING--*UNLESS SOUTHERN SCHOOLS WERE DESEGREGATED*. A HIT-AND-MISS PATTERN OF PROTEST COULD NEVER BRING ABOUT MASSIVE CHANGES IN THE SOUTH. NOR COULD A MOVEMENT LIMITED A SMALL IDEOLOGICAL CADRE. NOW ENTIRE BLACK COMMUNITES HAD TO BE MOBILIZED.

The 1955 Montgomery bus boycott was the first successful mass protest campaign in the South. Today Montgomery is well remembered for having thrust Martin Luther King into a position of national leadership. But Montgomery at that time meant even more. The strong sense of unity and purpose exhibited by the Negro community, the ability of the black citizens to sustain the boycott through month after weary month, the renewed determination in the face of violence--all served as an example to the blacks across the South who were thirsting for a movement that could actually threaten basic southern institutions.

Montgomery was important for a number of reasons. It was one of the first protests in which the demands of the black community were comprehensive enough to include both economic rights and human dignity. The Montgomery demands included the abolition of segregated seating patterns; and end to the abusive behavior of white drivers; and the hiring of blacks as drivers.

Although there had been previous boycott campaigns, usually "Buy Black" efforts in northern ghettoes, Montgomery marked the first successful use of the boycott in the South. The concessions won in the earlier campaigns had been of a short-term nature, generally limited to a few black businesses. They had had very little effect on the larger pattern of employment discrimination. Montgomery changed all that

BECAUSE THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME AN ENTIRE BLACK COMMUNITY HAD ACTED TOGETHER.

THE TRIUMPHANT CONCLUSION OF THE BOYCOTT PRESENTED KING WITH A UNIQUE PROBLEM. FOR WHILE HE HAD WON A VICTORY HITHERTO UNDREAMED OF, THERE WAS NOTHING TO GUARANTEE THAT THIS ONE ISOLATED TRIUMPH WOULD LEAD TO BROADER GAINS. FOR DR. KING, THE QUESTION WAS HOW TO SUSTAIN THE SPIRIT OF MONTGOMERY.

AS AN AIDE TO DR. KING; I FELT THAT WITHOUT A VICTORY AT MONTGOMERY, THE SOUTHERN PROTEST MOVEMENT, THEN SHOWING ITS FIRST SIGNS OF LIFE, WOULD DIE STILLBORN AND, A VICTORY AT MONTGOMERY WOULD HAVE NO PERMANENT MEANING IN THE RACIAL STRUGGLE UNLESS IT LED TO THE CREATION OF DOZENS OF MONTGOMERY THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH.

IN PRACTICAL TERMS, THIS MEANT THAT THE MOVEMENT NEEDED A SUSTAINING MECHANISM THAT COULD TRANSLATE WHAT WE HAD LEARNED DURING THE BUS BOYCOTT INTO A BROAD STRATEGY FOR PROTEST IN THE SOUTH. AT THE SAME TIME WE FELT IT VITAL THAT WE MAINTAIN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENTUM MONTGOMERY HAD GENERATED. IF NOTHING ELSE, WE NEEDED TO AT LEAST APPEAR TO BE MOVING AHEAD, ATTACKING NEW TARGETS, TESTING NEW TACTICS, AND PRESSING THE MOVEMENT FORWARD.

THE SUSTAINING MECHANISM THAT FINALLY EVOLVED WAS THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. TODAY THE SCLC IS IN ECLIPSE, SADDLED WITH FINANCIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL BURDENS WHICH I FEAR ARE TOO FORMIDABLE TO OVERCOME. BUT FOR OVER A DECADE, DURING THE HEIGHT

OF THE ERA OF PROTEST, THE SCLC WAS THE DYNAMIC CENTER OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. AND ~~I~~ THE STORY OF ITS RISE AND DECLINE LIE IMPORTANT CLUES TO THE SUCCESSES AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE ENTIRE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTEST MOVEMENT.

TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THE SCLC REQUIRES A FAMILIARITY WITH THE UNIQUE STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO CHUCH. FOR THE STRUCTURE OF THE SCLC WAS PATTERNED AFTER THAT OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS STYLE ROOTED IN THE CHURCH'S TRADITIONS.

THIS CLODE IDENTIFICATION WITH THE NEGRO CHURCH PROVED A SOURCE OF STRENGTH AT THE OUTSET. ULTIMATELY, HOWEVER, IT CONTAINED THE SEEDS OF SCLC'S DESTRUCTION.

THERE WERE SOUND REASONS FOR THE CHURCH AS BECOMING THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASE. THE CHURCH WAS ONE OF THE FEW INSTITUTIONS WHICH COMMUNICATED WITH THE BROAD MASS OF WORKING PEOPLE. MOREOVER, IT WAS THE ONLY INSTITUTION INDIGENEOUS TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY. BLACK CHURCHES DID NOT NEED TO DEPEND ON WHITE MONEY FOR SURVIVAL. SHORT OF OUTRIGHT TERROR TACTICS, SOUTHERN WHITES HAD NOTHING TO USE AS A LEVER ON THE CHURCH.

LIKE THE BLACK CHURCH, THE STRUCTURE OF THE SCLC WAS AUTOCRATIC. IN THE CHURCH, THE PASTOR'S AUTONOMY WAS ALMOST TOTAL. IN SCLC, MAJOR DECISIONS RESTED WITH DR. KING: HE DETERMINED WHEN AND WHERE AN ACTION WOULD TAKE PLACE, WHAT TACTICS WOULD BE EMPLOYED WHEN A CAMPAIGN SHOULD BE ACCELERATED, WHEN COMPROMISES SHOULD BE MADE. YEARS LATER, THE LACK OF A DEMOCRATIC

FRAMEWORK WAS TO CONTRIBUTE TO SCLC'S DECLINE. BUT IN ITS EARLY YEARS A HIGHLY CENTRALIZED STRUCTURE WAS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE THE MOVEMENT SO OFTEN OPERATED UNDER CRISIS CONDITIONS. MEMBERS OF SCLC WERE REGULARLY BEATEN; MANY WERE JAILED ON ALMOST ANY PRETEXT; AND THEY FACED AN UNENDING STREAM OF LAW SUITS. DECISIONS HAD TO BE MADE AS QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY AS POSSIBLE AND BY SOMEONE WHO WAS FULLY INFORMED ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE MOVEMENT.

THE HIGH MORAL TOME OF THE BAPTIST PREACHER WELL SUITED THE MOVEMENT SINCE MOST OF THE ISSUES THEN BEING RAISED WERE MORAL ISSUES. WHEN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS CRIED OUT, AS CLERGYMEN HAD BEFORE THEM: "TREAT US LIKE MEN," THE BLACK MASSES RESPONDED.

MOREOVER, THE MOVEMENT NEEDED AN EMOTIONAL DIMENSION TO WHIP UP THE ENTHUSIASM OF PEOPLE WHO MIGHT SOON BE FACED WITH ECONOMIC HARDSHIP OR PHYSICAL DANGER. AND NO ONE COULD BRING A CROWD TO AN EMOTIONAL PITCH LIKE THE BLACK PREACHER.

INDEED, THE VIRTUES PRAISED BY THE BLACK PREACHER ULTIMATELY BECAME THE STRENGTHS OF THE MOVEMENT. PERSEVERANCE AND COURAGE--CHARACTERISTIC EXTOLLED FROM THE PULPIT EACH SUNDAY--BECAME MORE IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY THAN INTELLECTUAL OR POLITICAL ANALYSIS. IT TOOK ENORMOUS BRAVERY FOR ORDINARY CITIZENS TO CONTINUE THEIR MARCH THROUGH STREETS RIDDLED WITH THE HATE-FILLED EYES OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS NOT TO MENTION

THE CLUBS, THE FIREHOSES, THE DOGS. IT TOOK AN INCREDIBLE LEVEL OF SELF-CONTROL, AND CONSIDERABLE FAITH IN ONE'S LEADERSHIP TO REFRAIN FROM RETALIATING WHEN BEATEN OR SPAT UPON.

THUS WHEN JUDGING THE SCLC, ONE MUST PLACE ABOVE ALL ELSE ITS MOST MAGNIFICENT ACCOMPLISHEMNT--THE CREATION OF A DISCIPLINED MASS MOVEMENT OF SOUTHERN BLACKS: BLACK PEOPLE, MOREOVER, WHO WERE NOT HARD-CORE POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, BUT ORDINARY PEOPLE--CHURCH WOMEN, WORKERS, AND STUDENTS. THERE HAD BEEN NOTHING IN THE ANNALS OF AMERICAN SOCIAL STRUGGLE TO EQUAL THIS PHENOMENON, AND THERE PROBABLY NEVER WILL BE AGAIN.

HAVING ONCE BUILT AN ORGANIZATION WHOSE IMPRINT ON AMERICAN SOCIETY CAN NEVER BE ERASED, WHY IS THE SCLC, NOW IN DANGER OF BECOMING A HISTORICAL RELIC? THE ANSWER IS SIMPLY THIS: THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE WAS UNDERGOING A PERIOD OF PROFOUND TRANSITION IN THE MID-1960'S, AND THE SCLC FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE CHANGES THAT SUCH CHANGES WERE TAKING PLACE.

THE MOST OBIVIOUS REFLECTION OF THE SCLC'S INABILITY TO ADAPT TO THE NEW NEEDS OF THAT PERIOD WAS ITS CONTINUED RELIANCE ON THE TACTICS OF PROTEST AFTER THE POTENTIAL USEFULNESS OF THOSE TACTICS HAD BEEN EXHAUSTED. OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT, THE SCLC ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTIES BECAUSE THE NATION HAD BEGUN TO WEARY OF DEMONSTRATIONS. THIS MAY BE TRUE, BUT THE NATION'S MOOD IS NOT WHAT DISSIPATED THE IMPACT of protest. Once the civil rights movement had achieved substantial victories--had in fact secured its basic social agenda--those very victories created the need for the development of a new strategic approach. For after adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the agenda spelled out a the March on Washington had been secured in all but one important respect. Our economic demands--the need for more and better jobs, an expanded housing program, better education as well as integrated schools--had still to be won. Economic demands are not won by the same means as legislative demands. When one goes about trying to produce a basic transformation of the economic structure, one does not proceed by picketing or planning sit-ins. Economic reform is a political problem and the only means of achieving this reform, short os resorting to totalitarian means, is through political organization.

One point about the nature of protest should be added here. Ideally, when an individual is protesting society's refusal to acknowledge his dignity as a human being, his very act of protest has an inherent ennobling quality that conferes dignity on him. But when the protester not only fails to achieve his objective, but is also unable to evoke the respect and sympahty of his fellowman, he risks a distortion of the protest process. For protest to succeed, it must produce a feeling of moving ahead, it must force people

TO TAKE NOTICE OF INJUSTICE, AND IT MUST WIN NEW ALLIES. BUT WHEN IT IS UNABLE TO GENERATE THAT MOMENTUM, PROTEST TURNS INWARD, BREEDING DESPAIR AND IMPOTENCE. THIS SENSE OF PROTEST GONE SOUR IS ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT LED TO THE DECLINE OF THE MOVEMENT IN THE 1960'S. WHEN PROTEST WOULD NOT BRING ABOUT THE DESIRED ENDS TACTICS WERE ESCALATED; CONFRONTATION REPLACED STRICT NON-VIOLENCE; AND THERE WERE EVEN OCCASIONAL FLAREUPS. PROTEST BECAME NOT SIMPLY IRRELEVANT, BUT COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

MOVING FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS REQUIRED A SHIFT WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION. NOW WE NEEDED MORE DEMOCRACY. FOR WHILE IT WAS FEASIBLE FOR A SMALL GROUP OF LEADERS TO DETERMINE THE SPECIFICS OF A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION WITHOUT EVOKING DISSENSION WITHIN THE RANK AND FILE, THAT SAME SMALL GROUP CANNOT IMPOSE POLITICAL DECISIONS ON THE MEMBERSHIP. POLITICAL DECISIONS CANNOT BE ISSUED FROM ABOVE; THEY MUST BE MADE AFTER THOROUGH DISCUSSION IN WHICH ALL WHO ARE INTERESTED HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE. TO REACH POLITICAL DECISIONS BY OTHER THAN DEMOCRATIC MEANS IS TO INVITE DIVISION AND DISASTER.

THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE NOW BEEN DISCUSSED EMERGED LATER IN SCLC'S CAREER. AS NOTED, SCLC WAS WELL-SUITED, BOTH ORGANIZATIONALLY AND TEMPERAMENTALLY, TO ASSUME THE MANTLE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE MID 1950S.

SCLC'S EFFECTIVENESS DURING THIS PERIOD WAS IN LARGE PART DUE TO ITS STRICT ADHERENCE TO NON-VIOLENCE, WHICH CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH THE UGLY AND VICIOUS

ERUPTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN RESPONSE. THE VIOLENCE OF THE SOUTH, BECAME IN FACT, AN ORGANIZING DYNAMIC THAT STIMULATED MANY AMERICANS OUT OF THEIR AMBIVALENCE ABOUT SPECIFIED CIVIL RIGHTS DEMANDS ON THE HAND, AND ABOUT THE CASE FOR THE SOUTH ON THE OTHER. IT FORCED AMERICANS, NORTH AND SOUTH TO TAKE A STAND.

IT WAS IRONIC THAT SOUTHERN BRUTALITY, WHICH HAD BEEN EMPLOYED FOR A CENTURY TO SUBDUE THE POTENTIAL SPIRITY OF NEGRO PROTEST, NOW WORKED TO THE NEGRO'S ADVANTAGE. LYNCHINGS WERE NOT UNCOMMON DURING PREVIOUS DECADES. WHAT GENERALLY HAPPENED, THOUGH, WAS THAT NEGROES SIMPLY VANISHED INTO THE BACKWOODS AND SWAMPS OF THE DELTA, NEVER TO BE SEEN OR HEARD FROM AGAIN. PERHAPS EVEN MORE FRIGHTENING THAN THE FACT OF THE VIOLENCE WAS THE TACIT SANCTION GIVEN IT BY SOUTHERN OFFICIALS, WHO EITHER AVERTED THEIR EYES OR ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN IT.

WHY, NOW, WAS THE SITUATION DIFFERENT? WHY LYNCHING AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF KEEPING THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN CHECK IN 1925, WHEN NOW, THIRTY YEARS LATER, SUCH VIOLENCE ONLY SEEMED TO MAKE BLACKS MORE DETERMINED.

THERE ARE TWO BASIC REASONS, I BELIEVE, FOR THIS SHIFT. FIRST, THERE WAS A QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE KIND OF VIOLENCE PRACTICED IN THE 1920'S AND 1930'S AND THAT EMPLOYED DURING THE 50'S AND 60'S. DRAGGING AN ANONYMOUS NEGRO FROM JAIL AND LYNCHING HIM IS A SHOCKING AND OUTRAGEOUS ACT, BUT IT CAN BE PROTESTED ONLY AS AN ISOLATED INCIDENT. THE BMOMBING OF DR. KING'S HOME, WHICH HAPPENED DURIN THE MONTGOMERY

CAMPAIGN, ADDS A POLITICAL DIMENSION. THIS IS NO LONGER JUST MOB VIOLENCE; IT HAS BECOME POLITICAL TERRORISM. TO A NATION WITH ROOTS IN DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS, POLITICAL TERRORISM IS THE IRREDEEMABLE FIRST ACT IN A CHAIN LEADING UTLIMATELY TO THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF SOCIETY. POLITICAL TERRORISM COULD NOT BE IGNORED, LET ALONE, CONDONED, AS THE MOB VIOLENCE HAD BEEN. AMERICANS IN THEIR OWN INTEREST HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO RISE UP AGAINST IT.

THE SECOND, AND PROBABLY THE MORE IMPORTANT REASON SOUTHERN VIOLENCE BACKFIRED WAS THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION. WITH THE COMING OF TELEVISION, THE VIOLENCE OF THE SOUTH WAS NO LONGER TUCKED AWAY FROM THE NATION'S ATTENTION. NOW ALL EYES WERE FOCUSED ON LITTLE ROCK, NEW ORLEANS, AND BIRMINGHAM, TRANSFIXED BY THE SIGHT OF HOWLING MOBS AND BOMBED-OUT CHURCHES. WERE IT NOT FOR THE PRESENCE OF THOSE TELEVISION CAMERAS, PEOPLE WOULD NEVER HAVE SEEN THE AGONY OF CHILDREN BRAVING THE SCREAMING MOB IN LITTLE ROCK. NOR WOULD MARTIN LUTHER KING HAVE EMERGED A NATIONAL SPOKESMAN.

MOREOVER, THIS NEW INSTANTANEOUS AND EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTEST DESTROYED WHATEVER SMALL CLAIM THE SOUTH HAD HAD TO MORAL OR LEGAL LEGITIMACY. AS THE TV VIEWER SAW IT, THE SOUTH WAS NOT HOLDING A DIALOGUE WITH BLACK PEOPLE; IT WAS ATTEMPTING TO CRUSH THEM BY ANY MEANS AT HAND. FOR THE MANY AMERICANS WHO HAD BEEN AMBIVALENT ABOUT NEGRO DEMANDS; TELEVISION COVERAGE WAS THE DETERMINING factor. As the cameras laid bare the Southern lies, public opinion turned against the South. As the public witnessed the South's violent response to the law of the land there seemed no choice but support for those who were the victims of that violence.

Later on, however, the influence of televison was to become less positive. At first the media had concentrated its attention on the civil rights movement; but little by little some black leaders began to seek out the media, to play at militancy for the benefit of the television audience. Television encouraged the rise of "instant" leaders, individuals who left no lasting imprint, but who nevertheless contributed to the image of the black man as anti-white, violence-prone, emburdened with hate.

In its early days, though, television was clearly a boon to the civil rights struggle. Businessmen and chambers of commerce across the South dreaded the cameras. They feared bad press - for they did not want to be another Little Rock. It was bad for business. Therefore the business community across the South found itself able to reach a settlement with civil rights forces. Restaurants were integrated; some blacks were hired in department stores; in some cases schools were desegregated, and municipal bus systems ended their patterns of segregated seating -- generally

BECAUSE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RATHER THAN THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO ACQUIESCE TO BLACK DEMANDS. IN THIS RESPECT, THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY WAS MORE FARSIGHTED THAN THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WHO MANIPULATED THE RACIAL ISSUE DEMAGOGICALLY IN THE BATTLE FOR VOTES. BUSINESSMEN, OF COURSE, WERE NOT RUNNING FOR ELECTION; THEY WERE CONCERNED WITH PROFITS, AND THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PROFIT-MAKING ODDS WERE BETTER IN TRYING TO PEACEFULLY INTEGRATE RATHER THAN RUNNING THE RISK OF BAD PUBLICITY OR AN ECONOMIC BOYCOTT BY THE BLACK COMMUNITY..

BY 1960, THE NATION COULD CLEARLY SEE THE FRUITS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS HAD IN SMALL MEASURE BEEN MADE TO BEND. WE HAD CAPTURED THE ATTENTION OF THE NEWS MEDIA AND WON SYMPATHY FROM THE GENERAL PUBLIC. LEGAL ACTION CONTINUED TO PRODUCE IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGHS. BLACK PEOPLE WERE THEMSELVES BECOMING INCREASINGLY MORE CONSCIOUS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE.

THEN, FINALLY THE NATION'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TOOK NOTICE. IN 1960, BOTH PARTIES REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, FOR THE FIRST TIME, ENDORSED THE BROWN DECISION AND ADOPTED STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS POSITIONS DURING THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTIONS. FOR BOTH PARTIES THIS REPRESENTED A DISTINCT BREAK FROM PAST PRACTICE. THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOUTH HAD GENERALLY BEEN SUFFICIENT TO KEEP THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S LIBERAL WING IN CHECK ON CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES. AS FOR THE REPBULICANS, THEIR PRESIDENT AND SYMBOLIC STANDARDbearer had made relatively little contribution to the advancement of racial equality, considering the opportunities before him. Ironically, however, Eisenhower left office an unpopular figure throughout much of the South because he was perceived as having been a champion of civil rights. In truth, Eisenhower did the minimum expected of the Chief of State. Privately, he opposed the Brown decision, endorsing it only to the extent he was forced as President to uphold the law of the land. He made no effort to begin the process of enforcing school desegregation, leaving that task to the courts, and he opposed the shutting off of federal aid to school districts that had not complied. As for his sending in troops to Little Rock, this was not, as the South believed, an unprecedentd display of federal power, but a very late response to a governor who was defying the federal courts.

By the end of his second term, it had become apparent to both parties that Eisenhower's moderate approach was inadequate. In the subsequent, presidential campaign, Nixon and Kennedy tried to outdo each other, each promised a more vigorous civil rights policy than his opponent.

On October 26th of 1960, in the wanning weeks of campaign, John Kennedy did something of enormous symbolic importance. He made a long distance call to Coretta King, conveying to her his sympathyand support for her husband, who was at that time behind prison bars. (King had been

SENTENCED TO FOUR MONTHS AT HARD LABOR FOR LEADING A SIT-IN AT AN ATLANTA, GEORGIA RESTAURANT.) THE SAME DAY THAT JOHN KENNEDY CALLED MRS. KING, HIS BROTHER ROBERT CALLED THE JUDGE WHO HAD PASSED SENTENCE ON DR. KING TO ASK THAT HE BE RELEASED. AND ON THE FOLLOWING DAY KING WAS IN FACT SET FREE.

IN TELEPHONING MRS. KING, JOHN KENNEDY WAS PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE POWER OF THE NEGRO VOTE. BUT HE WAS ALSO TAKING A SUBSTANTIAL RISK OF ALIENATING THE SOUTH, WHERE HIS CATHOLICISM WAS EXPECTED TO BE A FACTOR. AS EVENTS TRANSPIRED THAT TELEPHONE CALL MAY HAVE DECIDED THE ELECTION, FOR KENNEDY IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY ON THE BLACK VOTE ACCORDED STEVENSON IN 1956, AND WON THE SUPPORT OF MANY SOUTHERN BLACKS -- DR. KING'S FATHER FOR ONE -- WHO USUALLY SUPPORTED THE PARTY OF LINCOLN.

COMPARING KENNEDY'S ATTITUDES WITH THE ATTITUDES OF PREVIOUS DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS SHOWS CLEARLY HOW FAR BLACKS HAD ADVANCED. UNDER WOODROW WILSON, SEGREGATION WAS EXTENDED AND THE PLEAS OF NEGRO LEADERS WENT UNANSWERED. UNDER ROOSEVELT, BLACKS WON SOME CONCESSIONS, BUT ONLY AFTER THREATS OF MASS MARCHES AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. HARRY TRUMAN IMPROVED ON ROOSEVELT'S RECORD; BUT HERE AGAIN, TRUMAN SIMPLY REACTED TO THE RELENTLESS PRODDING BY NEGRO LEADERS LIKE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

Kennedy's telephone call clearly demonstrated that the Negro's position in American politics had changed. Where black leaders had had to beg and cajole and threaten to win the most minimal gains, now political leaders were coming into the black community with offeringss. They promised to help in the Negro's struggle and they acknowledged the legitimacy and importance of the Negro leaders. This was an important step twoard achieving the consensus of national support we had long sought.

With the 1963 March on Washington, the civil rights movement did achieve this consensus. A few months prior to the March, only a small percentage of Americans considered civil rights the nation's most pressing problem. But following the March, that small percentage had turned into a decisive majority. The March was clearly responsible for this change in attitude.

In assessing the March's importance, one must keep in mind that America has historically been unfavorably disposed to public displays of protest. Americans may sympathize with the conditions of the oppressed, but marches and pickt lines make them uneasy. Even many of the Negroes' political supporters, including President Kennedy, opposed the March, believing it might impede passage of the civil rights legislation he had proposed. Thus the civil rights movement was confronted with three challenges:

THE FIRST WAS SIMPLY TO ARTICULATE ITS DEMANDS IN A MANNER AMERICANS COULD UNDERSTAND AND APPROVE OF. THE SECOND CHALLENGE WAS TO OVERCOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT PROTEST TACTICS THAT WERE ROOTED IN THE CULTURE AND THE THIRD WAS TO WIN CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION.

IN LIGHT OF THE LACK OF DISCIPLINE AND CONFRONTATIONISM WHICH MARKED THE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS THAT HAVE DESCENDED ON WASHINGTON IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, MANY ARE TEMPTED TO DISMISS THE 1963 MARCH AS AN ANOMALY, A FLUKE, MERE HAPPENSTANCE. BUT THIS EXPLANATION IS SUPERFICIAL.

THE MARCH SUCCEEDED BECAUSE IT WAS THE PRODUCT OF SOUND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND AN INTELLIGENT, RESPONSIBLE STRATEGY. THIS MEANT A STRICT ADHERENCE TO NON-VIOLENT PRINCIPLES. IT ALSO MEANT THAT ITS POLITICAL PROGRAM WAS BROAD ENOUGH TO DRAW A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS. MOREOVER, THE MARCH'S PROGRAM WAS NOT UTOPIAN; IT COULD READILY BE TRANSLATED INTO LEGISLATION. AND IN FACT MOST OF THE TEN DEMANDS THAT I SPELLED OUT BEFORE THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL WERE SUBSEQUENTLY ENACTED INTO LAW.

AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE MARCH WAS ITS INTERRACIAL CHARACTER. ITS PROGRAM WAS ADDRESSED TO POOR AND WORKING CLASS WHITES, AS WELL AS TO BLACKS, FOR IT SOUGHT FULL EMPLOYMENT, JOB TRAINING, AN EXPANDED HOUSING PROGRAM, AND A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN THE MINIMUM WAGE. THIS WAS AN EXPANDING OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA BY GIVING IT A WORKING CLASS

PERSPECTIVE. IN HIS ADDRESS AT THE MARCH, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH PROCLAIMED "...THIS CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION IS NOT CONFINED TO THE NEGRO, NOR IS IT CONFINED TO CIVIL RIGHTS, FOR OUR WHITE ALLIES KNOW THEY CANNOT BE FREE WHILE WE ARE NOT, AND WE KNOW WE HAVE NO FUTURE IN A SOCIETY IN WHICH SIX MILLION BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE ARE UNEMPLOYED AND MILLIONS LIVE IN POVERTY."

THE MARCH WAS FINALLY, AN EXPRESSION OF THE UNITY THAT EXISTED BOTH WITHIN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, AND WITHIN THE BROADER LIBERAL ARENA. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF JAMES FARMER, WHO SENT A MESSAGE FROM A LOUISIANA JAIL WHERE HE WAS INCARCERATED, EVERY MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER WAS PRESENT AS WERE REPRESENTATIVES FROM A BROAD SPECTRUM OF LABOR, LIBERAL, AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS.

IF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON REPRESENTED THE HIGH POINT OF THE ERA OF PROTEST, THE 1964 DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION, HELD LESS THAN A YEAR AFTER THE MARCH MARKED ITS SYMBOLIC CONCLUSION. THAT CONVENTION WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY THE CHALLENGE INITIATED BY THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY - A CHALLGENGE WITH FAR REACHING IMPLICATION FOR THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ATLANTIC CITY CONVENTION WAS THIS: FOR YEARS NEGROES HAD BEEN STRUGGLING TO MAKE THEIR VOICES HEARD. THEY HAD PROVOKED THE POLITICAL SYSTEM TO RESPOND TO INJUSTICES; THEY HAD

BEEN MARTYRED SO THAT OTHERS COULD ACHIEVE THE DIGNITY THAT IS THE INNERENT RIGHT OF EVERY MAN; THEY HAD MARCHED, AND SANG, AND PRAYED SO THAT, FAILING ALL ELSE, AMERICA WOULD BE MOVED INTO RECOGNIZING THEIR PLIGHT. AND FINALLY, ON AN AUGUST AFTERNOON IN WASHINGTON, A CRESCENDO OF VOICES, 200,000 STRONG, APPEALED TO THE NATION FOR JUSTICE AND DIGNITY.

IN ALL THIS, HOWEVER, BLACKS HAD ACTED AS OUTSIDERS TO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. THEIR INFLUENCE WAS FELT, AND THEIR VOTES SOUGHT. BUT NEGROES WERE NOT A PART OF THE REGULAR, NORMAL PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT DECISION-MAKING. TO INCLUDE THEM IN THIS PROCESS WAS NOT JUST MORALLY RIGHT; IT WAS A POLITICAL NECESSITY IF THERE WAS TO BE A PERMANENT, ON-GOING MOVEMENT THAT STRIVED FOR BASIC ECONOMIC CHANGE.

OUR GOAL WAS TO GENERATE A MOVEMENT THAT WOULD BECOME THE DOMINANT FORCE WITHIN THE DEMOCRATY PARTY. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, HAVING BEEN CAPTURED BY THE GOLDWATERITES, WERE DISMISSED AS A LOST CAUSE. THE PROBLEM WE FACED WAS THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AS IT WAS THE CONSTITUTED, WAS A FAR CRY FROM BEING THE LIBERAL MECHANISM WE HOPED TO BUILD. THE SOUTH AND THE URBAN MACHINE-BOSSES NO LONGER HAD THE LAST WORD. BUT THEY WERE STILL EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENTS OF CONSERVATISM, AND IN THE CASE OF THE SOUTH, COULD STILL WIELD THE POWER OF THE VETO IN RACIAL MATTERS. THE SOUTH AND THE MACHINES WERE NOT, OF COURSE, THE SOCIAL

FORCES ON WHICH WE ANTICIPATED BUILDING A MORE IDEOLOGICALLY LIBERAL PARTY. WE RATHER ENVISIONED A PARTY DOMINATED BY A COALITION CONSISTING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THE MINORITIES, AND THE LIBERALS. WE FELT THAT SUCH AN ALLIANCE HAD THE POTENTIAL TO WIN A MAJORITY SIMPLY BECAUSE ITS VARIOUS COMPONENTS POSSESSED AN IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL HCANGE AND A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP TO WORKING PEOPLE.

FOR SOME BLACKS, THOUGH, PARTICULARLY THOSE RESIDING IN THE RURAL SOUTH, ACQUIRING POLITICAL POWER WAS OF MORE URGENCY THAN BUILDING A COALITION. IN COUNTRIES WHERE BLACKS, ALTHOUGH THE MAJORITY, WERE GOVERNED BY AN OPPRESSIVE WHITE MINORITY DETERMINED TO KEEP BLACKS UNDER THEIR HEELS IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE BLACK MAJORITY GAIN CONTROL OF LOCAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. CLEARLY; THIS WAS A MATTER OF SIMPLE JUSTICE, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NOT, AS SOME NAIVELY BELIEVED, WOULD BRING ABOUT NOTICEABLE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE LOCAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

THUS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAD TO CONFRONT BOTH IMMEDIATE AND LONG-RANGE POLITICAL GOALS. AT ATLANTIC CITY WE HOPED WE WOULD BEGIN WHAT WE KNEW WOULD BE A LONG AND DIFFICULT PROCESS OF SECURING A LEADERSHIP ROLE WITHIN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN OUR MINDS AT ATLANTIC CITY, WAS TO FEEL THAT WE WERE MAKING HEADWAYS EVEN IF IN REALISTIC TERMS OUR GAINS WERE LARGELY TOKEN.

Seen in this context, I believe that the decision of the Freedom Democrats to spurn the compromise settlement was a strategic error. A victory of unprecedented scale had in fact been achieved. Not only were racist delegations dealt a setback, but of more consequence, racial discrimination was outlawed for future conventions. This arrangement would, in turn, set in motion a process that would open up the party machinery in state after state, would encourage more blacks to seek and win office, and would contribute to the eventual moderation of racial policies that had dominated the South for a century.

The rejection of the compromise settlement was not simply an isolated tactical mistake. In a broader sense, it reflected the agony that the civil rights movement was experiencing as it tried to come to grips with a situation with which, by tradition and training, it was unequipped to deal.

When Dr. King, Walter Reuther, and I spoke to the Freedom Democrats, urging them to accept the compromise, we stressed the following point: that the objectives of the civil rights movement were shifting from the legal to the economic and political. Confronted with a new agenda, we had to come to terms with the necessity of developing new tactics. When we had absolute demands - for the rights of freedom and dignity, we could insist upon absolute solutions.

But when you are working within the political system, you can no longer deal in absolute terms. You must be prepared to compromise to make and take concessions. You have to pay much more attention to how an issue is presented, and what forces you align yourself with. We also told the MFDP that as the representatives of a people who had been operating outside the political system, they had won a great victory. We proposed that they recognize this fact and move ahead, building on that triumph for even broader future gains.

The guiding force of the MFDP had been the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Within a few years, SNCC had collapsed. Its grand design for transforming southern politics had failed. It found that it could not in fact build a political movement consisting exclusively of poor people - share croppers, moreover, who until recently had not even been permitted to vote, much less develope any minimal level of political sophistication.

In pointing this out, I do not mean to appear overcritical of SNCC. Among its membership were some of the most intelligent and fearless political activists this nation has ever seen. That so many of them have dropped out of the racial struggle is one of the tragic consequences of our failure to resolve the problems which confronted the movement during its transition period.

SNCC's failure also reveals a problem which is rooted in the nature of American political parties.

Unlike the parties in Europe, American parties have failed to impart to those outside the party framework--whether they be minorities, young people, or working people--a historical perspective, a reason for being. There is no ideological tradition which binds the disenfranchised to either party and, lacking this tradition, the alienated often seek political release outside the mainstream of party structure. Within the Democratic Party--the party of the working man--there were only two forces which conveyed a sense of tradition from generation to generation. One was the South, with a long-standing history of keeping the Negro down. The other was the machines, rooted for decades in the spoils system.

Thus while the Democrats were generally thought to favor programs that would effect social progress, the party had no sustaining vision of how this would be accomplished. On an ad hoc basis, the Democrats had a good record for supporting progressive measures. But they had little idea of the kind of society they wanted to build, and so their plans were carelessly conceived. The failure of the Democratic Party to develop such a vision, or, if you will, class analysis, was to have dire consequences for the civil rights movement and, as we shall see, for the broader arena of liberalism as well.

# RADNER LECTURE--PART III
By Bayard Rustin

With the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, the civil rights movement entered a new period, a period which was to see the transformation of the Negro struggle from a movement which pursued social goals by means of mass protest into a movement which sought political objectives by means of traditional political methods. The transition from protest to politics was neither swift nor smooth. For many Americans, in fact, it appeared that the transition was not from protest to politics, but from non-violent civil disobedience to violent disruption and rioting. The northern ghettoes seemed to explode with despair and hatred: 34 persons were killed in the 1965 Watts riot alone, while nearly 100 died during the long hot summer of 1967, when riots erupted in the ghettoes of 32 cities.

Why had this come about? Americans certainly American liberals, did not have the answer, at least not an answer that pointed to a realizable solution. The common liberal interpretation of the Kerner Commission Report on racial unrest was to blame the racist attitudes of individual whites for the lack of racial progress. It gave little consideration to the root cause of the discriminatory functioning of basic social and economic institutions. The favorable reception accorded the Kerner Report was symptomatic of society's refusal to look beyond the superficial reflections of racial polarization: the Negro's supporters were obsessed with white guilt; the conservative opponents of civil rights saw the mounting urban turmoil as a means of exploiting the law and order issue, which they did rather effectively in Richard Nixon's presidential campaign.

Lying beneath the rhetoric of conservatives and the self-flagellation of the Left was a series of complex and interrelated currents which, in combination with some serious strategical mistakes of the civil rights movement, radically altered the direction of the black struggle. Many of these changes were not the result of the failures of the civil rights movement; they were instead the natural outgrowth of its success.

By the end of 1965 the principal legislative objectives of what might be described as the initial black agenda--which dealt with the fabric of social and political discrimination in the southern states--had been achieved. But with success came the realization that a much more basic agenda was still to be completed, one which would combat the fundamental inequalities built into the economic structure. That structure had to be changed if racial equality was to amount to anything more than a well-turned phrase. But, for a number of reasons, the forces comprising the leadership of the civil rights coalition were unequipped to cope with this new, broader agenda.

Chief among the problems thrust dramatically and often violently upon the consciousness of Americans in the mid-1960s was the increasing desperation of a vast slum proletariat in the northern ghettoes. The growth of the urban underclass, and its worsening condition of poverty and dislocation, did not come about through happenstance, but was the natural consequence of the direction of the economic system, as well as the conscious policies of the federal government.

The creation of the northern ghetto resulted from two developments: the growth of agricultural technology, which made the use of massive numbers of sharecroppers and fieldhands obsolete in the south; and the expanding industrialization of the north. These two developments reached their fruition in the period after World War II, as Negroes by the thousand migrated from the rural south to the industrialized north. What they found, at least initially, was jobs: black unemployment dropped dramatically in the period immediately following the war--to 4.1 per cent in 1953, a figure lower than at any time before or after. The jobs filled by these black migrants, however, were almost entirely in the unskilled and semiskilled categories--those areas of the economy most susceptible to the ravages of automation and advanced technology. The acceleration of the technological revolution eliminated many jobs from central city areas at the same time when industries began moving from inner cities to the suburbs. Thus factory jobs in the cities were becoming scarcer while the expanding sectors of the economy often required a highly skilled or college-educated work force.

The late 1950s and, particularly, the 1960s, saw the consequence of rapidly changing manpower requirements, combined with the lack of national manpower and planning policies: there gradually emerged a massive army of unemployed or underemployed ghetto residents. The U.S. Department of Labor's 1967 study of "subemployment" in the urban slums suggested the depth of the ghetto's problems. The subemployment index, in addition to listing those "actively looking" but unable to find work, also estimates those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair, those who are working part-time but want full-time jobs, the working poor, and a conservatively estimated portion of males who are known to live in the slums, but who do not appear on any government employment records. In the ten cities surveyed, the subemployment rate for the inner city ghettoes stood at 35 percent: that is, more than one of every three employable adults was either unemployed or working for less than subsistence wages.

To the urban underclass, the civil rights revolution of which they had heard so much was a frustrating reminder of the plight of their daily lives. For the initial impact of the protest movement had been limited to one geographical region--the south, where the consequences of the Voting Rights and Civil Rights acts were immediate and profound. The northern black, however, saw only an ironic contrast between the proclamations of black progress, and the tangible conditions of his own life and environment. Far from improving, the status of ghetto life seemed to be rapidly deteriorating, as housing, transportation, health care, and education systems moved inexorably towards collapse.

Multiplying the bitterness of the underclass was another, largely unnoticed development: the emergence of a relatively prosperous middle and professional class which sought, as soon as was economically feasible, to flee the ghetto for white neighborhoods or for integrated or heavily black suburbs. I am not asserting, as some observers have, that the majority of blacks had reached the middle class-obviously they had not. A more accurate assessment would be that during the 1960s a majority of blacks had moved from the ranks of the impoverished into the broad working class, a development which in itself had profound implications. At the same time, it is a fact that for the first time a sizeable number of young blacks were entering well-paid professions and that they, along with their creative resources and energy, were abandoning the slums for better neighborhoods. With their departure, a stabilizing element was removed from the structure of ghetto life, and this affected the black community's political fabric, the condition of its housing, its potentiality for organizing to demand improved city services, and of course, the already spiraling crime rate.

Aside from the demographic factors, we were confronted with other serious problems both within the civil rights movement and without, in the broader society's perception of the needs of black people.

1. The increasing social cost of black demands. One of the major reasons for the civil rights movement's initial success in mobilizing the support of a broad majority was that its initial agenda required little sacrifice from society; equal access to purblic facilities and voting rights were easily enough granted. The same was not true, however, when civil rights activists advanced broad proposals calling for full employment, manpower development, and the guarantee of adequate housing for all. When in 1966 A. Philip Randolph proposed the Freedom Budget, a ten-year plan to erase poverty, The Wall Street Journal commented: "It ought to be obvious that a useful effort to meet the problems of the relatively few Americans who are still in need requires a policy that shows promise of working, not simply for fresh outpourings of money from the Federal Government or anywhere else." The Journal's attitude was not untypical. Many Congressmen used variations on the same theme in their attempts, often successful, to water down or emasculate anti-poverty legislation. By cutting back on social expenditures, Congress was ensuring the failure of many promising efforts. What Leon Keyserling has said of the federal housing program applies to many other programs that were oversold to the public and then underfunded by Congress:

> The reason why the effort to rehouse low income families has "failed" is that it has not been tried, except in token form. An annual building program averaging one-twentieth of the annual need has inevitably raised almost as many problems as it has solved. It has tended to make "poor houses" of the public projects. It has permitted the slums to remain in full force. It has perpetrated one of the most dangerous of all social errors, to offer promises rather than performance.

2. The diminishing of civil rights as a national priority. For which, one should add, the liberals bear a heavy burden of responsibility. It was not, as some would have it, simply the intensification of the Vietnam War that turned the nation's attention from racial problems. For race issues and the broader question of abolishing poverty have been replaced by many other concerns than the war: women's liberation, the environment, and political corruption, to name a few. It was not that the needs of black people were any less acute, for having raised the expectations of black people, it was now more important than ever for American to follow through on its promises of a just society. The problem was that racial equality proved a much more difficult problem to solve than anyone had ever anticipated. And for those whose commitment was less than total, the demands were too great. It was far easier to move from one issue to the next, much as women's fashions change with the season.

A social movement, if its imprint is to be permanent and transforming, must have have an economic base. Moral fervor cannot maintain it; nor can the act of participation itself. There must be a genuine commitment to the advancement of poor and working people. To have such a commitment is also to have a militant sense of responsibility, a recognition that actions have consequences which have very real effects on the individual lives of those whom it seeks to advance. Far too many current movements lack both an economic perspective and a sense of responsibility, and fail because of it.

The failures of many of the newer political movements are not necessarily the fault of the participants; these people are guilty simply of having accepted the myth that America is a classless, "affluent" society. The rediscovery of poverty was not brought about by an increase in the number of poor; rediscovery was the result of the incessant prodding of black people, of course, constitute a substantial percentage of the poor.

However, the recognition of poverty did little to fundamentally alter the long-held belief of the convergence of the working and middle classes. America was willing to admit to the existence of widespread poverty; it was not prepared to acknowledge that working Americans suffered from severe problems; that those problems were measurably different from those of the middle class; and that the problems of working Americans deserved the attention of government policy.

3. The fragmentation of the civil rights movement. Whites are wrong to believe that all blacks think minolithically and share common social and economic roots. There is a class consciousness among blacks just as there is among whites, and nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the divergent paths taken by the once unified civil rights movement. This is not to deny that there was a superficial unity within the black community while the main target was Jim Crow. Segregation, after all, was an institution which affected the businessman just as it affected the sharecropper. But the new civil rights laws did not benefit all classes equally. The black middle class had the financial resources to take advantage of its newly achieved right's and these laws significantly enhanced its social mobility; for the poor, the benefits were far less

tangible and much more psychological.

There are those who deplored the lack of unity among the recognized black leadership; I do not believe, however, that black disunity was a significant cause of the problems the civil rights movement encountered. The very concept of black unity is illusory, raising expectations that can never be fulfilled and diverting the attention of society from more substantive issues. In a pluralistic democracy, racial unity is a meaningless goal; it is far more important to form alliances with other forces in society which share common needs and common goals, and which are in general agreement over the means to achieve them. It is pointless to talk of unity between Roy Wilkins, an integrationist, and Roy Innis, who wants to resegregate black schools. Nor does it make sense to pursue unity between blacks who favor national health insurance, and a black medical association who opposes it.

4. Differences over tactics and strategy within the black community. One must recall that the almost total unity of black leadership had been the cutting edge of the March on Washington--the black community spoke as one, thus removing any lingering ambiguity about what the black man wanted from society. But the strong consensus that was achieved--not without considerable difficulty--in 1963 could not reasonably have been expected to persist when the goals of the movement evolved from the juridical to the political and economic. It was a natural and in some ways a healthy development, for it provoked within the black community an important debate over future tactics, future coalitions, and future objectives.

While there are few outright conservatives in the black community, there have always been differing political outlooks. Two of the most influential black leaders, A. Philip Randolph and Whitney Young, held radically divergent views about which social force blacks should align themselves with: Young felt that the enlightened segments of the business community would make the most significant contribution to the economic progress of the black masses, while Randolph blieved passionately that the labor movement and its program would ultimately be responsible for bringing blacks into the economic mainstream. Others, of course, held less traditional views: there was a growing separatist movement which, although it exerted little influence on the masses of black workers, attained status through the publicity it generated in the media; there were those who felt that community organizing and grassroots participation of the poor would give the alienated underclass a strong voice in the decisions shaping its destiny; there was even the miniscule, but well-publicized, fraction which celebrated the use of violence as a means of achieving freedom through revolution.

The differences within the black community reflected the divisions that had erupted between the traditional allies of racial progress in the liberal and labor arenas. These divisions cut across a broad series of issues, ranging from those relating to specific policy to differences relating to the fundamental outlook on society and the role of the state.

One specific consequence of these divisions was that they weakened the impact of the Great Society. I do not share the prevalent view that President Johnson's domestic initiatives amounted to nothing more than ambitious failure. The Great Society did, in fact, trigger a national response to the plight of the poor and minority groups that was both psychological and real. The concept of improving the social services of the poor through the injection of federal funds was a sound one, particularly when combined with policies to stimulate economic growth and employment. And one of the most widely criticized Great Society enterprises, manpower training, was one of its most important innovations: it was geared to meet the urgent social need of retraining workers who would otherwise be consigned to a lifetime of deadend jobs.

But there were serious problems with the Johnson Administration's strategy as well as some tragically missed opportunities. These problems were partially due to Johnson's view of himself as a "consensus" politician, a leader who could move the country ahead without challenging any of the predominant social forces. Thus instead of directly opposing the inherent tendency of capitalism to discourage full employment, Johnson relied on the civic-mindedness of the business community to stimulate the hiring of more blacks and implement manpower training endeavors. We soon discovered that social revolutions of the magnitude that Johnson proposed are not achieved through tax credits to industries, or through voluntary hiring programs.

Nor are the answers to the problems of the poor to be found in formulas that encourage their "participation," however important that might be. Underlying the community-action strategy was a profoundly flawed assumption: that there is something inherently wrong with the poor, with their pattern of social dislocation or whatever, and that it is this "wrongness," rather than the basic fact of how the economic system functions, that perpetuates their state of deprivation. Acting on this assumption, the Johnson Administration proceeded to set up a series of programs to enable the poor to better organize themselves, believing that somehow the poor could organize themselves out of poverty. To be sure, the poverty program did have its value, but it was a poor substitute for programs which could put the unemployed to work, or could assist the underemployed into better-paying, more satisfying jobs. In addition, the community-action approach was diversionary: it deluded people into believing that broad economic change could be accomplished through picket lines at city hall or rent strikes, and it also lessened support for the anti-poverty effort among those politicians who resented the disruptions generated by some of the community-action agencies.

It is clear now that the Johnson Administration might well have succeeded had it concentrated the bulk of its funds and energies towards one objective--ensuring a job for everyone. To institutionalize a full-employment policy would have been a radical step--one which, no doubt, would have eroded the consensus of support within the business community. But it would have attacked poverty at the root while appealing to the broad majority of Americans who, no matter what their conservative instincts might be, have time and again indicated that they would support a program to bring about full employment.

The controversy over community control was but one reflection of a much deeper problem, which is the tendency to substitute psychological strategies for economic solutions to the poverty problem. The problem of black identity--of how the black man relates to and asserts himself in an often hostile, predominantly white world--cannot be minimized. The role of the American Negro has been a terribly difficult one; far more difficult than that of the ethnic immigrant who could at least identify with a native homeland and at the same time merge without serious difficulty into the pattern of American life. Blacks, on the other hand, had a dual struggle: to achieve recognition as free and equal human beings, and also to enter the mainstream of American life, being accepted, without discrimination, as equal competitors.

A half century ago, W.E.B. DuBois wrote of this problem eloquently in his monumental work The Souls of Black Folk:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Tueton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness but only lets himself see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar feeling, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.
>
> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife--the longing to attain this self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a truer and better self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach Africa and the world. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face.

If what DuBois wrote was true for his generation, it was even more relevant for the modern Negro, the Negro of the poat-civil rights era. It has often been observed that freedom is a much more difficult state to cope with than are conditions of bondage or oppression. And while no black person would choose to return to segregation and inferior social condition, few would deny the reality of the trauma which accompanied the newly won liberties.

The reflections of the problem of dual consciousness were widespread. Perhaps the most characteristic was the controversy over what the Negro should be called: Negro, black, Afro-American, even African-American. Blacks could not simply call themselves Americans, since no matter how significant their progress, they were still not accepted as full participants in society, race consciousness still being a disturbingly prominent fact of life.

It should be noted that the striving for group identity was not a phenomenon limited to black Americans. In the United States, the debate over assimilation versus separatism, the melting pot as against highly competitive pluralism, has been taken up by Indians, Hispanics, ethnic immigrant groups, even women. Outside the United States, any number of groups. Irish, Scots, Welsh, Walloons, Basques, Croatians, Russian Jews, the Ibos of Biafra, black non-Moslems of the Sudan--have experienced the same dual struggle for group identity in a context of social acceptance by the dominant society.

American blacks now need to realize that there is a difference between viewing racial pride as a positive psychological attribute and attempting to build a social policy on the basis of racialism. For in fact one cannot forge a creative, long-term social agenda based on racial, ethnic, or sexual goals; to attempt it is self-defeating and reactionary and will ultimately impede the advancement both of society and of the particular group itself.

Thus it is hardly surprising to hear the proposal of a black separatist, such as Roy Innis, echoed by Richard Nixon, or to read that Innis's proposals to resegregate black schools find favor with Lester Maddox and George Wallace. Innis's rhetoric may sound militant, but his program appeals to the most conservative forces in society, particularly to those who are the most strongly opposed to government intervention in the economic and social fabric. The only "civil rights" program for which the Nixon Administration displayed a measure of enthusiasm was the least effective and the least challenging to the status quo: black capitalism.

These observations reveal a basic problem that confronted the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s: the separatist impulse emerged precisely when the need for a new and sophisticated approach to coalition politics was greatest. During the period when non-violent protest was the major weapon of civil rights forces, the role of whites was peripheral to the black struggle. Their moral support and volunteer assistance were welcomed, but their participation in sit-ins, boycotts, and voter-registration drives did not determine the success of these endeavors; ordinary black people--workers, church women, students--served as the moral force which elicited concession after concession from the south, and won the respect and support of the rest of the nation.

The achievement of protest's initial objectives, however, brought a significant change to the basic character of the civil rights agenda. What had previously been a movement seeking exclusively racial goals was now called upon to challenge the fundamental class nature of the economic structure. To be sure, most civil rights leaders, except for the most extreme and ineffectual militants, did not define their goals in terms of class struggle. Nonetheless, the very fact that certain fundamental issues were raised--the discriminatory workings of the housing market, full employment as a basic human right, the equalization of public funds for educational purposes, free medical care for those in need--implied a substantial assault on the traditional workings of the economic structure.

It has become commonplace to dismiss the concept of political coalition as outmoded, unworkable, and incapable of meeting the unique needs of newly liberated groups. Blacks, ethnic groups, women--those whose personal and political aspirations have in the past been systematically suppressed by the dominant white society must, we are told, assert their rights as interest groups, or as causes, rather than as members of a broader alliance of political forces; otherwise their special needs will be subordinated to the program of the majority, a program which, some say, will at some point reveal itself to be antagonistic to that of the minority.

There is no question that coalition politics is a complex phenomenon. A successful liberal political alliance is enormously difficult to build and, once pieced together, even more difficult to maintain, given the inevitable tensions, rivalries, and antagonisms of the partners. The most successful recent coalition, that which carried Lyndon B. Johnson to the presidency in 1964, achieved its almost Gaullist proportions only because of the imminent dangers posed by the Goldwater candidacy.

But if the forging of a political alliance is a formidable proposition, it is still a necessary one. Blacks in particular cannot afford go-it-alone strategies. Every time they have resorted to separatist schemes, they were doomed to abysmal failure. They must have allies, who share common problems and pursue common goals. The challenge is to choose the right allies, not simplistically, or in a superficial, concensus way, but on the basis of their specific program and proven willingness to cooperate with a political partner.

The attitude of separatist-minded blacks was not the only factor complicating the building of a coalition broad enough to accomplish such an ambititious agenda. Far more important, in fact, were the mounting divisions within the liberal community, the growing disillusionment of intellectuals with the Great Society, and the outright hostility of some liberals to the labor movement. The most devastating consequence of the crisis of liberalism was, of course, the defeat of Hubert Humphrey in 1968, a defeat that was sealed by the refusal of some liberals to support the vice president and the lukewarm support accorded him by others. If nothing else, this election demonstrated that the New Politics segment of the Democratic party had lost that sense of priority which had guided it to victory in 1964. No longer was the well-being of black people a sufficiently important consideration to guarantee their support. They were willing to sacrifice the goals of racial progress to what they discerned as more pressing concerns: ending the war (which Humphrey would most likely have accomplished much faster and in a much more humanitarian manner than did Nixon) and their own drive for ascendancy within the Democratic party.

The discontent of liberals with coalition politics also had important legislative ramifications. In 1966 a number of liberals closely identified with the peace movement refused to endorse A. Philip Randolph's Freedom Budget because of its failure to demand massive cutbacks in defense spending. Some went so far as to declare that poverty could be abolished without increased economic growth or an infusion of additional federal funds; the poverty problem, they insisted, would be resolved once the war had ended and the so-called peace dividend--monies that had been channeled into war expenditures and would now be used for domestic projects--became available. The peace windfall never materialized, of course, and the only achievement of its proponents had been to divert the attention of American society from its most urgent concerns: the need for a fundamental change in the tax structure, accelerated growth, and a renewed commitment to the original priorities of the Great Society--more and better housing, manpower development, compensatory education, federal financing of health care, and the like.

In addition to the slippage of liberal faith in the Great Society, we witnessed an accompanying liberal hostility towards organized labor. Labor was seen not as a progressive force, but as a reactionary and racist institution, with a bigoted, intolerant membership and a leadership devoid of social vision. The causes of this hostile attitude were many and complex: class bias and snobbery, a lack of understanding of labor's goals and accomplishments, and an as-yet-unarticulated desire to supplant the labor movement's position within the Democratic party.

The affects of the liberal attitude were clearly to give comfort to the conservative, traditionally anti-labor forces at the very moment when the interests of labor were dovetailing with those of the black community. Indeed, black people now had an increasing stake in the strength of organized labor, for black workers were entering heavily-unionized fields in substantially higher proportion than were white workers. To weaken labor would, of course, harm the interests of these workers and of all workers who would enter the labor movement in the future. More important, however, was the political role occupied by labor: the AFL-CIO, UAW, and other unions comprised the vanguard in the struggle to extend racial gains beyond the juridical. The progressive leadership provided by the labor movement became crucial after the election of Richard Nixon, as labor assumed a pivotal role in the numerous campaigns to beat back the new administration's anti-civil rights initiatives. Indeed, blacks discovered that labor was the only significant social force which could be depended upon to press the safeguarding of the social and economic rights achieved through protest and struggle.

There is an increasing awareness that the future of black Americans is inextricably tied to the future of America itself. Indeed, the most significant achievement of the civil rights struggle has been to transform blacks from a separate and inferior class into a group that has entered the mainstream, not fully or as equals yet, but a group which nonetheless has a vital stake in the direction of our state and culture.

We have now learned that everything which moves and shapes society moves and shapes black people as well. If government policies weaken the economy, stifle economic growth, and contribute to massive unemployment, black people suffer ever more severely than in those days past when they had little connection to the economic mainstream, when the southern black sharecropper and the domestic worker comprised a large percentage of the work force. Black people are no longer marginally attached to the economy, the political system, and the overall culture; they are actively affecting and affected by these institutions. When blacks were relegated to underfinanced segregated schools, and systematically excluded from opportunities at higher learning, the success or failure of American education was a small issue in their day-to-day struggle for survival. Today the foundations of segregation have been destroyed, the doors of colleges and universities have opened for minority students, and education has assumed a much more pivotal role for entry into society. And if, as seems to be the case today, society begins to undermine the value of public education, it is blacks who suffer most severely.

But while blacks have become participants in American society, we must not forget that they have not achieved full integration in our social and economic system. To achieve the goal of full participation and integration constitutes the agenda of the future. But we must take care to learn from the experiences of the past. For if blacks are now part of the system, this very fact signifies a new responsibility to strengthen and democratize social institutions rather than to tear them down. This entails a continuing struggle against our traditional enemies those who have a stake in the status quo and in reinforcing current inequities. But we will also find ourselves pitted against new enemies-against those who may once have been our allies, but whose priorities are ultimately antagonistic to the broad needs of underprivileged and working people.

Our foremost challenge is to keep the issue of economic change before the American people. The civil rights movement has won many of its social objectives, and we can rightfully be optimistic over finding long-range solutions for those remaining. But the issue of economic democracy confronts us still. The struggle to achieve a more humane economic order will not be fought along racial lines, but will be defined by broader class realities. The degree to which this struggle is won will determine whether the goals for which so many sacrificed and died will be fulfilled in their entirety, or whether the high hopes which galvanized this profoundly important movement will lie half-realized.

OCTOBER 11, 1973
THE WILLIAM RADNER LECTURES
BAYARD RUSTIN

In the first of these lectures we heard Mr. Rustin speaking as an historian about events in which he himself participated of course, but reflecting on the developments particularly in the 40s and early 50s in which he discussed the progress made in the courts, in building the legal basis for the black struggle and in the mass mobilization or organization which took place in the streets. And institutionally in the labor unions with the leadership of A. Philip Randolf. He went on to discuss the non-violent struggle lead by Martin Luther King, who was taken as the examplory figur in the progress made in this phase of the struggle. I suppose he was speaking then to somewhat as a historian but I would say almost more as a poet eloquently describing the personal contributions of Dr. King to the achievements made at this time on the basis of the earlier work that had been done by Randolf and others. And tonight he's going to speak on stratagies for a new agenda. I take it that he will be speaking less as a historian or as poet and perhaps more as a prophet and will be telling us what directions the struggle may perhaps take for the future on the basis of what it may have learned from the past. Mr. Rustin. (applause)

Mr. Chairman. I spoke last night about the march in Washington. The march on Washington was conceived by A. Philip Randolf because he forsaw that we were in a new period. He knew that the age of protest was just about over. And he felt that the march on Washington should therefore be an exclamation point to the period of protest, but also that it should be the moment of ushering in the new period. And therefore he called the march, the march for jobs and freedom. That is to say the march which is pointing to the new economic need and the march which puts an exclamation point on the fact that we will be declared real citizens under law as a result of the protest. Now it happens that John Kennedy introduced the Civil Rights Bill just prior to the march, and by politicallogic and psychological need black and white forgot that Mr. Randolf wanted to usher in a new era. And the march became precisely what the slick youngsters screamed as the congressman came down to take their seats on the march on Washington. They screamed pass the bill, pass the bill. Now within a few months I wrote an essay which appeared in Commentary called From Protest to Politics, in the hope that many people would now see that the age of demonstration was over and that a new era was coming in. It is about that new era that I would like to speak tonight. But I do not believe we can speak intelligently about this new era unless we can know very precisely and clearly the difference between the sixties when Dr. King was in the streets with the NAACP with CORE and with everybody. And what was happening now that the march on Washington was over. First of all Dr. King was in the streets on an exclusive black agenda. He was asking for things that all white people had and no blacks had in the South and few blacks in the North. Dr. King was asking for the right to vote and for the right to use public accomodations. That period has gone forever because we have it. There is no longer any black agenda. What we are asking for now reveals that there is a convergence of class needs and race needs. And there is nothing black people can ask for of social and economic significance except that more white people need it than blacks. There are 7.7 millions of poor black people and there are 16.2 millions of poor white people. And therefore no agenda today has any significance if it is a black agenda and first of all politically. Because if blacks are gonna ask for something for themselves then what the puerto Ricans will ask for something for themselves and the jews will ask for something for themselves and the Mexican Americans will ask for something for themselves and the thing becomes rediculous. Next, Dr. King was asking for things that no taxpayer thought would cost him a penny. No taxpayer felt that if blacks voted or rode in buses and trains with dignity that this affected him. In this period however, the minute we asked for all the things that black and white poor need the taxpayer is immediately struck with a notion that we are asking for billions of dollars from the common          . In the old period if you had asked anyone walking down the street who was of medium intelligence, what is the most crucial problem America faces. And they would have said automatically the solution of the civil rights problem. Today the            has gone out of the struggle for the poor. If you ask people today what is the most serious problem America faces some will say ecology, some will say womens rights, a few months ago they would have said the war in Vietnam. Today most people would say the economic squeeze by which they do not mean anything social. They are talking about their inability to get beef for what they think it should be got at. They are talking about how much rent they pay. It is not a social response. And therefore, a grave difference is that we were riding a crest, wherein now there are many things obscuring the needs of the poor. In the early period there was black unity. What black person could say he was against people voting. What black person could say he was against people sitting in busses and trains. But today there cannot by definition be black unity, because the minute Dr. King got blacks the right to sit where they wanted and go where they wanted, the old segregation which meant that the most highly educated black Ralph Bunch and a sharecropper would be treated alike, is gone. For Now Ralph Bunch can sit where he wants but the poor share cropper has the right but no money to go and that's what the boys in            meant when they were faced with me and Dr. King asking them to take a new look at their violence. They looked at me and

Dr. King and said what are you niggers talking to us about? You've made it. And we haven't. In other words the progress permitted the class struggle amongst blacks to emerge for the first time. Now this also meant, which I shall comment on later, that the minute you move away from dignity problems of blacks into social progress for blacks an inevitable debate must take place over how. Over strategy and taxes. Now next, blacks welcome in Montgomery the assistance of whites, but they didn't need it. As long as blacks sat all black in those buses and refused to move, sooner or later a bus company would have to intergrate. Now it was nice that whites came but they weren't really needed except for moral support. Today everything that blacks need depends on their making colition with whites, with Mexican Americans, with Puerto Ricans and with intellectuals black and white. Now my friends if you have to make colition, with whom do you make it? It's very simple. You make it with whom ever you can. And that means catholics, protestants, jews, students, intellectuals, liberals and the working classes and the trade union movement. What are the stable elements? The stable elements in any colition are the people who are there because they have to be. You do not have liberals do not have to be in the colition for civil rights. But working class people and the minority must be there because they have no hope for future change unless they are there. And because they are a part of the production of goods and services in the society, which are absolutely

necessary, they will inevitably take a saner position than anyone else in the aliance. What is the nature of coalition? Sometimes I hear young blacks say I don't want to coalesce with those people, they don't have my interest at heart. Well you can onlyycoalesce with people who have your interest at heart because a coalition is not a love affair it is an agreement to agree momentarily with somebody because it's in your or his or her mutual interest. I also hear some young blacks say why go into coalitions where you can get stung. Nobody has ever been stung in a coalition. Because a coalition is a voluntary association. And when those people over there with whom you coalesced are not doing what you want them to do, you simply pick up your paraphernalia and leave. We must understand what coalition is. It is a mutually agreeable immediate association. But where something like the trade unions are concerned, since black people are workers, the coalition is an long term process and must be by a definition. The final difference between the King period and now is that in the King period blacks gained great symphathy because in the ten years there was not a single act of violence on the part of blacks against whites. There was not the use of violent .
In the new period, it has been marked by rioting and let us understand why the rioting, what happened to create the rioting. Now there are a number of reasons. First Northerners who were black bled with King. Every time his house was

bombed a shock went through their hearts. When their neighbors who had gone South were beaten up they bled. They themselves went and as they went their hopes got higher and higher and higher that something would be cone. But my friends after ten years of struggle when young blacks in the ghetto looked back on those ten years they discovered something very interesting. Not a single thing that Dr. King accomplished had any relevance for the ghetto. They had always had the right to vote in the ghetto. They had always had the right with few exceptions to use public accomodations. To ride on buses. This was a terrifying thing for young blacks to recognize. Number two, people said there was ten years of great progress which there was. But my friends progress is meaningless in the social experience. Unless progress is thought of as a numerator and the denominator of expectation. What had happened was that although progress had risen from here to here, expectation had risen and gone through the roof. So that the distance between progress had been made and the expectation was so phenomenal as to be explosive. The rioting was in a certain sense related to children who have tantroms. When a child lies on the floor and screams and bangs its head, what it is really saying is somebody help me I am in trouble. Mother please come to my rescue. The rioting was a social trantrom on the part of blacks who were saying to the society do something, help me. For ten years I thought something was happening and it didn't happen. Please come to my rescue. Fourthly there was no political vehicle for struggle to absorb the frustration in this new period. King was not there now to say come on lets march. Core had attempted to march against the building trades. But it proved to be futile. You can't use that tactic in that manner and they felt useless. They had no political vehicle. And in the absence of any political vehicle they took things into their own hands. But perhaps the most important reason for the rioting was that the revolution of the sixties including the great society which did much to help. But then revolution was aborted because it did literally nothing for the or for the working classes. What it did was to improve the lock of the black middle class, which now had upward mobility and because it had upward mobility it could lead the ghetto leaving city after city with no black leadership. The editors of the newspapers in Harlem had moved to Westchester. The black owners of the banks in Harlem had moved to Westchester. The heads of the civic organizations had moved to Westchester. And there was nobody there. And no political vehicle. As a result, the bortive revolution and as of the result of the gape between aspiration and the ability to perform self-hate emerges. There was a self-hate in that when there is frustration it is inevitably followed by agression and when there is no place to direct that agression against someone weaker than yourself socially, you direct it as and others at Yale proved in their frustration agression discussion, you turn it back on yourself. And to a certain extent the rioting was not merely against whitey, it is against my own impotence which I hate and in the process of hating it I hate myself. Now my friends lest you think that I am being too theoretical, let me give you some experiences from my own four nights without sleep during the Harlem riot. A young black boy, tears streaming down his cheeks comes over to a white policeman and pounds him and says you white dirty sonofabitch shoot me! Kill me! I want to die! Kill me! Incidentally being aided on by a number of adults. I saw a mother help her sons stop a taxi in the middle of the street and she applauded while her sons beat this taxi driver because he was white to the ground. I saw another mother whom I knew cause she went to a church on 130th street where I have worked out of, helping her sons loot a liquor store. A women under other circumstances would never reduce herself to that kind of self hate. Most of the destruction was in our own neighborhoods. Most of of the jobs lost were in our own neighborhoods. I saw a trade union leader giving tokens to confused young blacks to go downtown to times square and take their riot, because he told me later when I chastise him he did not want them to destroy the stores in the neighborhood where he had to keep the young men working. But most of all, the most brutal moment I think I've ever faced in civil rights, was the evening when we were trying to bear a young Powell who had been shot by Thomas Gilligan a policeman in New York which had started the riot. And here are thousands of people around the funeral parlor and the mother can not have a funeral, they are screaming and throwing stones. I get a mike from the police and I scream out to the people, let us bury this boy in peace! And what they did was to stone me. And the funeral could not go on for three hours. For they had turned the hatred in upon themselves. This my friends is the result not only of what they did, but we had failed to do in recognizing the nature of this new period in being prepared for it and in developing some political muscle which would have meant we could have directed these people into something constructive. Now while the economic outcast were rioting in the streets as a result of the abortive revolution, a great number of middle class including intellectuals and college professors, were turning to separation to the exploration of their navels in the name of black image, to gimicks and some were abandoning the struggle and declaring to the television that the civil rights movement was dead. Thus the old pattern I described last night emerges once more as it had with Booker T. Washington, as it had with Marcus Garby. The old pattern is repeated, that is this is a period... there was a period of hope, it has now been followed by a period of hopelessness. This is followed by frustration politics, by separation images. By building gimicks and other alternatives to real progress and real political struggle. Let us therefore examine some of the gimicks distortions and frustrations of this period because until we sort these out and reject them once and for all for what they are, we are in trouble. One distortion particularly on the part of the young blacks is to totally distort the contribution of the people like Malcom X. They distorted by substituting for Malcom X a social and economic program when he didn't have any. Malcom had no economic nor political program and did not pretend to have. He never wanted to adress himself to the question of how do black people make progress, one need only to read his book to see that. His followers pretend that he did. Now I've had considerable experience with Malcom X, not reading his novel and autobiography and I do mean novel and autobiography. When no one else would stand - and this is what is very ironic, all of the people who loved black heroes after they are dead who dislike them when they are alive is fantastic. Malcom could not appear on any college campus. And we met one day and I said I hear you tried to speak at Howard and they wouldn't let you. He said that's right. I said well Howards just asked me to come down and speak and I'm gonna tell them I won't come unless I can debate you. And I debated Malcom on three campuses when no other black dared stand up beside him and do it. I've had another experience with Malcom and that is that Mr. Randolph and I set up in Harlem an economics society to look at the economic questions relating to Harlem. When we announced that Malcom X was going to join the group, fourteen black ministers in the name of christianity, told Mr. Randolph that if Malcom came they would not come. And Mr. Randolph in his typical manner said he was so sorry that they would not be able to make it. Malcom came and for two years we worked together. I have had deep and long experience with Malcom and I know precisely what Malcomewas about and we ought not to have mess about it and pretend that he had an economic and social program. Malcom was interested in six things. To establish in the minds of blacks that they should have respect for black women. To establish in their own minds that they should have self-respect. Malcom use to say over and over again when his hair was so short you could scarcely see it, he did not object to afros but he was more interested in what people had inside their heads than outside. By which he meant self-respect. Malcom was concerned to make sure that everyone understood that it was possible to beat the depravity of the ghetto. You don't have to be a whore, you don't have to be a number writer, you don't have to be anything but a decent people and give up this idea that the ghettos brutalized you. Stand up and be a man! Fourth Malcom taught fearlessness. Don't be afraid of white man. Look him in the face and if he is mistreating you call him a blue eyed devil and see what he does about it. Fifth, he wanted everybody to understand the terrifying effect of what brutality to a black community. And finally, Malcom wherever he stood wanted all other blacks to stand with him. When he was a Muslim he wanted all of the blacks to be muslems. And when he left the Muslems he wanted all other blacks to join his thing. Now that's what Malcom has done. It has its limitations but we ought to be analytical about what it was he did and not deal with mythology. Another danger. There is a very real danger that in the slogan black is beautiful we can make two mistakes. The first is that concentration on black has diverted the attention of many blacks from the necessity to study social and economicaprograms to the solution of their lot. And secondly, it has leadmany blacks into the old trap of superiority. To many people black is beautiful doesn't mean what it says. What it really means is that black is better. And anybody who gets into the trap that he is better or that his group is better than anybody else is in the most serious danger. Because first of all not only will he brutalize those people but he will never be free to explore his own defects. Another myth. The myth of black capitalism. I spoke about this last night but I just want to make one very simple point. Capitalist are not now and never have been dedicated to eradicate social evils. They are dedicated to increase social evils while they make money. It was the capitalist we had to fight to get rid of child labor. It was the capitalist in the South we had to fight to get rid of racism. It is the capitalist we had to fight to get a decent wage for people. It is they who fight the minimum wage law. It is they who want to have right to work laws. It is naive. It is to act as if the truth were not true. And if you act as if the truth were not true, that is a form of social insanity. And is bound to get you into trouble. The fact of the matter is should this building catch on fire and we behave as if the truth is true we would file out one by one. If we behave as if the truth were not true that we could get out the door one by one we will become insane momentarily or rush to the door and all get crushed. Another myth. The myth of black unity. I want to tell you my friends there is so much energy being expanded on that myth which is a will of the wisp there can be no black unity. We don't want it. Diversity is the basis of strength in social conflict. What one wants is unity with those people who hold the same outlook and want to work by the same method. I do not want unity with Roy Ellis who would brutalize black children by having a separate school district. And school districts in the United States get their money from the tax sbase of the property holders. Can you imagine what the tax base of the property holders in Harlem would be as a basis for educating their children or any other ghetto. I do not want unity with this man who is happy to go to General Armine in Uganda and congratulate him for throwing all the people in Indian origin out of this country. But let me be concrete lest you think I'm raving as I am. If you say to Roy Ennis, Aliga Mohammed, Roy Wilkins and to a member of the black middle class, are you for unity and educating black children? Oh yes, I'm for unity they will all say. And then they do not know it they are prevaricating because what Ennis really means is I'm for unity if you all are for all black school districts. Mohammed means I'm for unity if you're all gonna send your children to Moslem schools. Roy Wilkins means I'm for unity if you send them all to intergrated schools. And the black middle class, like the white middle class, is for unity around sending their children to private schools. That is to say people mouthed unity and pursue it. Let me go further. As long as you leave these four people in their own offices you're better off than calling a meeting about unity. Because the minute you call a meeting about unity they begin to hate each other and to fight each other. Even the pursuited unitydis a stupidity. But lest you think I'm schools not everything. Lets look at the whole question whether capital or labor is going to make the greatest contribution to the uplift of blacks. Mr. Randolph and I are convinced that it's labor. But I cannot denounce Mr. Whitney Young and the urban league because they happen to be oriented in the direction of thinking the capital system is going to do it. I just think they're wrong. And on economic questions I cannot pretend I have unity with them. I wast the socialization of American institution. Or lets take medical care. There isn't any unity. A Black Medical Association met recently and refused to come out for free medical care for blacks. I think they've got to be fought, not unified with. Or let us take a social workers who came out recently with a note it is better for black children to stay in institutions than to be adopted by white people. I want to fight that kind of stupidity. No child is better off in an institution. And the question is never whether they come out to a white foster parent or a black one, but whether they come out to a loving one. Well, I say my friends you cannot have unity on the basis of color or religion but only on the basis of what is your objective and what method you choose to pursue in getting it. And the sooner black people forget this mirage of unity and congeal around groups where there's a common purpose and a common method the better off we will all be. Now let me come to black studies. This I would describe as an exceedingly well intentioned confusion. I am for intergrated studies. That is to say I am for bringing the history the experience the art of blacks into the american text books. I will not make the mistake that stupid uninformed white people have made for a hundred and fifty years. Who wripped out of the textbooks anything to do with blacks presented white studies to the American students. Now we have blacks getting over in the corner by themselves wanting to study black studies and in many many places they won't even let white people in. The fact of the matter is that's rediculous. The whites need black studies more than you do. At least you're black, you've had some experience, they haven't even had any experience. Furthermore, to a certain extent it reveals the gap between aspiration and the ability to perform. I know doggone well that many blacks are not prepared. But the answer to that is not to get in the corner with courses that you think are a snap that you can pass yourself. Remedial training is the answer. And many of the universities, of course Columbia would be accepted it's perfect, many of the universities have played dirty games with these students instead of telling them the truth including black faculty members. Now having said that, and just in case any one misunderstands me if you will come to my office you will see some of the most magnificant African art which I have collected for years. I was the original guy who wore his hair like this before anybody else did and many of my friend would say to me brother why don't you get a hair cut. I have first editions which I have been collecting going all the way back to Phyllis Wheatless. And therefore I am profoundly interested but I want the black experience in the main stream for I have additional reasons. Real intergration is essential to scholarship. Count DeCullen is a lyric poet and should be studied with other lyric poets of all colors in America. It is then that you discover that a black man is one of the greates of all lyric poets. Not over there by himself. Paul        Dunbar was a unique poet. But so was James Whitcom Riley who wrote in the same            . They should be studied together. Crispus Attics was not just a black man. Crispus Attics walked a hundred and fifty miles at one occasion and missed Thomas Jefferson by a few hours. He was a revolutionary. Part of a revolutionary movement. And unless you know the thinking of Jeffereson, unless you know the thinking of Washington, Crispus Attics is just a black token thing that makes you feel good that has no meaning. Dr. Drew should be studied alone with the intolerence of the medical profession in this country. It is not enough to say that he was a black who was mistreated. After he had done the marvelous thing he had done with blood plasma. He is a part of a American trend where the organized doctors of this country are keeping America from having enough doctors to sew up the American people. He must be seen as part of that and not just a black. Furthermore, most black professors who have any real interest in scholarship are not gonna be caught in black study courses for a simple reason. That any time Ford Foundation and other patroniage society get tired of playing with this experiment and withdraw their money, there is no future in that kind of scholarship for them. As blacks get weary of them, as they are increasingly doing, these courses will disappear just as surely as the courses at Notre Dame where I happen to be a trustee, that were demanded by the Irish in 1920 on Irish studies disappeared before 1926, because that demand is related to other frustrations. When they are met, that demand must disappear. Next. Time and energy and money should have been invested in intergrating the textbook. Because if and when these studies disappear we are going to be right back where we started from and we'll then have to start doing the real job of intergrating the textbook. Now I come to another calculated distortion. And I must deal with these distortions before we can know how we now have to proceed. And that is the thing that divided this community more than anything else, community control. And I'm very happy to say that a few of us had the courage honestly to come out against community control when it was popular to believe in it. And I must say that I'm so delighted and my friend Kenneth Clock who led the fight along with the Ford Foundation finally came to his senses, and denounced community control. Why? And before I can tell you why basically I must say that I am not talking about black people here, I'm talking about the whole world. We must put it within context. There is a worldwide thing going on which can only be described as new tribalism. And again you have the hope, hopelessness, frustration syndrome. All over the world, not only blacks in America, people look at the big problem, do not know how to solve it and therefore want to retreat into something that looks like themselves. The Walloons in Belgium are wearing Walloon hairdos, speaking their own language and want to get out of the Belgium thing. The problem is they don't know where to go. The french Canadians don't feel they can be confortable in Canada. They want to get out of Canada and get over here and do their French thing. At a time when Britain has no choice but to go into the common market the Welsh and the Scotts want an independence movement want to break away. And though here it is again that blacks are engaged in this. Now what this kind of thing does is to pick one minority against another at the very moment when no progress is possible without a political consensus in which they are all making a common demand. It creates the my turf psychology. So on 125th street we're gonna hold up what's built there for two years until we decide. That building was started before the Twin Towers. The Twin Towers are up and two thirds of the land over there is still vacant because there isn't any community to decide what they want there. There is only the demand you stay off my turf. Well if blacks had the right to run white teachers out and they had their little turf in Harlem, how could one critize Imperali when he wants his little turf in Newark and doesn't want Burrocka to come in. Or how does one have any moral status at judging the stupidity of the people in Canarsie who say you got your turf, he's got his turf lets have our turf. It is socially destructive. It is the appearance of power where there is no economic base to make power exist and that is the reason that more of the school districts are controlled by the Catholic Church and the UFT today than by any other single groups. After all the fight about community control. One more. And this was has related to psychological retreat. There is a psychology of child likeness. And it says you don't like me, I don't like you. And that is the basis of the retreat into separation on the part of many blacks. There is no logic to it. It simply says psychologically you have said for many years you don't like me so in return I want to tell you I don't want you, I want separation. Now the problem with separation is that there's no basis for it. I sometimes wake up at night laughing, I shouldn't do it, but after this country fought the most brutal civil war to keep the states together, how can sane black men really think that they're gonna turn over twelve states to us. And beginning with Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. This would be political suicide. How could we maintain them if we got them? But furthermore, economically it is quite impossible. We cannot as blacks put blacks to work. We cannot as blacks make jobs for blacks, give blacks hospital care. We are only going to get that within the total framework. And incidentally no other minority group will either. Now I come to a view a substitute for program an analysis. And that is the concentration exclusively on racism. Now I'm gonna make three things clear. I know that racism exists, the fact that I've been arrested twenty four times is an indication of that. I know that racism distorts everybody. I know that racism inflicts mortal damage on black people and must be eradicated. But one can not destroy racism head on. The economic roots that breed racism must be destroyed before racism can be destroyed. This requires an expanding economy and an economy of plenty. In an economy of scarcity racism is inevitable. In an economy of plenty racism can be reduced to its irreducible mimimum even if it may not totally be destroyed. It is therefore important to see that the dangers inherent in the monoistic notion that all problems for blacks spring from racism or the equally irroneous notion that if racism were to disappear or a blackmans problems would disappear is not the case. What are the inherent dangers in the exclusive concentration on white racism. It is very difficult for me to get any kind of discussion going among young blacks today except white racism. Well number one the discussion exclusively of white racism obscures the need for basic and social institutional change. It concentrates on individual whites personalities and implies only one answer and that is that we really ought to psychoanalyze all the white people. Secondly, it diverts attention from the effects of automation, sibernation and other aspects of a technological revolution which are now depriving more poor and blacks of jobs and dignity than segregation and discrimination are. But I cannot get young blacks to discuss sibernation and automation. Why? Because racism is the problem. It obscures the pursuit of new careers which do not depend on muscle power. But why discuss a relationship of muscle power to new careers to the poor and blacks. Racism is a problem. It prevents young blacks students from exploring economic policies, the roots of unemployment etc since why study these problems if white racism is the problem. It works against the kind of coalition necessary for change. For how can you make common cause with those whites over there if they're problem is racism. I can cooperate with them. One can readily see that the needs are for political coalition if one examines what it is that black people need now to improve their lives. Black people need a social and economic program which includes the following. Full employment for all that are willing, ready to work with adequate wages. Guaranteed income for all who are too poor too sick or too old. Three medical care. Free education. And in addition the re-defining of study as work and paying young people to go to school. It means that the government must become the employer of last resort and that the government must provide housing for all and decent housing. Now to illustrate what I mean when I say we must go beyond racism and not dwell on racism exclusively, I make a proposition. That a week from next Thursday all whites in Harlem....all blacks in Harlem will become white. A week from next Friday and for several years to come the fact that they have been turned black will not mean that they will get work or a guaranteed income nor medical care, nor a free education, nor government being the employer of last resort, nor decent housing. The fact of their becoming white will not do that anymore than if I go to Appalachia and turn all the people there black, their objective situation will not really be much worse than it is now. This is what we have got to see and we have got to deal with. Today there is no black agenda, no Puerto Rican agenda, no Mexican American agenda, no poor white agenda. We have got to universalize the agenda and talk about the things I have named as being essential for all people. The problem today can be solved in only two ways. One after we do away with all the chat that I have been describing to find out what is really left on which you can build a social movement, there are two things. One is the union card and the other one is a ballot box. Let us see what the union card does. First of all unions were the first groups to start the desegregation process thirty years before churches and universities did. What have unions done the struggle. We would not have had the civil rights act nor the voter rights act nor would we have gotten rid of Carswell and Hanesworth if it had not been for the trade unions. We blacks have only one lobbyist in Washington, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP. And the work was done by Clarence directing a 150 lobbyist for those bills many of whom came from the trade union movement. I want you to know that blacks who are organized make fifty percent more a year than blacks who are not organized in the trade unions. I want you to know that blacks are rapidly moving up in the trade union movement. Of all the workers in America who are white 20.2 million are organized in labor. While in the blacks who are in organized labor it is 22 percent. That means more and more blacks are gonna have a greater say in the trade union movement. But unions are necessary to us because they play a role in society which makes them the second most important element in society at the corporate capitol. Corporate capitol cannot be our ally. Therefore the unions must if we are to be allied with power. But in addition to all this, the union gives dignity not only money to workers. Now the ballot box is the next important thing. If you will read over that list that I have mentioned that black people and poor people need, every bit of it must come from Washington. There is not a city in this country which can provide education for the poor. There's not a city in this ....our state which can provide housing. There's not a city which can provide jobs. The money for putting the people in decent housing back towork and in decent medical institutions must come from the federal government. And you get that in only one way. By registering by voting. Therefore we have to see that all people are registered and less than forty five percent of blacks registered today. We have to get them out to the polls. We have to clarify issues and we have to build a sound political movement in the black communities the back up and to make the politicians that they elect behave themselves. We must be in coalition with minorities, liberals, students, the trade unions and others if we are to achieve. We have got to drop gimicks and we have got to deal with the instruments before us for social change. From 1909 to 1951 it was Randolph and the NAACP in the courts and in the streets. From 1955 to 1965 it was King and Company, in the streets and in the congress. From 1965 and till now it is a ballot card, a union card and the ballot box.

And we must concentrate on building a coalition of forces of people who know that they are the means and try to educate those who do not. Thank you Mr. Chairman. (applause)

Well I can speak for myself in saying that I have learned a great deal from this series and I'm sure that that is true for many of your hearers. I hope that it has also given us a great deal to think about and perhaps to join in and thinking about and discussing with you in the future. Thank you very much for your William Radnor lectures. I don't know whether you would be willing to take a few more minutes of your time to answer questions. We didn't ask you whether you were willing to respond to questions....

Maybe you better come up here so people can hear you. Can you hear? Come brother.

Well I must say first of all I haven't had any trouble trying to find...it seems to me you sort of saying kind of a inherent contradiction in racism and mockism. I haven't had any trouble finding white mockism who also racist. And I just don't understand why you have so much faith in the kind of George Meany unionism that I see on American scene today. And also your remarks sort of bothered me in a sense. I wasn't quite sure whether you were trying to reassure whites that they had nothing to worry about or that you were saying that you feared sort of ghetto blacks who were generating their own leadership and sort of ending the kind of old white sponsored leadership system that's been so much a part of the black community.

Those are just some of the remarks I....I thought blacks went through this whole business of mockism interpretation of history in the 1920s and 30s, but it seems that we are going through it again...

Needless to say there are a number of things to which mocks believe that I believe. And just because blacks once did that does not mean that if I think it's sensible I shouldn't believe it now. I am a democrat but there are certain things that I believe that one of the serious problems with blacks and whites in this country is that we act as if there are no class conflicts. Now just because Mock said there were class conflicts if I believe that I have to say it. Simply because the communist say it's raining I am not required to say that the sun is shining if it is in fact raining. Now the other point is you know there may be a lot wrong with George Meany. I don't want to get into that. I want any black person in this audience tonight to point out to me any other American institution except the organized trade union movement with which we can have an aliance that has power. Maybe he's wrong. But I have to be where black workers have to be. There are two and one half million blacks in the AFLCIO. I must not close my eyes to that and they are there because they get protection from the union and fifty percent more money a year. And they are perfectly free to denounce George Meany if they want. They do it every day.

So I stand precisely on every word I said and I must say I welcome challenges and hope there are others. Yes sir.

I'm very happy that you added one word in your talk, because now I can agree with it. When you point out that blacks in a given situation of coalition might behave exactly the way we perceive white people behaving miserably in a coalition, is sound. What I pointed out was that at the moment in any coalition that you feel that you are being messed with it is a voluntary association and you leave it. You don't have to stay. Now I pointed out also carefully that blacks have no choice of leaving organized labor. They don't have a choice. That is a coalition which is determined by the class struggle. They are workers they have to be where other workers are. Because where more and more workers are together they can defy the boss, they can strike and they can have dignity. So that there are some inherent problems in coalition yes. You're absolutely right! The problem is what alternative is there to coalition if the pursuit of a political consensus is your objective and you are a minority. You've got to coalesce with somebody. Unless you assume that one tenth can bring sufficient political pressure themselves to bring about a social change. Yes madam.

I would propose that you look up the rise and decline of Tom Watson and you will discover that the coalition that I'm talking about amoungst workers actually got much further at one point and earliest in the

South. Now given that you are right, it was racism which finally came in amoungst other things and killed it off. But here again rather than arguing again what I said I must raise a question with you. If your objective is political and you are one tenth, how can you achieve any political objective without allies? Now therefore you have to say who are they? Now when you analyze the situation it's very interesting to note that Senator Brooke the other night in addressing the black coalition dinner of three thousand people called attention to my having called for coalition from twenty years and advised people there to examine it. It is very interesting that the sixteen members of the house of representatives before their dinner had a press conference, and for the first time, in a back-handed way said that they now were proceeding that it had not been right for them to act like civil rights leaders. They now had to pay attention to how you build with other elements a coalition. Now they went too far, if the Times was correct because it said they wanted to make coalition with their enemies. I don't want to make coalition with my enemies but I repeat that the only way you can make a coalition is because Mr. X and Mr. Y and Miss Z at this moment agree that it is in their interest to cooperate to get something. And when they don't want to they don't have to.

Well....They're asking me to repeat the question for the tape. I have to simplify it because I can't really remember all of it. But I think the main part of your question is how do we prepare young blacks to face the implications of automation and sibernation and other aspects of technological revolution? Now in order to answer this question I have to be a bit historical, because white people are always talking about how they lifted themselves by their boot straps when their grandfathers came over here. The fact of the matter is when whites came from Europe they could be absolutely as dumb as they needed to be and in fact many of them came off of farms in Ireland, couldn't read and write. From Southern Italy where they couldn't read and write etc etc. And from many other places. This society spent hundreds of thousands of dollars lieing to Europeans by distributing all over Europe leaflets telling people how marvelously they were gonna live if they leave those farms in Europe and come over here. Because our nation was in a situation where it needed sheer muscle power. And I can tell you how white people lifted themselves by their boot straps, by pushing around pushcarts which made it possible for them to get an economic toehold because the nation helped them and didn't take any taxes from them. They made it by lifting themselves by their boot straps when Uncle Sam gave them some free land. They made it mostly by their boot straps no. But by selling their muscle power. Today nobody wants to buy the muscle power of poor people black or white. And therefore we have to do several things. The first of which is we have got to develop new careers for the poor where we teach them a job while we pay for it. Now nobody minds paying college students to learn to work. You know they're always coming over my desk, Mr. Rustin can you find work for me. What can you do. I have a degree in socialogy. I did not ask you what mistakes you had made, I ask you what you can do. College students by and large can do nothing if they come out of liberal arts. The society however has adopted a notion that we'll take them into Chase Manhattan they never changed a dollar bill in a bank and we will teach them something about banking and pay them well. We have got to get this society to pay low class workers in the working field a decent wage while they learn to do something. Now, ironic as it is the most creative job of providing ghetto people, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and black opportunity to skip over the problems of automation is being carried out in this city by the teachers union. They have now over ten thousand mothers who only yesterday were on relief as paraprofessionals in the schools starting out by helping teachers, but with a program which is embedded in the teachers unions contract where they get free education and where they in five or six years can become teachers. That's the way we do it. Secondly, my organization gets three million dollars from the federal government for the purpose of going to the building trades and getting young blacks to pass tests. We don't wait. We teach them how to beat that test. And they get in there and we now have over six thousand that we placed who are gonna get union cards and start off making five and six dollars an hour. It's because we find new ways and new careers for the poor and to expand that whole area. Now thats a very simple answer to a profoundly important question you're raising. I'm merely trying to point out one direction of creating new careers for the poor. Yes sir.

Gentlemanwwants me to do a new series of lectures of money, politics and power. Well all I can say is what is obvious. That power derives from ideas from money. I can say that sometimes men are more moved by power and the need for power than they are by money. I would say that if one is going to make a social program, one has to see how all of these move men and how one can set up stratagies and tactics to black men who want to use those things for the wrong reason. That's about all I can say on that one. Young man.

I don't know what in the name of god I was doing helping you! (laughter) A brother in the back. Yes sir brother. The gentlemen thinks that unity is essential and wants to know what my rational...what....well I try to make it clear by saying that people will say they are for unity and honestly think they are. But when they come to the concrete problem they in fact can not be. Now you mention Enis. I was a good friend of Roy Ennis'. I was literally one of the founders of Core. I was its first field secretary and Ennis and I worked together in Harlem. When Ennis and I were after the same thing by the same method. Since I do not honestly believe in segregation it would be rediculous for me to appear to be in unity with him. And I think he would or hearing what I have to say, return my compliment. He doesn't want to be in unity with me. I hear talk about pan africianism. I use to be a pan africanist. I am not now. I am not going to be talking about unity with African leaders whom I consider fascist minded. I am not going to be interested in an African leader when I visit his country and his automobile came down the road and I did not get down in the dust and grabble that he sent his policeman to beat me to the ground, because he is called the Emperor. I'm not interested in emperors or I am not going to adhere and support military dictatorships in Africa anymore than I will in Greece. I can not be in unity with blackness. I have to be in unity with ideas. Political program. Directions and may I tell you my friend once one decides any question finally on the basis of race all distinction is gone out of the window. It is just not possible. It was not possible with whites and it is not possible with us. And may I point out. Jews do not have unity and never have had. Irish do not have unity or they wouldn't be doing what they're doing in Northern Ireland. No group on the basis of color or religion has ever had unity. In fact when jews had their back to the wall at the time of Hitlerism was also the time when there was the greatest disunity amoungst jews with the question being raised are you a zionest or are you not. Now I will not go for the myth of unity it does not exist and cannot exist and it is a dangerous pursuit. Yes sir.

I wrote Martin a long dissertation on why I felt he should stay out of the North. And I will tell you what I had in it. First of all, Martin King was going to have difficulty operating in a place where negro political interest were dévided. The minute he went into Chicago he went up not against a city in the South where blacks had no political power, he went up against the smartest politician in America Dailey who had done more for blacks politically than any other mayor has done before him or since. He may not have done it in the way we like but he did it. Second of all, Martin should have stayed South because he had the unity of the churches of the south which was not possible in the North. And to give you a good illustration of this, Reverend J.H. Jackson one of the most powerful ministers in the country headed a baptist association, once they named South Parkway in Chicago for Martin Luther King so hated Martin after his death even that he spent forty thousand dollars to change the entrance of his church to a side street so the church would not have the address of Martin Luther King drive.

Thirdly, Martin had aroused Southern workers who could easily be aroused because they had never had anybody else interested in them. He could not come North without running into a lot of people in and out of the trade union movement who were attempting to munipulate the black workers in their own interest. Furthermore the poor peoples campaigne was an effort to bring the strategy and tactics of protest into a political pursuit and the strategies and tactics of protest could not elicit economic objectives from congress. Where it could elicit moral objectives. But finally I agreed with Abernathy that dispite all this I would still come down to Washington to reorganize the poor peoples campaigne. I went down there with my friend Norman Hill and for five days there was such jealousy on the part of the lieutenants of Abernathy for having called me in that the boys obstructed every move I tried to make and therefore I told Abernathy I would retire. I was not going to say a word to the newspapers about my retiring because I didn't want to stir up trouble I had loved Martin too much for that. But his voice went to the press with such distortions as to why I had left that I had to call a press conference and tell why I had left. Now I wish that the poor peoples campaigne had been organized differently and I think if Martin had lived it might have been. But there was no way to pull it off given the objective situation we were in. And brother if that grieved you who had stood with Martin in every campaigne, you do not know how it grieved me. Two young men here and a young man here. Yes. I would like to say that we're going very long and people who have to leave ought to really feel free to get up and go now so that we're not keeping you here against your will with these questions. Go ahead.

You are to a certain extent right. But that's nothing we have control over. People are always saying that the black population in the United States is getting worse off each day economically. That is a simplification. What is happening is that blacks who have an education beyond high school like our young friend here are better off every day. The other side is that those who do not have education are getting terribly bad off, worse than anybody else and even though those with education and opportunity are getting more and more money it is so bad at the bottom that the medium income is getting worse and worse. But this is inevitable. And here again I want to advise young black students, do not be naive. Do not expect the black middle class as a class to move in your interest. They will move in their own middle class interest. The minute the Irish got rich in hells kitchen they moved out. The minute the Jews got any money on Allen Street they ran. The minute the Italians got anything they left Mott Street. You cannot expect people because they are black to defy the law of sociological grasshopping. It just doesn't happen. And that is the reason we have to depend on something which is in aliance with black workers.

And that is the black trade union movement. I agree that the class thing is emerging you can't help it anymore than you can amoungst other groups. The problem is always in discussing things in America we are trying to make blacks unique in some way. And the fact is they are not unique.

There is only one place for blacks to be, and that is in the democratic party. Why? Because I like democrats? No. But because that is the place where all the potential allies are. That is where the Puerto Ricans will end up, where the Mexican Americans will end up, where the enlightened university people will end up, where the students will end up, where all other minorities will end up and where the poor whites have been for a long time being mistreated. No we've got to stay within the democratic party and fight. Now how do you fight within a party. You get on committees, you have a constinuency, you vote, you back up your congressman, you don't let them simply go to Washington and play silly and be glamour boys or entainers

# WM. RADNER LECTURE 1st LECTURE

I have the great privilege of introducing our Radner Lecture who is Mr. Bayard Rustin. Mr. Rustin is 63 years old, he is the Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. His career in Civil Rights spanes more than thirty years during which he has taken part in the leading events of the struggle of our time. He's been arrested twenty-four times and he onced worked on a chain gang. I understand that was in North Carolina and as a sohsequent of his service, chain gangs were then abolished in that state. During the 1940's he was Race Relations Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and in 1941 he was the youth organizer for the A. Philip Randolph March on Washington, yes 1941. That same year he became the first Field Secretary of the newly formed Congress of Racially Equality. In subsequent years he worked closely with Martin Luther King helping to organize the 1955 Montgomery Alabama Bus Boycott and drawing up plans in 1956 for the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Rustin coordinated the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage that brought thirty-five thousand Christians to Washington, D.C. He was deputy director of 1963 march on Washington for jobs in freedom in which two hundred and fifty thousand persons participated and which paved the way for passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The A. Philip Randolph Institute of which he is Executive Director was named for the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Mr. Rustin is a long time associate. The institute was established in 1964 to promote voter registration economic equality and better relations between black, liberals and unions. Mr. Rustin has been the institute director since 1966. He writes a bi-weekly column on Civil Rights and in 1977 he published down the line a collection of his essays newspaper reports and columns. Mr. Radner, Mr. Rustin is the seventh Wm. Radner Lecturer a very distinguish series. The lectureship was established by the Radner family in 1956 if you look inside your program you will see the six predecessor's beginning with Harry S. Truman and ending with Robert Wood. With these few words it will now be my privilege to introduce Mr. Rustin's series of lectures from Freedom Ride to Ballot Box the challenging the changing strategy of black struggle tonights lecture the early years building a consensus for freedom. Ladies and gentlemen it is my privilege to introduce Mr. Bayard Rustin.

Thank you. Its quite obvious there are a number of people who work for me are here tonight. I see a lot of old friends and to them I apologize because I think this is the first time in my life that I've ever been compelled to read a speech. They will wonder what has happened to my arms which usually flay but we shall see. Negro history during the twentieth century has been marked by a remarkable and unpresidented social repremation. For centuries black's have been seen by the American society as sub-human, invisible men. Brought here in bondage abandon with the end of reconstruction the negro remained at the bottom of brutal cast system and now as then discrimination and segregation was rapine in the new self where blacks were excluded from the coming wealth of the industrial society. And yet without a doubt even though some blacks do not dhoose to admit it we have risen from oppression and from discrimination to create a most dynamic social movement of our time in the United States and certainly the most created evolution for any minority anywhere in the world. Once considered political unattest blacks have become unique as a political force in the United States which no politician dare disregard. This became quite clear to me on the day that Mr. Kennedy called Mrs. King, when Martin was in jail, I distinctively and automatically knew at that moment that he was not calling out of affection but out of the fact that blacks now have arrived politically. And from a economic under class landless poverty stricken consigned to union dead end constructions and occupations blacks have become participantes in the main stream of the technologic society far more than we are permitted to admit. The movement which enabled blacks to submount the twin handicaps of racial and class discrimination have been rooted in three basic priniciples, when these priniciples have been active racial progress has been made. At any point that these priniciples were violated by so-called leaders then we were in trouble. What were these priniciples? They were intergration, non-violence and constitutional means and collusion politics. That is to say that a belief in racial progress could only be achieved in a intergrated frame work a commitment in the tactics of non-violence including constitutional means and the intelligent use of corps and finally the realization that broad permant change could not be achieved by minority unless it is in collusion with other minority's liberals, trade movement and etc. Now that is not to say that there had not been times when prepondence of various grounds of frustration politics like Carl Michaels and Rath Brown. There have been times when they have rejected these priniciples and for a short time they achieved untold attention and notarity. But very fact that they did not accept those three priniciples meant that they were in a dead end politically and that soon that they would pass as they now have with a dozen others like them into total political oblivion. Now these three priniciples have a common theme and that theme is hopefulness this is the most important quality for change. Men do not achieve any revolutionary act because they are desperate they achieve a revolutionary thrust as they begin to move upwardly. Revolution is a result of hopefulness and if one looks at intergration it is based on hopefulness, non-violent means and hopeful concept of nature of man, collusion politics a belief even though you are not with me today there is a common ground on which we could struggle politically tomorrow. For only when blacks have adjeared to intergration non-violence and collusion politics have they succeeded in moving man made mountains that didn't grow. And at such times they have removed racial barriers that have been carefully been erected over spanes of centuries, they have won decisions from the courts, they have passed laws in the congress, they have had the support of presidents and they have encouraged the majority of the American people to join them. The notion my friends that anything creative came out of the rioting is simply untrue. In Watts today there are less hospital beds more unemployment less of a transportation system and more people and the arguement some how or other that rioting really did something is quite contary to all that the facts will show. It is true of course that intergation has not always been the dominant fallacy of the negro movement at times long simmering anger have boiled over to expressions of violence and at other times a nationalism had has its day. Doctrines breed from its frustration in hopelessness have marked the history of all social movements. Particularly those confined with similarly in some mountable odds like the blacks had to face. The point is that those periods we saw the lives of our geology of hopelessness were precisely the period when cast achievements were blunted, when hard one consensus of support was diminished, when confusion aimlessness and disray replaced unity and purposefulness. Now if one wants really to understand what happened from 1909 until 1954 one has two things one must do, one is to explore the N W A C P and its history, which I should not go into great lengths since its so well known. There are two personalitys that one simply must understand if one is to understand what is happening to one in that black period. One of these men was Markas Garby and the other one was Philip Randolph and we must see them to understand what really was happening. One cannot and one need not argue with a proposition that Garby made and some contributions and was a intellectual figure. The fact is that the vast movement he command for a few stormy years now its in the hundred's of thousands The more art of his followers and grace doctrine of panegyricism as a legitimate alternative to intergration. Others and most careing little about the physiological sultries of that goddly perpounded and noteing that he was far removed from most black intellectuals, never the less intrusted Garby with their meger savings and then eagerly awaited the coming of the black capitalism bonanza, which he had promised. But of course it never came. And its shocking that the people could have ever thought that black capitalism then or now could have any appreciable effect. If it is true that white capitalist manipulate trillions of dollars permit poverty to exist in Applacha and amongst poor whites in every city, who thinks that black aapitalist manipulating a fewwmillion dollars can do anything about lifting the l____________ into the working classes or to get the working classes into the middle classes. So Garby was in many respects a profound and magnificence hoaxs and yet to despite his wide spread popularity Garby left very little relative superbness to the racial struggle today. His career gauls the notice of historians to be sure but his ideas mean little to the current situtation of the black masses. And it is interesting that every public opinion poll in the last ten years has shown that far over sixty, seventy, eighty persent of all blacks are interested in intergration as a means of solveing their problem. And as each passing year brings more progress for blacks within the context of the American society Garby's nationalist idea has become less and less relevant. Now there are those that would explain Garby's ellipsis as a result of his financial bundling or the fact that the goverment was out to get him they say Garby the man failed but his philosophy he has found contains merit. Such a explanation is insufficient alternatively Garby failed because the black working classes turned their back on him and the emergence of the C I O which put blacks back to work deminished even those few and the reason it deminished them was the formation of bringing blacks into the trade union movement restablished hopefulness in the society. Now more of these blacks who are applying the shape of the coming struggle recognize that Garby was not a revolutionary as he claimed to be but was in fact a counter-revolutionary an economic reactionary carborting with the Ku Klax Klan. He was a third going capitalist and in a sense accomodationist like Washington before him Garby rose to prominence at the time when it was becoming increasingly obvious at the rising expectation of negros was soon to be shattered. But Washington the time was the knowledge end of the reconstruction the time when Freedman would disinfranchise deprived of their social economic rights what was thought to be their legitimate legacy of the emancipation. For Garby it was a time of trial immediately after World War I and hopelessness again appeared, when returning troops discovered that making the world safe for democracy did not signal to spread democracy at home.

Garby rose the power on the hopelessness of the 20's when more blacks were being lynched more than ever before, when there was more black unemployment than ever before, when blacks were being driven off of the land in the south and when brutality reigned. Now in other words Garby taught again what Washington taught in that black should now and I quote "cast down your buckets where you are" that is not the statement of a revolutionary or a man who could have anything to do with the black s---- that is in other words to engage not to engage in real struggle. To let down your buckets where you are is accomodationist it is the absence of struggle. Now then Markas Garby's words to the negro worker are interesting I quote "always keep your scale of wages a little lower than the white until you are able to become through proper leadership, by which he meant Garby, your own employer this is perhaps the most rational propsal that was ever suggested to black people. Now on the other hand it is ironic that it was A. Philip Randolph who proceeded in Garby the makings of some incipient radical should have provided Garby with his first soap box speaking opportunity in Harlem. For these two men were soon to become bitter antagonist as Randolph's life was to be shortly different from Garby's. Because Randolph believed and still believes that progress for black's lay almost exclusively in a single American institution so far as economics are concerned. And that is in a strong inter-racial unions. Randolph did not move with the swiftness in which Markas Garby rose and fell but his contributions are far more reaching and lasting, where Garby's social visions were narrow Randolph's was total. He was always aware, Randolph as Garby was in his own way of the economic dimension of discrimination his various campaigns would directed at both class and racial bias. Randolph understood that the negros the arena of struggle right here in the United States and that the particulars of the struggle must be aimed at massive reconstruction of the nations basic institution and Randolph was the first and the only black leader in this country who has ever called for a profound and deep redistribution of life and he has consistently held to the view through out his career. And in this respect therefore Randolph was unique amongst black leaders. That is to say that Randolph was the first and only in this period it will be interesting to know when I get to my third period that Martin Luther King was very much concerned to understand that a redistribution of wealth was essential not only to black progress but if blacks were to continue the hopefulness which would make the continuation of the struggle of non-violence possible. Randolph also possessed the keen stress of strategy and pratice it was in this sense that set him apart from black leadership in those painful years, when the nation began to hear the first precisive murmurings of the civil right movement. The nation heard those murmurings in 1909 when the Niagra movement was founded and again a year later and a little louder in 1910 when the N W A C P was established. The establishment of the N W A C P my friends if you will go back to 1909 and just look at the headlines of the New York Times was one of the most glorious and daring experiments and it was great in that it was founded on the three priniciples and some of the finest people who established were Jews were Catholics, were white Protestants, militant blacks all working together. Now lets look at what the N W A C P asks for because there's a great lesson here. What the N W A C P asks for in 1920 was the right to vote, access to education on the same basis as everybody else, a fair trial and decent judges, an end to lynching and burning at the hands of mobs, equal and intergrated accommodations. Now I point out to you that this program adjust itself to the basic priniciples of human dignity and constitutional rights but there is not in the founding of the N W A C P statement a single word in conversing economic rights. Now this dimension was advader by Randolph. Nor did the N W A C P 1919 document deal with the strategic means for resolving discrimination. How could it? However this lapse in no sense of reflection on the N W A C P during those difficult years not a single person nor a single organization knew or could have known what a society of social change was, because there was no political base amongst blacks on which you could place a strategy. You can not have a strategy without a political base. Now the boys and Garby thought they knew, but the course of history has demonstrated that nither of them knew and that the philosophy that they projected which A. Philip Randolph was to fight, were erroneous and were not going to get us where we wanted to go. The fact is that the racial cast system has so prorated the American society in the early 1900's that it had totally destroyed the potential for creative mass action and this condition had been moralized black leaders forcing them into activity not derived nor related to any pare face. Now what makes Randolph unique is that he began to feel for where now where we have a power base which a political strategy can be faced. Now I take nothing from the N W A C P which was doing its job in another important way. I must give Randolph credit for having presieved that this political fact was there and needed to be addressed to. Now the American political process which is provided some measure of hope for the immigrants who came from Europe was forclosed to black participation. And when people talk about why do blacks rise in the ways that the ones that came from Europe did, the answers profoundly simple it was not that they were bright, it was not that they had money it was not that they had skills. It was that they were permitted to vote and had a political base from which they could then operate. Now Woodrow Wilson looked upon negros with aristocrat distain. Hardin, Coolige and Hoover were not asuited by temperment nor philosophy to lend morale or political support to the oppressed. And Franklin D. Roosevelt is undoubtly the most over rated of any of them. Even thoughtRoosevelt from 1936 on received the overwhelming majority of the black vote he declined over and over again ever to put his prestige as president on the line, even for the anti-lynching bill. When it was clear that seventy-five percent of the people were against lynching. Now nor could blacks appeal to the Supreme Court for re-address the republican employees of the body gave it a visiably conservative tone. Not until mid-way through the 40's did the influence of Roosevelt appointees began to felt in sufficient effect of that deliberation of course outlooked. Now here we are shun by political parties rejected in the court and possessing near zero political power it is a miracle that blacks had to look outside the normal channels of democracy to press their course. But even here conditions in the American societies seriously limited their options. Now I protest willingly the scale mounted by Martin Luther King would have been unthinkable at that time most negros lived in the rural south where simply putting a sheet over your head could terrorify them. Where an effort to intergrate a public transportation had failed or a sit-in at the lunch counter would have listed swift and violently prizel. There were some two hundred and seventy-seven lynchings between 19222 and 34 in the south membership of the Ku Klux Klan had reached the high peak in the 20's. And they were alee now protofacish group organizing in the north not only to brutalize black but to brutalize Jews and Catholics, that was a very difficult atomsphere. The conservative effort to destroy the radical movement in the United States climax the Attorney General A. Mitichel Pomers red scare in 19. And while it did not directly effect the blacks it had a profound effect on our ability to stumble. Because the Pomers raids seriously disorganized and disoriented all the white allies who under a different set of circumstances could have been valuable for the struggle for freedom. Now lets look at the radical parties of the period. The radical parties displayed little understanding in the special problems confronting Americans. The socialists party for instance was strongly committed to the idea of racial equality but failed to offer a plateform directed at racial injustice. It did however have a program which had been implemented would have been helpful to black massives and that program of course would have been socializm. The over throw of the capital system by democratic means the institution of democratic control of means of production the allocation of goods and resources. But the socialist had no radical program for blacks as its e________ leader Eugene Debbs said we have nothing special to offer the negro and we can not make special appeals to all the races. Now as a long time socialist and as national chairman of the social democrates USA the party of Debbs and Thomas I look upon this area of the socialist to make that special appeal as a tragic error for socializm and for blacks. Because of the socialist parties lack of force forsight in this respect the generation of blacks came and went untouched by the doctors of socializm and un_______ with the brilliance of their visionary leaders. The fact of the matter is if today young blacks are going to be able to make contributions in the future, they are going to have to join youthful, leftwing democratec political groups. Because that is where the training for the nature of the job in the future must come from. Now there are two exceptions to this where Randolph and Chandler editors of the Socialist Oriented Magazine The Messenger. As a democratic organization generaly moved by human sufferings the socialist might have been primitive much to help if they had not been so narrow. Now let us look at the other radical organization the Communist party which when out of its way to inlist blacks particulary black activist and intellectuals. While the communist had a larger black membership during the period then other leftwing groups they to ultimately failed to affectively appeal to the black massives. For one thing the communist will always view is with suspicion as a potential verse group. Their leaders never had the respect that Thomas and Debbs had. And as the people already stigmatize by color of their skin negros were not egger to enter a political party with its notarity and double jeopardy and therefore they stayed away. They didn't want the communist position on the racial questions that is favored creation of a black state Ala Mohamed today was ridiculously Utopian to most blacks. Mohamely reliant to the negro for struggle for survival. Why did the communist party fail to attract support in the black community the same reason it failed to get more support in the labor movement the academic world and politics or any other institutions they attempted to dominate. Simply put the communist party primarily concern was not with black massives or with the working people but with the global objectives of the Soviet Union. Sooner or later these objectives were bound to surface. Now I learned about this first hand having been for several years an active member of the young communist league I was drawn to the communist because they appeared to be the only organization expression conclude concern about black people. I first encountered the communist in a Philadelphia meeting on the Scottsberg case where a guy came over and wanted to hand out some leaflets. I took his leaflets and six months later I was a member of the young communist league. At this point the young communist were told by the high command of the communist party, that I was to be assigned to C C N Y. Where instead of attending classes I was simply to matriculate and take examinations and organize for the young communist league. Eventually I was placed in charge of the campaign to combat the discrimination in the armed forces. This was of course during the period that hit the Stalin cap, when World War II was referred to as Roosevelt war of imperialism. The invasion of Russia by Nazi Germany in June 1941 changed all that. Now the war was no longer an imperious adventure for the struggle of freedom and democracy. Everything that we were told must be sacrifice for the war effort all energy must the party said must go now to opening a second front. This meant of course that I was called in and told that my project to disegregate the army was off. And all those black leaders like Randolph would continue thoughout the war to struggle for a better racial conditions where to become as I was to become subject to a drum fire of communist critisism. I resigned immediately from the party and did not do so simply because my project was dropped but because the communist now demonstration to me as they have to most black intellectuals and the trade unionists. That they were not the least concerned about what was happening in the United States but only about what in their view was best for the Soviet Union. They were prepared to sacrifice everything including the urgent needs of black people for the Soviet Union. And the intergrated army would now have to wait. Now the C P began to develope its image as a support of the negro rights during the late

20's racial riots in which blacks suffered tremendously. These riots have often been triggered by the efforts of negros to assert their economical and social rights. In fact my friends in one summer, forty blacks in 1917 were killed in East St. Louis in that riot and this cast a terrible spell over black people. Now the totality of repression perilizm and political indifference was to rendered efforts at collective action impossible for a number of years yet. The only operatives where Utopians fantasies like Garby's or some form of personal artistic and spiritual outlet as in image of the prevailing sense of hopelessness for any meaningful political strategy contributed to the cultural phenomenon known as Harlem renaissance. The Harlem renaissance substituted black image and black art for what might well have been political action or mass action the objective situation had been different. And I guess we had out of this renaissance a militant poem by Claude McKay, "Oh kingsman we must meet the comon foe though outnumbered let us show us brave and for those thousand blows deal one death blow. Like men will face the murders cowardly pack press to the wall dying but fighting back." That might have well been political action in another situtation where political action was possible. Now if the 20's were to be the blacks probably the darkest decade the 30th brought a new sense of hope. The depression visited itself more harshly on blacks than any one else. But blacks saw in the depression at least that everybody was pressed to the wall. The depression touched all colors and classes. And while this might seem a very minor thing in a social change the fact that other people are also in trouble is the bases for a created impluse which can move in the political direction. Now these studies of despair symbolize that the Garby movement now give way to high expectation which accompany the formation of the new deal and the C I O. These expectation shared by black and white alike prove well founded. Unions which form a n________ C I O strength out of mobil workers, mine workers and other organized mass production industries where blacks made up a increasingly large number in the force. Along with the radically progressive AFL unions like the ILTWU these unions added an important dimension to the American context and let's see what that was. The unions were the guardian force in the fight to win substantial improvements in the material conditions of black industrial workers. Most of these unions were led by men who both practical and priniciple reasons believed that black and white should be organized together. The unions hastened the end of the manipulation of black workers by employers who saw the negro as a force of cheap labor, a potential strike breaker, a black mass which could be profitable to depress wages. Now this is interesting and I recommend academic people to pay attention to this sentence, since so many of them are so anti-union. In the 30's the unions became the first mass interracial institutions in the nation where segregation had been the rule to begin desegregating. Thirty years that the churches, the universities and the corporations were not to move for another thirty years they did not get on fire until the 60's. And these unions presented negros with organizing skills a sense of particapation with the important social struggle it trained them how to struggle. This was to have been calculable effect on the latest civil rights movement. Now let me point out what I mean by that. It is interesting when Mrs. Rosa Park sat down it was not Martin Luther King who started to organize a boycott. It was a man whose name was E.D. Nixon and it is significant that he came out of the pullman porters and was Randolph's represented in the south. It is interesting that when we wanted to set up CORE the adult we had to go to get help was Randolph. It is interesting to note that when Martin Luther King's back is to the wall in Burmingham and they're taking his cars away he did the logical thing, he went to Burmingham. Why? Because their blacks were organized in the steel and other unions they were making money they had cars and he could respond to them. Like the unions in new deal although it did not address the unique problems created by racial discrimination did provide encouragement by the Civil Rights movement. With the coming of the CCC the WPA the Wagner Act and programs inaugurated under FDR's adminstration brought and end to the L______ tradition which goverment had, had since the birth of the nation. Blacks reasoned, ah if Rossevelt can do something to help the poor if he could do something like the Wagner Act to help the laborers if he could help the youth its about time we got off our behinds and see to it that he does something to help blacks. Now the Wagner Act had a more immediate effect even than that because the moment the Wagner Act said that unions had to work the right to organize and volume collectively almost overnight the twelve struggle that Randolph put up to get the pullman porters recognize was indeed there. The victory made Randolph the most agressive and the best known negro in the United States and also paved the way for the emergence of the most important strategy in the animuse of American social struggle. Now what was that strategy? It was a two pronged approach where the NWACP went to the ports and Randolph was now to lead the five or six most important street demonstration which was to lead to Martin Luther King. The strategy was be in the courts and be in the streets. Make what is happening in the streets reflect from the courts in the congress where you have no political power and get congress with its accomodation to the streets to have a greater effect in opening up the streets. The coming of the 1940's brought ______ unknown coherence strategy the Civil Rights movement. This did come from Garby it did not come from the boys it came from the one hand Randolph and the NWCAP on the other. Now as America busied herself with war time preparations the Civil Rights forces to launch their self in these directions. Now Philip Randolph and his followeres were organizing non-violent direct action projects in the NWACP and a relentless and brillant campaggn was piling case upon case for forty years. To understand Randolph's unique abilities as Civil Rights leader one must recognize he was both a product of negro experience and the product of radical and political tradition. And I point out that any blacks that are willing to make a future contribution had got to have had a radical political experience just as much as the experience as blacks or they cannot provide a leadership. As a negro Randolph understood the depths of discrimination as few white men could. He learned to persevere in the face of seemly in some mountable odds he valued _________ and what it meant to black workers. From socializm he gained the ability to order his mind to attend to his discipline thinking he gained a sense of strategy in tactics and most important he gained a understanding in economics underpinnings, of discrimination. It was this combination of these traditions that gave depth to Randolph vision. Now I come to a very important part of this. Randolph examined and rejected the dominant thinking of black leaders of his time he rejected the book of Washington's gradualizm, he fought Garby's nationalizm, he fought W.E.B. Deboys concept of the talented tenth and Randolph proved to be right and they proved to be wrong. Randolph rejected these trends and insisted that any movement had to be based in max action and had to name now specific goals. This campaign in 1941 the march on Washington was symbolic inauguration of this new dual flust in the Civil Right movement. The march was the first mass non-violence ever tried or threatened by negro Americans. Who until then almost exclusively had fought discrimination through court actions that of course was becoming increasingly successful. Or through individual acts of protest or through cultural rebellion or through internalation of despair in some form of frustration politics. There have never before been an attempt of such a large scale collective mass direction action as Randolph was then proposing. Randolph's campaign was the first instance of organized protest against economic oppression. Early expressions of protest had been directed at terrorizm _______ the poll tactics the ___________ and etc. The organizers of the march nowever had one over rioting objective and that was to get jobs in goverment for blacks. Now it was the new immigrants to the north who made the march possible they became the ultimate and efficacy of the marchers demands because they themselves had by the mear fact of having come into Chicago and New York into these ghettos. Their act of migration had made the march visiable in Randolph's mind. He could not have people march from Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama from the share croppers he had to have a urban base. For ________ in 40's there was no black working class large enough or concentrated enough to support a national movement of any scope and vision by Randolph. The turns of its stragegy to make the march a success was inforceing the Federal Government the first time in history to deal with negros as equals. Now I am not going to, I am now going to leave out this section in which I describe how Randolph got the executive order I would simply tell you that he got it by threating to march and this was a important movement. Whatever the inner sentiments of FDR was hes impluse was to know all complaints on the part of blacks and listen to what he himself had to say. For fear that any positive action would be by the democratic party whose unity he saw as a bases of his own power and he didn't not want to lose getting his domestic program through. Randolph who had made some strategic mistakes himself in winning the struggle of improvement company well understood that negros were in no position to issue ultimatum. If they were weak, fearful and unorganized, thus when he announced the march this is what he said "Power and pressure do not reside in the feud a small group of intellectuals they lie and flow from massives. Power does not even rest with the massives as such power is the active priniciple of only the organized mass". And I repeat that everything that Martin Luther King did in the second period which I shall be discussing tomorrow night. Logically proceeded from the ground work which Randolph has set-up. Now executive ordering 802 was issused on June 25,1941 it band discrimination in best industries and goverment establishments and a fair employment practice commission was set-up with some teeth in it for the first time since reconstruction. The march also set crucial strategic presidence for the Civil Rights movement where there had been a vacuum. For now there was a mass base of potential state concentrating and in the organized black community. Now the negro massives tactical visions began to expand and Randolph had after all acted within the constitutional frame work and intelligent to tell to these priniciples that we have been discussing. Nor was this executive decree the only source of hope for now mid way through the 40's three decade long campaign of the NWACP in course was beginning more effect. Persuaded by skillful arguments such a phase as Marshall and William Hasty the Supreme Court now began to move. The next important decision was the Irene Morgan decision. That was a ruling that said a interstate travel blacks had the right to sit in any part of the bus they want. Now this combination of direct action and legal action was forming and causing the nation to confront the call for racial equality. But the Federal Goverment of course had with much parting had begun to admitt the existing of discrimination and that something should be done about it. Thus it was only natural that an organization committed to spread the technics of non-violence could now emerge and that organization was the Congress of racial equality. The hard inter-racial group which set up CORE in 1942 bears absolutely no resemblance to that CORE as it is today. The early CORE was established by individuals who passionately dedicated to the priniciple of intergration. Today's CORE is runned by black segragationist __________ central national director preachers a crude brand of separatism. The advocated senate confirmation of Carswell on the ground that Carswell hardened hostility to intergration would help balance the pause of intergration of minority...majority. Even more celebrated is Evans conference with ______ and other artistocrats in a effort to devised a formula to reinstitue a dual school system but perhaps the most disgusting thing CORE had done is to Mr. Eans going to Africa to sit down with General Amine of Uganda to congratulate him for having sent the people who are Indian decent out of the country having taken their money and valuables and to describe Mr. Amine under the circumstances as the most noble black mandin the twentieth century. The ______ brain work that guided CORE in its early days was rooted in a far different tradition and here again in the second period Martin Luther King was to benefit from CORE as we all have benefited from Mattin Luther King. It was founded by p_________ mostly members of the fellowship reconciliation. Democracy intergration and non-violence was ______ his offices were democratically elected and up until 1966 all of CORE's campaign was models by racial cooperation, intergration and without violence. Next to A. Philip Randolph Gardine had more direct influence on the development of the Civil Rights strategy's of the 40's than any other individual. And here again it is important to understand what it was that CORE had to say. It had to say what Garby had to say and what Martin Luther King had to say, that a movement must be prepared to accept suffering that a movement must be prepared to forgive, that a movement must have a direct and concrete strategy and that strategy must be related to schools if your talking about schools and not along bridges and close them down in order to get into greater schools the strategy must stick. And more important than anything else one must be prepared to pay the price of freedom. He taught that no movement could survive simply by having a correct program or by having a intelligent tactics a movement must also possess a relationship too and have a understanding with the roots of the social struggle in which it is engaged. Without such a understanding Gardine felt that such a movement will alternatively collapse from lack of discipline. Why then in the mid 60's did factions in the black community turn their backs on Gardine and adopte the r______ of violence and revolution when in fact the arm struggle was both inplauseable and inrelevant. Why did the new left embrace violence knowing full well the interracial violence was historically visited must terribly from those who are at the bottomcof the ladder. Part of the answer is I think is that the advacant is of black power fail to do what they accused others of doing and that is to the degree that I find militant blacks today to that degree I find blacks that know absolutely nothing about the history of black people is the tragedy. And all of the unsound notions are the result of not having note history and to compare for most blacks a sense of their heritage which arises naturally out of their personal experience. Even my early background was in a sense important to everything I done since. I was born in Westchester, Pennsylvania a town rich in history and culture. There was a great heritage tradition and there when I was a child I was taken to some of the big homes to see where the slaves were held and went through many of the passages which went from house to house as they were hiding the slaves. The anti-slavery movement had lived there and you could see in the towns architecture, there a few miles away was Christina where the great Christina riot took place, when they tried to take runaway slaves back to Maryland. My grandmother took me there on several occasions to see where these black men had stood. There was a sense in which in my home being picketed, visited. W.E. DuBouys came to the high schools to speak and my mother took me there. My grandmother was one of the founders of the Day Nursery the Garden Club, the community center the kindergarten and the summer Bible School. It is not that all blacks are reared in the new move that the books and newspaper start to print that is my mother was a whore that my father ran numbers etc. There were in my town great peopl Roland Hayes came to sing Emandie Bonty came to change State Teachers College down the road and I was taken to hear her. Arthur Haupacid and his sister Jessie came to town to give lectures and out of this came a understanding of the nature for struggle because I have seen men who struggle. Now the violence of World War II the brutality to the Jews under Hilter and the potential destructive use of atomic power brought an added element to the domestic situtation to the United States, which encouraged CORE to test their Gundy's tactics. It is an amazing thing how at the end of the war almost automatically people began to feel that they did not want more violence now. What had happened to the Jews? The violence of war the bomb and this gave CORE a great time to go now and begin to organize. National Seminar was profoundly changed. And so in light of these developments CORE was stimulated to take a protest campaign that would provide a direct challenge at Jim Crow. A campaign was called a journey of reconciliation and it consisted of inter-racial groups, eight white and eight black riding buses and trains all over the upper south. With white sitting in the back and black sitting in the front. To make a long story short many of us went to the chain gang but we came out of that experience with a patter and that patter was turned over to the NWACP to black veterans all over the south. And hundreds and hundreds of men from 1947 on were arrested in those buses, remained non-violent in those buses and went to jail on the bases of the patterned which CORE had established. Now some blacks regarded participation the journey of reconciliation with scarcely nuded hostilely. But the journey of reconciliation proved important and again was to do something that was to give King and Rosa Parks courage. It proved in fact that you could sit down and even if you ended up on the chain gang you could write an essay when you came off the chain gang and destroy the chain gang in North Carolina and that you could go back home having done this and being a hero. That is to say that by 1950 the greatest transcision had taken place amongst black people was that they begun to lose their fear of white people. And this came because they had been engaged in struggle in the street. Now Randolph was to come back on the scene again shortly. The renew activities of Randolph were also drawing attention to mass action again and this project was lost in 1947 and was directed at segregation in the armed forces. Randolph demanded that an executive order be issued by Truman to eliminate discrimination in the Armed forces. I will never forget the day that Randolph read this statement in the senate and Senator Morse turned to him and said Mr. Randolph what you are proposing in the midst of war is treason. You will remember that we were still in the Korean war at that time. And Randolph said, if it is treason then I expect to go to jail but I will call upon blacks to refuse to serve in the armed forces. Again I shall cut it short by merely saying that when eighteen young blacks in two weeks piled into the jails and were prepared to stay the duration. Truman called Randolph on the phone and asked him if he would come to debate it. Not a single act of violence or ugliness occured on the part of those eighteen men. Not a single one of them asked to be excused not a single lawyer stood with one of them they onlooked the judge in the face unlike some of the so called civil disobedience that during the last conflict, said to the judge I have come I have brought my bag I am prepare to go to jail, because until we get enough in jail we will never get movement. Thank God we do not have merely to depend on that kind of scarifice because the political state which we are developing makes a totally different kind of movement possible. And while there were those among the establishednleadership who expressed reservation of that the civil disobedience campaign against the draft these young men did go in and then Truman on July 26,1948 decree precisely what Randolph wanted discrimination in the armed forces was over. And I am sadden to report to people ataColumbia that the illinformed General Eisenhower twice flew in from Europe to tell senate committees that any effort to discriminate to disegregate the armed forces was going to have a deleterious effect upon the army and then make the army impossible. In an open rebuff to the ________ parties liberal ring in 1948 lead by Humprehy put forth a democratic platform that addressed itself to specific economic social injustice suffered by racial minority. It called fro anti-lynch bill a voting rights measure the establishment of a FEPC, intergration of interstate travel __________ for Washington D.C. and the creation the the Civil Rights commission. And here again Mr. Randolph played a vital role. I shall never forget we are outside the deomocratic convention in Philadelphia Mr. Raadolph and about four or five hundred people who had been there for two days. And a young man came out and said, Mr. Randolph I'am Hubert Humprehy and I want to tell you I'am with you people. Mr. Randolph said, young senator don't tell me go inside and tell them. And the fact is that Humprehy did go inside he did tell them. Now it was not because Randolph merely mentioned this to Humprehy that I presume that Humprehy did it. It was that there was movement for the first time in 1948 people marching in front of a major convention and it is not a happenstance that was the first convention which had anything of importance to say about what was happening to black people. My friends thirty years after this the NWACP undergrated by direct action had moved black people to a readiness for open non-violence mass conflict, fear was now gone. Social dislocation was soon to be used to make clear that black people were not abandon the long struggle for justice that they would be bombed, they would be murdered and that they would march in the streets. But before this justice would come a few steps closer hundreds of thousands would indeed have to take to the streets some would be shot and some would be killed in the streets. And there was to come a man who was to be a leader liken to none black people had ever known it is about him and the protest movement that I will discuss tomorrow night. Thank you.

Mr. Rustin, ladies and gentleman with that reception of this brilliant opening of the three series of the Radner Lecture it is a privilege for me to mention that Mr. Rustin will continue at 8;30

tomorrow evening and again at 8:30 on Thursday evening. Thank you very much it has been a enormous stimulating evening. Thank you.

THE WILLIAM RADNER LECTURES
2ND LECTURE 10/10/73
BAYARD RUSTIN

Ladies and gentlemen welcome to the second of the Radner Lectures for 1973. My name is Alan Westin and I'm this evening representing The Department of Public Law and Government and have the distinct pleasure of presenting Bayard Rustin to carry us from where last night he left off in describing the roots of the protest movements of the last two decades in a sketch of civil rights activities in the United States between 1909 and 1954. In which he did exactly what the university hoped he would to bring together his own personal experiences with the major leaders of negro politics and protest movements in the years between the first and second world wars. To give us the advantage of his insights to the personalities the intellectual positions and the strategic and tactical approaches of the major leaders who laid the foundations for the post world war II thrust in civil rights protest. This evening in his second lecture he presents to us a memoir of the 1960s in which his own role was so central with Dr. Martin Luther King, in the Montgomery bus boycott in the late fifties into the major civil rights activities leading to the march on Washington, passage of the civil rights act of 1964 - 1965. And an interpretation of the milieu in which the new protest activities went forward and accomplished so much in this period. Last night he began by apologizing to his old friends they might be surprised to see him reading a lot and his hands not waving as much as they were use to. We talked about that afterwards and decided that trying to get him to stay with the text is like trying to bottle up the Mississippi. And he promised that this evening his hands would wave more and he would give us more of his own personal observations on the period in which he was so centrally involved. So again it is Columbia University honor to present to you Mr. Bayard Rustin. (applause)

Thank you. Actually what I did last night has been rather fully described, but I would like to add one thing. What I in fact attempted to do was not to deal with all the people and all the organizations which helped make this fight from 1909 to 1953 a success. I selected that organization the NAACP and that individual A. Philip Randolph who represented the thought and process of political reality that made what happened happen. I pointed out that the NAACP stayed in the courts relentlessly. And I pointed out that Mr. A. Philip Randolph was periodically in the streets with masses of people. Because he knew that you could not get a political break through because you begged for it, but because you build your politics on the working class black people. I pointed out that Mr. Randolph rejected the three dominate trends of black people of the period. Not only did he reject Booker Washingtons acomodation, let down your buckets where you are, which is to say don't struggle. He rejected the notion because it didn't represent power. He rejected Garby who was a reactionary. And the NAACP stayed in the courts while Randolph pointed out to black people and made an example for King and others who were to come in the period I shall discuss tonight as to how progress can come. Now tonight I am going to concentrate fundamentally on Martin Luther King. There were hundreds of other people who were playing a role. There were many organizations who were playing a role. But I am out to analyze what was the central trend from 1954 until 1964. Now in the fifties where usually characterized as a decade of apathy, highlighted by McCarthyism. The mediocrity of the Eisenhower administration and the narrowing of Americas political vision. Certainly no one could have believed that a protest or a revolutionary movement could of emerged in the fifties. And in fact it seemed at the decades outset that the civil rights agenda would not move at all. The expectations which were raised in 1948 by Harry Trumans racial programs where dashed by a congress, dominated by the southern block which did nothing. A vacum was left by the radical political movements who had had idealogical influence. The radical parties never feared well in electrol politics. There word always had been of theoretical political value. And they had been tireless in pointing out the injustices of the capitalist system and calling for legislation that would stop social abuses. They fought child labor. They fought for social security, for labor legislation, unemployment compensation. Demands like these had formed the substance for the socialist program for years and they had ultimately been transformed into law. But now the radical parties where impotent having succumb to the mistaken assumption that they held about the American society and because they simply refused to recognize the true nature of McCarthy. Now when the democratic party civil rights was set up in 48 convention, nothing happened because the mantle of that leadership passed to those individuals who had absolutely no feeling for race. To Adlaid Stevenson, the so-called liberal, the struggle against racial discrimination was more a potential liability than an opportunity to move forward. In fact he did not even insist or make an effort to get blacks involved in his campaignes. In addition, in 1952 in a gesture to please the South he turns toward Sparkman for his running mate. The democratic partys 1952 platform did not even mention that black people existed in this country. And yet my friends in the face of this a miracle was about to happen. And just as men had been sitting in Switzerland writing about how the revolution could not come and some women stand up because they're called in a factory and march into the street and we are faced with one of the great revolutions of all times. So in the face of the American political sesspool of the fifties something magnificant broke forth. Now among the major institutions of government, only the courts did not reflect this weakening and all credit to the NAACP who stuck with this problem for fifty years adhering to the patterns established in the late thirties and forties the supreme court continued to hand down decisions which hastened the desegregation process. In 1948 the high court ordered the state of Oklahoma to provide law school facilities for negroes. Two years later it directed Oklahoma to end segregation the graduate school. A year later it ordered the university of Texas to intergrate the law school. And at that moment the bubble bursts. At that moment then at that great moment came the brown decision. And ruled the segregated school system violated the equal protection the fourteenth amendment. Now I'm not a lawyer and if I were I could not go into the implications of the legal aspect. However, I think it is important to understand affyw of the browns decisions political and social consequences. After fifty long years of struggle, the brown decision was important and for the following reasons. First, it was the first time since reconstruction that blacks were declared full citizens under law. The brown decision was important because it automatically made every family in the land a part of the struggle for or against civil rights. Because once you touch the school house you have brought in the total population. Nobody can now say he's uninterested. It forced the states to confront black demands for the first time since reconstruction. It challenged Southern political power for the first time since reconstruction. It forced the South, not Martin Luther King, all over the universities there are courses about Martin Luther King civil disobedience, the fact is King never engaged in any civil disobedience. The brown decision forced the Southern states to engage in civil disobedience. And what King did was a great help because now people saw black protesters upholding the supreme court. We became the symbols of law and order. Furthermore it isolated the South politically. Nobody could openly say they were right or they make deals in congress. But nobody could say it openly. It made the highest court a friend to black people. That is to say it gave blacks confidence and that confidence was a passport into mass action. Mrs. Parks may have sat down a year after the decision, but without that decision fifty thousand people would not have gone to her aid. And I could tell you cause a lot of us had been sitting down in the front of those buses for a long time and nobody came. Now that is to say it all began when Rosa Park sat down. And my friends for fear you have forgotten may I trace for you the highlights of that ten year period after Rosa Park sat.

in Mississippi in 1955 the Montgomery protest begins. SCLC is founded the next year in 1956. 1957 we have Little Rock, we had the pilgrimage, we had the civil rights act passed the first since 1875. 1958

Randolph sets up the first youth march for intergrated schools. 1959 we had the second youth march forty five thousand people organized by a handful of yipsuls and me, but they go to Washington. 1960 John Kennedy calls Mrs. King is elected president because blacks made him president. The sitins begin in 60. For the next three years there are massive demonstrations throughout the South.

are intergrated, department stores are intergrated, whole colleges are closed down.............1963 demonstrations now involve whole communities rising up adults and children as well as students. Number two. Jackson Mississippi massive demonstrations. The assassination of Medgar Evans. Core starts protesting in the North starting out primarily in the building trades the cities. Martin Luther King organizes massive demonstrations in Birmingham. The march on Washington for jobs and freedom comes off. 1964 the passes of the first effective civil rights act. There are riots in Harlem. A couple of weeks of aided

a good men are killed in Mississippi. The Mississippi freedom then democratic party then challenges the whole dixiecrat demonstrations and keeps them from getting seated in Atlantic City.. Civil rights leaders call a moritorium and not a single person failed to adhere to it because rather to stay out of the streets than to elect Barry Goldwater. Humphrey made civil rights the important issue in 48 and he led the 1964 act through the congress. 1965 Montgomery

the passage of the voter rights act, Lyndon Johnson tells the United States Senate that we shall overcome. On top of that we get the race riots. The next year we get the march in Mississippi black power emerges a slogan. Dr. King goes to Chicago. 1967 a long hot summer in Newark, Detroit etc etc and 1968 the man whom I have come to discuss most tonight is killed. What a momentus ten years. And how marvelously beautiful the people were who engaged in it. When one thinks of the courage and the perseverence of the people who stood with King, of the people who stood with Snick, of the people who died and were shot and whose homes were bombed. It is a magnificant story worth analyzing. How did the Montgomery protest begin. It began because Rosa Parks went over to speak to E.D. Nixon and to explain to him how she had been insulted in the bus. And E.D. Nixon an old hand pullman porter who what with carrying bags and arthritis could scarsely use his hands, sat up and wrote one of the most magnificant leaflets ever written with every other word misspelled. But it said, Rosa Parks has been mistreated and we've got to stay off those buses. That night he showed this leaflet to his wife and she said man you are out of your mind. Number one these white folks are gonna beat you up and number two these colored folks are not gonna pay attention to your leaflet. These people gotta work. But E.D. Nixon perservered and he called a meeting. Now this is one of the most interesting meetings of all times. E.D. Nixon calls the ministers, twenty of em in front of him, he says I don't have the education, I'm not a Randolph. I can't lead the movement you gotta do it. And all the ministers in the front row where hoping that they would be selected. And he looked at them and he said I don't want anybody on this side of the room to lead this meeting because you've been here too long. People don't like you they got something against you. I'll tell you who I want to lead the meeting. This fellow over here, Dr. King who just came over here a couple of months ago with his wife. I want him to lead it. They said why you want that young fellow to lead it. He said because he aint got no scars the rest of you are all scared up. Dr. King stood up and said now Mr. Nixon you know I've had no experience like this, I can't do this and he said to Dr. King, Huh I know the old ones are cowards I didn't expect you to be. And Dr. King said now Mr. Nixon it's not fair for you to call me a coward. He said if you don't lead this meeting it's fair for me to call you a coward. And Dr. King stumbled up and said I'll try. That's how it began. King reluctantly accepted and the marvelous of his reluctance was later to be seen in his total humility. He did not want to be begged. He honestly did not think that he could take on so great a responsibility. Next. What were the factors that made Montgomery possible at this moment when it had not ever been possible before?1 For fifty thousand people to rise up. Well it's very simple my friends. The South was going through the process of urbanization which brought fifty thousand people to Montgomery. They weren't out as sharecroppers, where somebody could put a sheet over their head and scare them to death. One of the most glorious moments in the Montgomery protest to me was when Dr. King got word that the Klu Klux Klan was riding on the town with their sheets their dirty automobiles and some came on horse back and Dr. King said lets go. I said where are we going Martin. He said we're going to get our brothers out and when the Klu Klux Klan comes through we're going to stand up and applaude them. They were so embarrassed they left. But that was organization. Not just a good spirit of black people. We've always wanted to fight back. Second of all, there was industrialization. And industrialization brought to Alabama unionization. Thus when Dr. King needed automobiles when they began to take them, he had no problem, he simply had to go to Birmingham where the steel workers were organized, aske the brothers for some cars and got em. They wouldn't even look silly going down to the cotten fields asking for some mules to take the people around. It wouldn't have worked. Furthermore, the people of Montgomery were educated and fairly independent and could make up their own minds, they were not sharecroppers who could be starved out tomorrow. These are the four things that King had as against the lack of education, the rule of existence, poverty, the sharecropping and the lynching and terror. Now even the nature of brutality had to change. For the good and for the worse. A Klu Klux Klan is good in an urban situation, but it won't work in a town. That is the reason King was the stimulator of the setting up of the citizens counsel. Yeah that's exactly what did it. Now lets see how the protest grew. It's very important to see how it happened. It fundamentally was not organized by King, as much as it was organized by the mistakes of the white power structure. That is not to take anything away from King, but it is to show what magnificant assistance he got from the ignoramie. At first there were just a few church women who cam out. Then they made their first mistake. A young man was helping an elderly lady across the street in the proposition where the word had gone around that King was gonna have goones to keep people off the buses. They arrested that young man who happened to be captain of the football team at Alabama State. That brought in every college student overnight. Two weeks later, when Martin was a little fearful that things might not go well, they began to take from the black something you do not touch with the black . They went out and began picking up these peoples automobiles. That brought all the b into the movement. At this point you got that sociological thing that was so interesting. And that is to say when you're trying to build a movement, the minute you get fifty one percent you've got a hundred percent. Because it has now become the thing to do and therein. King got to the fifty one percent tipping point by the most fantastic sensibilities and that brings me directly to the significance to Martin Luther King. King was a genius. It is amazing the tremendous political insights he had without ever having been in any political movement. He just somehow smelled the right thing to do. I shall never forget at the prayer pilgrimage, I said Martin your speech is rotten. You stand up there in front of all these brothers talking about give us the vote, give us the vote. I said the move today Martin is you've got to say to the brother we demand the vote. King looked at me and he said well let me think about it over night. When he never came back to me I knew he was completely ignoring me. The next day he stood up and said give us the vote and it was the most magnificant speech to that time. He sensed these things. Furthermore he was a preacher and came from a long family of preachers. By which I mean that he had been forced all his life to watch the way people behaved and to bring them around. If a negro preacher had anything to do besides preaching that is what he had to do. King always kept his eye on his lieutenants. And sometimes I said well you know Martin you think it's necessary to spend all that time? And he said well I want to take reverend C with me you know he's got problems and I say oh I don't think it's important and he'd say it's important. He was ideal. He was young, he was educated, he was a family man and as Nixon said he didn't have scars. In addition he was a brillant spokesman. He could move people with a spoken word. But in addition, he was a man of humility. The day J. Edgar Hoover called him the biggest liar in earth, I can assure you we spent two hours ten of us in ten cities talking to Martin Luther King. And there is a gentlemen in this room who was on that telephone with us. And many of us were so angry with J. Edgar Hoover that we told Martin, look stand up fight back don't let him get away with this. And Martin again said, well let me think it over. The next day Martin quietly went to the department presented himself to J. Edgar Hoover and from that moment on J. Edgar Hoover looked as rediculous calling Martin Luther King the biggest liar, because he had no evidence of it whatsoever, because if he had he would have been forced to produce it. Martin Luther King won the Nobel Prize and thereby giving to every black man in this country a sense of world wide dignity and I was there when he received the prize. And almost every black face in that audience had tears coming down his face. Martin Luther King business men to desert the white citizens counsel and to come out and to be the strongest element in the 60s urging politicians to stop segregation. That is to say he drove a wedge between white business and white politicians in the South. But now I come to Martin Luther Kings great contribution. Martin Luther King advanced the strategies and tactics of non-violence far beyond anything Gandi ever did. For Gandi was working with a great majority against a small minority.

Gandi had the back benches of the labor party with him for twenty years. King had when he began very few people in the congress behind him. And King proved what Gandi did not have the opportunity to prove, that a minority adhering to non-violence can be as effective in bringing about change as Gandi's majority was. And that is the ultimate reason that Martin Luther King will go down in history. Now people often wonder why did ministers have to lead. Ministers had to lead for the very simple reason. The church was the only institution in the black community that was in touch with the total black masses. It was the only institution indigenious to the negro community. Even the poolrooms and bars were owned by white people. The church was economically independent because it got us money. And therefore except for terror Southern power had no leverage on the black church. But strategically ministers were urging because when you had as many daily crisis and emergencies, , law suits, you had to have people who had experience with . And if you know anything baptist ministers are fairly . Alright I'm gonna come next to another facet and that was even if Martin had been what he had been, even if all black had done what they had done, even if whites had come into the South to help, without the mass media Montgomery would not have been possible. I say to you my friends if we had had television thirty years earlier we would have stopped lynching thirty years earlier. Here for the first time the television was showing people being beaten. It was showing blacks non-violent while being beaten. It was showing that we were underdogs. That the children were being brutalized. They saw people being killed. And they saw brutal whites doing terrible things to children. The television was a decidely vital factor in creating a consensus for change. Now of course, the television did not show in fifties and sixties mob violence ala with lynching. Because King had fifty thousand people on the street when you bombed his home that was not mob violence. That was political terror because he is now in a political movement. And Americans may be prepared even to see some mob violence on the television and not be moved. But they know that they are in trouble when they see political terror and how magnificantly Martin handled the terror that was visited upon him as he went across the South as his home was bombed and as he was fearful for his children. Now if you get the television on your side because you are non-violent, because you are underdog, because you are being brutalized, because you are being brutalized because you are being killed. The minute the press needs another image and there goes about making fifteen minute leaders, because they have something violent to say, will pick up a black power slogan and will talk about black violence and black then of course what you get in a little later period is a back lash. I mention this only to mention again the total genius of King, that he was able to keep fifty thousand people from a single act of violence or a single word of redact that was wrong. And until this

day my friends, there are three classic pieces of Literature which will go down in the United States as great.
pieces from Birmingham,
six to seven pieces on Martin Luther King and Claude Sitton
following the around Mississippi
and reported in the New York Times the most glorious newspaper writing of our time. I recommend those to anyone truly interested. Now let us see what Montgomery did. And I use the term Montgomery here to mean all the snick kids and what they did. And all the other protest that were going on because it was all of a pattern and as I said in the beginning I concentrate on King cause he was a symbol. It brought self-respect to black people. When I first got to Montgomery about a week after all had begun, a little women called me over to the back of the church. She says young man you're much older than Dr. King, I said yes. She said I do hope you'll talk some sense to him. Dr. King knows these colored folks are not gonna cling together. Why is he starting this thing to fail? He just came here. We want to see him succeed. I said madam why don't you give Dr. King a chance, maybe he knows something we don't know. She shook her head and walked away. Two months later that women was working harder than anybody else on the transportation committee and I don't know where she got cars from sometimes I think she vomited them. She had gained a new self-respect. Secondly, imagine for one year black people and white people over the country hearing that people had walked to work every day, that

they themselves are collecting nickels and dimes to pay for the movement. That they're being offered rides and not taking them day after day after day. That year of struggle created all of the protest which followed it because it had re-established the possibility of winning. It was the first Southern protest ever to include human demands and demands that were economic. And how simple they seem now and how absolutely radical they were then. All Dr. King was asking for was abolition of segregation, end of abusive behaviour on the part of white bus drivers and the hiring of a half dozen or so black drivers. But one of the interesting things is that as a year went on and Dr. King was more confident and the people felt better, they esculated and esculated their demands and at the end of it they were saying all segregation must go and blacks must be treated in the market place like any one else. I'll be finished soon. (laughter) Now Dr. Kings next moment of genius was to form SCLC. And here again Dr. King and Stanley Levinson who's sitting over here and I were all talking. Somehow or another we all came to a conclusion. You can't win in Montgomery unless you got protest all over the South. And therefore we got to go out and organize protest all over the South. But they can't win if Montgomery doesn't win first. That led to the forming of the SCLC. That is to say Dr. King formed SCLC because he had the sustained spirit of Montgomery and spread it across the south. Now this he did when his back is to the wall. And brother let me tell you, Abernathy

King and I were in the basement of Abernathy's church getting ready to drive over to Memphis for the first meeting of SCLC going over the last plans. We all left the church at 4:15 in the morning, thank god, because at 4:30 the place was blown up. But he went dispite this. Abernathy went despite the fact his church was being blown up. Because he had demand the psychological initiative and SCLC became the dynamic center of the movement for ten years. Now my friends then something else began to happen. SCLC was essentially a working class movement. It was created by ordinary house servants. By E.D. Nixon a pullman porter. By Rosa Parks who made a living sewing for white folks. By women who washed clothes for white people. Snick emerged and takes us another step forward. Because Snick was not a working class movement nor was it basically a student movement. Snick was a black b movement. Now all of Snick kids parents had money. They had cars and they owned houses. They couldn't drive the cars                and get anything to eat. When they came to see the students in college they couldn't take them out for hamburger. They couldn't take the kids to a movie. And so this black middle class owning their homes, owning their cars all educated could not move. And they could not move because they didn't have enough money both to send their kids to college and take a chance on losing the house fighting the white folks. So the snick kids rose up and there was in the snick thing a revolution of the black b by proxy. Their children did it for them. And even the things they attacked were the things that their parents needed going into theaters and hotels when they were travelling around in their cars. Now snick was also magnificant not only because they were courageous and not only because they had perserverence they just put their little behinds on the seat and stay until they were dragged away. And they'd come back and sit again. And they'd get arrested and they'd come back and sit and somebody would put a cigarette butt down the girls back or in her breast and she'd fish it out and sit. But they were also experiencial. They had a great need to stretch themselves. They played with democracy. Sometimes till six and seven in the morning trying to decide who was going to do the dishes. But this was a good thing at the beginning. They were experimenting in making sharecroppers leaders of revolutionary movements. They were experimenting with community living. Catholic, protestants, jews, black and white together. Now they also face some problems. And one of them was a youth leadership changes very rapidly. But they did arouse youth all over this world and they restored to youth not only in the United States but all over Europe the will to political and social action again. No youth could stand still in the face of the injustices in his own neighborhood or community. Everybody wanted to go down to Mississippi to live with the snick kids. Now snick failed ultimately. But it failed out of the goodness of its efforts to try. They did not know that you cannot make leaders for a revolution out of people who have had just a sharecropping experience. The minute Moses attempted to turn snick over to people who had that limited experience, it was bound to fail. Suddenly participatory democracy made decision making too late. So that often the need for the decision was over before it had been made. There was a suffering from absolutism. But, if you have to go through what they did there is a tendency for you to become absolutist because we absolutely have got to stay here and stay here until this thing disappears. But don't talk to me about the complication I'm here but there is an analysis you have, don't tell me about the analysis I'm gonna sit here until we break this thing down. Now my friends snick has largely gone but never was there a greater and more noble moment in the history of any young people than this moment. Now let us look at the March on Washington another highlight of this period and see what it achieved. It achieved a consensus leading to a national support for black objectives in the congress. Before the march you people thought that civil rights was the most pressing problem that is in congress. After the march, a decisive majority of congress was convinced that there had now to be legislation. It was after this that Kennedy said now I understand we must do something to get them out of the streets. It was based on a sound political philosophy and intelligent responsibile strategy. It was strictly non-violent. It had a broad program of a positive response for the majority of Americans, catholics, protestants, jews, labor, students liberals, everybody was there. Even my good friend who spent two months denouncing the march as being useful thing that he would not go to, on the night before Malcom called up and said he thought he was coming afterall. And he did come, everybody was there. The program was not utopian it could be readily translated into legislation. In fact most of the ten demands have already been within the law. Kings speech will linger for ever along with the Gettysburgh Address and a few others for all young people to read and understand and to be inspired by. It was a time of unity. Now as the march represented the high point of an era, the 1964 democratic party national convention marked the symbolic conclusion of the period. What Martin Luther King had done during these years was to demonstrate and this beyond Gandi, that you could simultaneously destroy an evil institution and leave a good institution in its place. Here's a lunch counter. You sit and sit and sit and sit and you just don't put the lunch counter out of business. But he's finally said to you come on in and we'll eat together. He went into parks and sat and sat and sat and people said well we won't use parks but six months later they said they're still sitting there lets use parks. This is a genius! To destroy an evil institution and to create a creative one in one

swoop. Now I conclude this talk by looking at the MFDP the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Because I have called what happened there the symbolic conclusion of the King period. That is the exclusively direct action period. You will remember that the snick people fanned out across Mississippi urged people to vote, set up a freedom democratic party, brought people in from all over the country to be a part of that great experiment. And then came 64 and they come to Atlantic City where they are going to have to make a great decision. They all want to go in. I don't blame them! If I'd been through in Mississippi what they'd been through I would have wanted to go in too. But the Southerners were there, they wanted to go in and there was a stalemate and it in fact Walter R , Martin King and I met with the snick leadership. We said they're giving you a compromise the compromise is that the regular Mississippi democrats do not get seated. Neither do you get seated. But you get two delegates who will be on the floor as observers. Either of those two observers will be given one hour of prime time at night on the platform to speak to all delegates and to the nation. And we promise you that racial discrimination will be outlawed in all future conventions. And for their own good reasons against the will of King and Ruder and myself and many others, the kids decided the hell with it, they had come there for everybody to get seated and if they weren't going to seat everybody then they weren't going in. I happen to believe this was a great mistake. And I would like to tell you why. It....let me put it another way. If this had been adults behaving it had been a serious mistake. For young people who had hat had this kind of experience it was a minor mistake, but it was very serious one nevertheless.

What snick attempted to do was it could not realize that the tactics which had been appropriate to tearing down an evil institution and creating a good one that those tactics were only good for public accomodations but could not be used if you were gonna fight if you were gonna get into a political party. They became absolutists at that point. And therefore from then on snick which was attempting to use tactics for the period that I have just described could not use those tactics for the period about which I will speak tomorrow evening. Thank you. (applause)

We hope you'll be with us tomorrow evening for the third lecture by Bayard Rustin come and bring your friends.

# CIVIL RIGHTS, 1970s

# BLACK AMERICA AT THE CROSSROADS

By Bayard Rustin

Commencement Address
Tuskegee Institute, May 31, 1970

Let me begin on a personal note. For a number of reasons, I had a difficult time deciding what I should say today. We are living through such a monumental social crisis that the usual address to a graduating class on the challenging opportunities that lie ahead would carry little if any meaning. Nor would it be worthwhile, however, to engage in the currently fashionable passtime of bemoaning our nation's condition to the point where our pessimism seems to justify our failure to take effective action. We cannot afford the luxury of either exhortation or despair. We owe it to ourselves and to all other black Americans to analyze the nature of the present crisis with unsparing objectivity, and from that analysis to formulate a political strategy and a social program by means of which the crisis can be resolved. And most important of all, we should consider the kind of role that you, as young men and women who are part of the black intelligentsia, must play in the struggle for equality.

The nature of this role is something you will have to discover for yourselves out of your own encounters with failure and success. Certainly your generation has already lived through a period of unprecedented upheaval. Most of you were only five years old when the Supreme Court declared school segegation unconstitutional. You were seven when a young black preacher named Martin Luther King emerged as the leader of the Montgomery bus protest. At eleven you witnessed the beginning of the sit-in movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, and for the next ten years--your adolescent years that were to shape the perspective with which you now look out on the world--youllived through a period in black American history which was more eventful than any other decade, including the decade of the Civil War. The March on Washington, the outbreak of large-scale violence in hundreds of Negro communities in both the North and to a lesser degree in the South, and the rise of the Black Power movement...These events no doubt had their precedents in the March on Washington Movement of 1941, the race riots of 1919 and 1943, and the black nationalist Garvey movement in the twenties, but in the 1960's they occurred with a driving momentum that made the race problem the central issue in our national politics.

It is difficult to judge precisely what the effect of this experience with uninterrupted social protest has been on your generation ( I am referring here to young whites as well as to young blacks). But I would not doubt that it has made the political consciousness of this generation sensitive primarily to what we may call the upward arc of historical movement. The problem is that such a consiousness cannot fully come to grips with the reality that history is a dialectical process. It consists of alternating periods of movement and stagnation, of action and reaction, of tremendous hope and enthusiasm which can be followed by a descent into cynicism and exhaustion.

I am not suggesting that this process is inevitable, though to a certain extent it does seem to contain an internal dynamic that operates independently of human will. What I am suggesting is that we must understand this process if we are to be in a position to influence it. In the early period of the civil rights movement some of the young SNCC people were fond of quoting George Santayana's dictum that those who do not understand history will be doomed to repeat it. I think there is considerable truth to that remark, so let us try in the short time that remains to analyze what is happening today in the hope of identifying certain fundamental principles which should guide our political and intellectual involvement.

What we must first understand is that the pendulum of history has already begun to swing downward. It is impossible now to guage the extent of this reaction. My own feeling is that we are living in a time of great flux and that the movement to the right in American politics can be reversed if we do the correct things. But we cannot escape the conclusion that, for the present at least, the conservatives have made important and ominous gains. They control the White House and, through the power of presidential appointment, have gained a majority on the Supreme Court, and there is ~~a good~~ some possiblity that they will emerge from the 1970 elections in control of the Senate for the first time in two decades.

What is happening today is not very different from what happened in the 1870's. At that time the country had been through a period as turbulent as the one we have just experienced.

The Civil War and its aftermath left the North with a moral burden that it simply could not bear. It was far more interested in pursuing its own commercial interests than in advancing the welfare of Negroes in the South, and of course the North also suffered from the disease of racism. All hope for black equality collapsed when Northern Republicans worked out a compromise with Southern Democrats in the disputed election of 1876. The Southern Whigs agreed to let the Republicans retain ~~certain~~ control of the White House, in return for which the federal troops were withdrawn from the South and large subsidies were provided for the construction of the Southern railroad system. The Compromise of 1876 intiated the darkest period in the history of American Negroes. The system of Jim Crow was constructed, and lynchings and terrorism became commonplace as poor Southern whites, embittered by their own poverty, were encouraged to unleash their wrath upon Negroes.

Things have not yet reached that stage today, but the parallels are frightening. The Southern Strategy of the Nixon Administration is based upon the same principle as the Compromise of 1876: namely, that Northen Republicans and Southern conservatives share common interests and goals and that together they can rule this nation. I do not think it is possible to condemn too harshly what the President has done in the South in order to form this alliance. Indeed, I can think of no President who has more blatantly sacrificed the ideals of equality and racial justice for his own political ends. What is important to note is that Nixon is not simply riding the wave of reaction. He is encouraging that reaction, for he knows that he became President because of divisions in the society, and that it is in his interest that these divisions grow wider. More specifically, he wants to see another anti-black Wallace vote in 1972, only this time he wants it cast for himself..This is the prime motivation behind such unconscionable acts as the President's opposition to the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, his nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court, and most vital of all, his clear message to Southern segregationists,that the Federal government will not oppose any efforts to roll back whatever advances had been made in school integration.By means of such acts he has helped foster a mood of confrontationism and racial hostility. He has profoundly and perhaps permanently alienated blacks, he has put the white moderates of the South on the defensive, and he has given the go-ahead signal to the reactionaries that the time has come for them to come out of hiding and boldly proceed to attack the agents of progress as well as progress itself.

To a very large extent the Nixon Administration's Southern Strategy is responsible for the revival of vigilantism in the South. The physical assaults upon blacks and the bombings and burnings of churches, schools, and community centers, acts which some had thought to be relics of Southern history, are now taking place with increasing frequency. Such violence represents a form of white resistance which is encouraged and legitimized by the policies of the Administration and by the statements of the Vice-President and the Attorney General. I will go so far as to say that the powers that be in Washington must share the blame for the terrible killings that took place some weeks ago at Jackson State College.

What worries me most about the present situation is that there has been a decline in the effectiveness of some of the forces which traditionally have held reaction at bay. In the case of the South, we have already seen how the Federal Government, formerly an ally in our struggle, has contributed to the resurgence of conservatism. And nationally, the progressive coalition of blacks, liberals, and the trade union movement, which has been responsible for all of the major social advances since the New Deal, is now weakened by internal divisions. In part this is due to conflict between blacks and lower-middle class whites. This conflict has probably been exaggerated in the press, but a disturbing amount of it does exist primarily because of economic competition between the two groups. Such competition can be reduced to a minimum if an expanding economy provides enoughtopportunities for everybody. But today, as a direct result of the Nixon Administration's disastrous economic policies, we are in a recession. Consequently, the likelihood is that there shall be an increase in racial tension which shall further eat away at the unity of the progressive coalition.

Finally, the dramatic events of the last few years seem to have totally disoriented a sizable portion of the liberal community. Many liberals have lost a sense of purpose and direction. The traditional goals of integration and the expansion of the welfare state are notlonger thought to be feasible or even desirable. But they have found no goals to replace the ones they have cast aside, with the result that they have become politically immobile. A number of theories have been created to give this mood among liberals a forward-looking image, but it is really nothing more than an accommodation to the new conservatism.

By no means do I want to give the impression that I think the situation is hopeless. There is a tendency today to anticipate the apocalypse, and shallow theoriesaare put forth about the end of the American era. These ideas are sheer indulgence, because even if there were any truth to them--and I do not believe there is--it would be our duty to act so as to prevent the worst from happening ~~and not~~ rather than to anticipate the fulfillment of our prophesies. Such hopelessness can even be harmful, for as George Orwell has pointed out, "an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely. A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure, and then fail all the more completely because he drinks." Our struggle is too important, there is still so much that remains unaccomplished, that it would be a grave error were we to indulge in any way in the feeble decadence of this end-of-the-world school of thought.

I do not believe that the situation is hopeless because there are progressive forces at work in American society which did not exist in 1876. There is, first of all, the militant desire for racial justice which is shared by countless numbers of young blacks like yourselves. In the words of the civil rights song, I don't think that anybody is going to turn you 'round--not now, not after we have come so far. Then there is the black vote which in both the North and the South has become the major new factor in American politics. This vote has increased not only in numbers but also in sophistication, and in addition to the gains it has already won for blacks, it exercises a restraining influence on the scope and effectiveness of anti-Negro forces. The problems George Wallace is having in the Alabama primaries should make this point eminently clear.

Lastly, there is the trade union movement which, though much maligned from both the right and the left, remains the strongest bulwark against reaction. Let us be very clear that the civil rights forces alone could not have defeated Haynsworth and Carswell. They succeeded only because they were allied with the trade union movement, and it is this alliance, which is based upon the mutual interest between blacks and labor, which offers the greatest hope for future progress.

Thus, there are factors that are working both for and against the achievement of full raciall equality. In a very real sense we are at a crossroads. If Mr. Nixon succeeds in carrying out his Southern Strategy, then the commitment to equality which America defaulted on almost one hundred years ago shall once again be deferred to some future time. And if he fails, then we shall be provided with an opportunity to resolve once and for all the central dilemma in American life--the relationship of blacks to American society and, in an even more profound sense, their relationship with themselves. Our task, yours and mine, is to see to it that he fails.

If we are to have any hope of accomplishing this task, it is essential that we make an important distinction between politics and psychology. We should see this as the distinction between our public and private selves, between what we do in order to influence the political and economic relations in the society and what, in a more personal way, we do to achieve self-knowledge and identity. Now I do not think that these are hard and fast categories which exclude one another. A just society certainly encourages a healthy psychology, and individuals can find personal fulfillment through political involvement. But I think we must make this distinction because in periods of great social upheaval, and we are living through such a period, there is a tendency to politicize all things, including scholarship, art, friendship, and love. The most extreme form of this total politicization is totalitarianism, a stage we have not yet reached. But even a more moderate form can be dangerous since it can lead to a politics that is so preoccupied with psychological issues that the goals of political action are obscured and thereby rendered unobtainable.

This problem bears upon what is happening today among many young black Americans. As you well know, a great cultural revolt is taking place. Young blacks are striking down the traditional symbols of racism. They are taking new pride in their cultural heritage and are demanding to be accepted as full and equal human beings. I think this is an exciting and creative social phenomenon, but it raises two political problems which we must analyze very carefully.

The first is that in some instances the cultural revolt includes the demand for racial separatism which is entirely self-defeating from a political standpoint. Translated into political terms, the cultural revolt expresses itself as a desire for self-determination. Now this is a very complex issue which A. Philip Randolph tried to deal with almost 30 years ago. At that time he acknowledged that "the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or a class," he said, "must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted." But Mr. Randolph did not mean by this that blacks should isolate themselves from broader political movements in the society. He followed that statement with these words of caution: "But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom."

This should indicate to us a political principle that we must never forget. As long as blacks constitute only 11% of the population, any go-it-alone strategy will fail. Separatism can only aide and abet Nixon's Southern Strategy which is designed to build a conservative majority on the basis of hostility to blacks. In this sense separatism is the opposite of self-determination because it can only lead to the continued subjection of blacks. Real self-determination can only be achieved by a unified black movement joining with other progressive social forces to form a coalition which represents a majority of the population. We must keep this in mind if we are to prevent the black cultural revolt from becoming a tool in the hands of white conservatives and segregationists who are the very worst enemies we have.

The second problem raised by the cultural revolt is that it has been exclusively preoccupied with racial issues and has thus tended to ignore other issues that are also vitally important. Ralph Ellison has written of his "struggle to stare down the deadly and hypnotic temptation to interpret the world and all its devices in terms of race." He wrote this as an artist who has devoted his life to portraying human reality in all its manifold complexity. I would like, if I may, to apply Ellison's idea to the economic situation of black Americans today.

It goes without saying that Negroes are brutalized by racial prejudice and discrimination. What is not often remembered, however, is that were we to eleminate racism today we would have solved only part of the problem from which blacks suffer, and perhaps not even the major part. The fact is that we live in a society which not only tolerates a relatively high level of unemployment, but which is willing to increase that rate in order to combat inflation. The fact is also that automation is eliminating thousands of jobs that were held by both whites and blacks. This problem does not spring from blackness but from a technological revolution that has affected all poor people regardless of their race. We can psychoanalyze the racism out of all the prejudiced white people in the country, but until we are willing to accept the principle that every able-bodied man or woman has the right to a decent and well-paying job, we shall not have begun to attack the economic roots of racial injustice. We need a social and economic program that will wipe out poverty far more than we need pure white hearts. I do not mean to disparage the need to attack racism, but if we do only that, we shall provide an out for those whites who are far more interested in "giving a damn" about impoverished blacks than in doing those things that will eliminate their hunger and deprivation.

I am emphasizing these economic problems for a special reason. As graduates of this university, you are part of an intellectual elite among blacks. As such it is extraordinarily important that you do not lose touch with the problems and the aspirations of the great mass of blacks who are not part of this elite. In order to do this you must guard against the possibility of becoming isolated in an intellectual, cultural, and political world while the problems of lower and working class blacks remain economic. These people do not have the choice of withdrawing into the kind of fantasies that are now so prevalent among certain elements of the black intelligentsia, and until they do have that choice, it is your responsibility to fight for those programs that will enable them to achieve full economic justice.

I think it is also your responsibility, especially those of you who will go on to graduate work and university teaching, to protect the intellectual integrity of the university. In THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK W.E.B. DuBois wrote that the function of the university is above all "to be the organ of that fine adjustment between real life and the growing knowledge of life, an adjustment which forms the secret of civilization." You must help it perform that function, particularly in the controversial field of Black Studies. The study of the black experience in America is so vital to an understanding of our country and of our people that it must attract scholars of the very highest intellectual eminence. We must not permit this promising area of study to become a refuge for charlatans who are more skilled at intellectual intimidation than investigation. For this reason it is essential that those students and faculty members who are committed to upholding the scholarly standards of black studies firmly refuse to accommodate to anyone who would debase them.

We are living in a time of such rapid change that we must continuously redefine our terms and reassert those principles which seem to hold some truth. I do not regard as radical or progressive any black person who does anything which stregthens the forces of conservatism. Therefore, I do not regard as radicals those who talk of separatism, however loud may be their words and however militant and controversial their actions. For all pracitical purposes, they stand with the opponents of our struggle. I do not regard as radical those who moralize about the evils of white society if at the same time they do not present a program that can solve the problems of ~~the~~ black Society. Nor are they radical who assume a revolutionary posture,but who then propose nothing more than an escape from American political reality and from the grinding and endless social struggles that we must participate in. The real radical is that person who has a vision of equality and who is willing to do those things that will bring reality closer to that vision. And by equality I do not mean "separate but equal," a phrase that was created by segregationists in order to prevent the attainment of equality. I mean equality based upon an integrated social order in which black people, proud of their race and of their heritage, shall have no door closed to them. In such a social order there will not be walls, representing fear and insecurity, which separate people from one another. Such walls, whether they are constructed by whites or by blacks, are built to oppress and repress, but never to liberate. I admit that most likely we will not achieve such equality ~~next month~~ [redacted] ~~or even~~ next year or even in this decade. But it is a goal that we must hold ever before us, even in the darkest of times, for it not only confers dignity upon our struggle, but it should indicate to us how we must act towards one another today if we are to preserve for tomorrow the possibility of a just society.

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Long Island Press

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# Benign Neglect: Rustin Replies to Moynihan

**By BAYARD RUSTIN**
**Executive Director,**
**A. Philip Randolph Institute**

With the publication of his memo to the President urging "benign neglect" of the issue of race, Daniel P. Moynihan once again finds himself involved in a bitter controversy.

We seem to be in the midst of a replay of what took place almost five years ago when his report on the Negro family was published. An internal government memo written by Moynihan and relating to Negroes is released to the public, the general reaction in the black community is outrage, recrimination and explanations follow, and Moynihan emerges a hero to some, a villain to many others.

Such at least are the similarities, but there are significant differences which must be seen if we are to understand the full meaning of Moynihan's recent message to the President.

Beyond the fact that he is likely to lose more friends this time around than the last, Moynihan is not in the same position today that he was in five years ago. At that time he was a member of a liberal administration.

His report, whatever else might be said for or against it, was an attempt to draw attention to a social problem, to identify the social and economic causes of that problem, and to outline what he called "the case for national action."

While there is reason to doubt the wisdom of some of Moynihan's formulations, at least he sensed the urgency of America's racial crisis.

Today just the opposite is true. Moynihan is a member of a conservative administration, his memo is designed to draw attention away from a social problem, he places the blame for our racial crisis almost exclusively on the Negro, he offers no proposals for government action beyond some studies and conferences, and his tone is infused with complacency and self-congratulation.

**THE CHANGE** cannot be explained away by observing that this is one liberal's way to adapt to the conservative period that we are in. Mr. Moynihan, for all intents and purposes, has become a conservative himself.

Let us first look at his "general assessment of the position of Negroes" at the end of Mr. Nixon's first year in office. As a sociologist Moynihan is aware that statistics can be both used and misused with great effectiveness. I think it is fair to say that in his memo to the President, Moynihan is guilty of misusing statistics.

His figures are correct, as far as I can judge, but he has been highly selective in choosing only those which give the impression that "the American Negro is making extraordinary progress." Important progress was made during the last decade. Everybody knows that.

But as Andrew Brimmer and others have pointed out, the benefits of progress accrued largely to middle and working class blacks, while the social and economic condition of impoverished Negroes did not improve and, in fact, worsened. We are beginning to see that Negroes in one area can bring problems in another.

The improvement in the income and living standards of many black families enabled them to move out of the hard-core poverty areas of the cities. But they left behind them black communities that were worse off than before the onset of "progress," more homogeneously poor, with fewer stable middle class elements, with schools, housing, and health care facilities rapidly deteriorating, and with the population density as high as ever since the departing middle class was replaced by impoverished immigrants from the South.

During the last decade Negroes trapped in the inner-city ghettoes became more desperate, more despairing, more subject to the vicious conditions of poverty and segregation.

**MY INTENTION** is not to demean the importance of the progress that was made during the last decade. But nor will I use superlatives, as does Moynihan, in describing what amounted to a first step in attacking the overwhelming and complex social problems of this nation.

It is one thing to point out improvements where they have been made, but not to couple this with an urgent call for more action is to provide an excuse for complacency and criminal inaction.

I also take issue with the interpretation, which is implicit in Moynihan's argument, of the origins of progress and poverty in the black community. His statistics on black progress all relate to "husband-wife Negro families," while according to Moynihan, "Increasingly, the problem of Negro poverty is the problem of the female-headed family."

Here we have it again, the same old argument about the Negro family, only unlike before, Moynihan does not offer joblessness as a major cause, but rather as a major effect, of family instability. He has reversed the tables and in the process has placed the onus of blame for poverty on the black community, a characteristically conservative argument.

He also has neglected to mention the real source of progress for blacks in the sixties, namely, the dramatic expansion of our economy with the accompanying reduction in unemployment and poverty. It is true that many hard-core unemployed, because they lack the proper training, were not prepared to benefit from the economic boom.

But the very fact that there was a tight labor market motivated government and industry to initiate training programs to employ these individuals. Today, however, as a direct result of Nixon's regressive economic policies, we are moving into a recession.

Unemployment is increasing as more and more workers are being laid off, and training programs are closing down. Only last week the Department of Labor terminated a large contract to hire thousands of hard-core unemployed for production jobs in Chrysler plants.

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**THE PROGRESS** some Negroes experienced during the last decade is thus being undermined, and whatever opportunity there was for the hard-core unemployed to escape from poverty has been crushed, at least for the present.

Moynihan has written a memo to the President on the condition of Negroes without mentioning the disastrous effect the administration's economic policies are having upon blacks. One can only conclude that either Moynihan is a partisan of those policies, or that he just does not want to make waves within the administration. If the latter is true, he is guilty of gross irresponsibility.

One can expect nothing less than outrage in the black community at Moynihan's statement that "Apart from white racial attitudes . . . the biggest problem black Americans face" is the "anti-social behavior among black males."

Moynihan totally neglects social and economic injustice as he narrows the problems of the ghetto down to the simple and cruelly misleading remark, "Black Americans injure one another." Once again he is attempting to pin the blame for the racial crisis upon the Negro.

Take Moynihan's long digression on the fire problem in the ghetto which amounts to over one-eighth of his memo. He admits that some fires result from population density but the real cause, he says, is "social pathology." Slum residents "deliberately set" a large part of the fires in their communities.

This is as far from the truth as it is contemptuous of the Negro community. There is no mention of the drastic housing shortage which has severely affected the whole society, and most of all the ghetto.

The problem is not simply that the population density in the ghetto has become unbearable, which it has. What is worse is that in the absence of decent housing blacks are crowded into old, dilapidated dwellings which have unvented heaters and faulty wiring, and which, Mr. Moynihan, are nothing more than fire-traps. Not only is President Nixon doing nothing to alleviate this problem.

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**HE HAS ACTUALLY** aggravated it by cutting back on funds for Model Cities and urban renewal and, most importantly, by raising interest rates to the point where home-building has declined to its lowest level in more than twenty years.

There is an element of social pathology here, but it is not in the back community as much as it is in a society which permits a situation like this to continue.

All of this is by way of introduction to the really controversial aspect of Moynihan's memo, his suggestion that "The time may have come when the issue of race could benefit from a period of 'benign neglect.'"

Let us look closely at what this means since we would not want to be accused of misunderstanding the President's counselor. Moynihan is saying that we should not neglect the problems of blacks so much as the issue of race. He wants to see tempers cooled and extremists of either race isolated.

Now all this is fine enough, but in the context of Moynihan's entire memo, not to speak of the political context in which the memo was written, these words take on a different meaning.

Many civil rights leaders and spokesmen, myself included, have firmly opposed extremism of both races, black as well as white. But we have done so not simply to cool tempers but to build movements.

We have seen that racial extremism is self-defeating, that it divides blacks from natural allies in the white community, that it undermines the central objective of building a coalition of progressive forces which can become the political majority in America.

We have seen that until such a coalition exists, our nation will not undertake a comprehensive program to wipe out poverty among blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and whites.

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**BUT MOYNIHAN** has no such objective in mind when he urges "benign neglect" of racial issues. Indeed, he is an important member of an administration which is the major opposition to the coalition I just described. "Benign neglect," as Moynihan has used it, is consistent with the rest of his memo and, therefore, does not mean neglect of the issue of race but government neglect of the Negro.

It is significant that Moynihan borrowed the phrase "benign neglect" from a colonialist context. It was originally used in a report written in 1839 by the British Earl of Durham.

According to Moynihan, the Earl recommended self-government for the British colony of Canada which had grown self-reliant "through many years of benign neglect" by Britain.

From our discussion of the other sections of Moynihan's memo, it should be clear that this phrase was carefully chosen to support the rest of his contentions. Whether he was discussing unemployment or social pathology, Moynihan took care to locate the source of the difficulty in Negroes themselves, in what he claims are our "female headed families," our "anti-social behavior," our penchant for arson, and our "social alienation."

Like Canada in the early nineteenth century, Moynihan feels that today America would benefit from a period of "benign neglect" during which it could put its own house in order, tidy up its family life, and get its arsonists under control.

His argument is fundamentally for a kind of black self-help and against a government role in solving the problems of the black poor. Moynihan's memo must have found a receptive audience in a conservative President who has done everything possible, in keeping with his philosophy of "The New Federalism," to reduce the role of the federal government.

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**MOYNIHAN'S** suggestions to the President on what he should do in relation to the black community make an excellent case for government inaction. Aside from urging "benign neglect," he suggests that administration officials get together to "talk out the subject a bit" in order to develop "a more coherent administration approach," and that the administration do more research on crime.

It is indeed remarkable that after noting that the unemployment rate among black teen-agers is 24.4%, Moynihan can only suggest that we need more studies on crime, as if, to borrow a sociological phrase, we did not already know that there is a high correlation between poverty and crime, that unemployment is a "leading indicator" of criminal behavior. And the Nixon administration is hardly doing anything to reduce unemployment.

Finally, there is Moynihan's suggestion to give more recognition to the "silent black majority," the black working class. Nixon will have to give this group far more than recognition if he is to befriend it, for it has already been deeply offended by his economic policies and Southern strategy.

This is the group that is being laid off from jobs, that can't find decent housing, and that is being [illegible] interest rates and the funding cuts for education and health care. This group could hardly be expected to appreciate the nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court, the re-
uctance the administration has shown to
ress for school integration in the South,
the efforts it has made to water down
e 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Moynihan urges a cooling of racial
otions, but the policies of the Nixon
ministration are making extremists
t of moderates. The Black Panthers
ll not disappear if they are ignored, as
oynihan suggests. They will not disap-
ar because the conditions which pro-
ced them continue to exist.

And as long as this society fails to
rry out a social and economic program
ich can attack those conditions at
eir roots, there will be extremists in
black community.

* * *

## BAYARD RUSTIN
## A Reply to Moynihan

**MOYNIHAN NEVER** once refers to the necessity for such a program but talks only about the necessity to lower our voices. Mr. Nixon also talks about "bringing us together," but he has done nothing to further that goal.

On the contrary, his policies have deepened divisions and broadened the base for extremism. But of this Mr. Moynihan has nothing to say.

Several years ago, at a National Board meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action that was held soon after the violence in Newark and Detroit, Moynihan urged that liberals form a coalition with conservatives in the interests of social order.

Moynihan, who has the courage of his convictions, has entered into such a coalition with the result that he has in effect become an important ally of the conservative cause.

Writing in Commentary some months back, Andrew Hacker pointed out that [illegible] r Nixon to build a Republican majority out of what is essentially a right-center coalition, he would have to undertake simultaneously two approaches — a reactionary strategy led by such men as John Mitchell and Spiro Agnew which would appeal to the right, and a more progressive strategy directed by such house liberals as Robert Finch and Moynihan which would appeal to the center.

From this point of view Moynihan's role in the Nixon administration becomes tragically clear. As the liberal cover for a conservative administration, he is not advancing liberalism so much as helping to entrench conservatism.

If President Nixon is successful in building his majority, Moynihan's memo will take on a significance that was perhaps not intended by its author.

Historical periods are often defined by ingle phrases which seem to capture he mood or the political climate of a ation at a particular point in time. In merica today we are dangerously on the erge of entering a period when social roblems are ignored and allowed to ster until they emerge at some future e in such a diseased condition that social order is threatened with a eral breakdown.

* * *

**VE HAVE** been through a period of ficult change, and people are tired. ey do not want to be reminded that re are still problems, most grievously t problem which Gunnar Myrdal called American dilemma."

Vhites are retreating, becoming hos- and fearful, blacks are becoming en- ed, and liberals are confused and dis- ented. And the federal government, the ncipal agency through which we can a way out of our racial agony, is in hands of men who lack progressive on. "Benign neglect," a phrase bor- ed from the past, seems to define the sent.

eglect of problems that are difficult to solve, avoidance of realities that are unpleasant to confront; Mr. Moynihan's phrase speaks to our society's weaknesses, its capacity for self-delusion and apathy.

We have not entirely reached this point yet. There is still time to reverse our direction, to move forward. To fail to seize this opportunity today may make it impossible for us to do so in the future.

Perhaps the lack of vision evinced by Mr. Moynihan can shock us into a recognition of how far we must still go to achieve the evasive yet splendid goal of racial justice.

~~Rustin Article~~ RUSTIN article 3/27/72

That the past twenty years have seen great progress in civil rights is now a cliche which, however true, obscures for both blacks and whites the real meaning of what is happening to American society.

Much of American history has revolved around and all of our history has been affected by the presence of blacks in this country. The true significance of the events of the past two decades is that from having been continuous objects of our history black people are now becoming participants in it. And this participation means that a process has been initiated which will have enormous and incalculable political, economic, cultural and other consequences for the lives of all Americans far into the future.

The political consequences are the most immediate and fundamental.

American politics, we are told, has been "redefined" by one or a combination of movements spawned by the social upheavals and foreign policy discontent of the 1960s. Thus the peace movement, with its built-in limitations and the youth vote, with its uncertainties, were to have effected an ideological realignment of the Left while at the other end of the spectrum the Wallace phenomenon was to have provided the previously inarticulate backlash element with a permanent coherence. Absorbed as it is with the unique and fashionable, the news media went as far as to transform embryonic social movements--feminists and environmentalists are two noteworthy examples--into activist monoliths with a reputed limitless potential for political influence.

Without intending to downgrade the peace and ecology movements, both of which We feel have influenced electoral politics to a degree well out of proportion to their numerical strength, nor meaning to minimize the palpable dangers of Wallaceism, such movements will not, indeed, cannot, equal the black political movement's long range, intensive, constructive influence on our democratic institutions. This is true whether one measures the success of a movement in terms of its permanency, size or, for that matter, degree of consciousness.

While other movements have surfaced, fragmented, and shattered in conflict and confusion, ours has survived, first, the legal and social barriers which stood in the way of black advancement and second, the differences, many unquestionably bitter, within our own ranks. We endured and prospered while others failed or dropped out because our struggle, moreso than any other contemporary struggle, is firmly anchored to self interest, a prerequisite for the success of any political mass movement. Our common past of discrimination, whether written in southern code or embedded in national custom, and our present oppression (which we share with many whites) based on economic class, does not permit any long term deviations from the essential goals of our struggle.

The ramifications of our political maturation are reflected throughout the political decision making process. We influence the selection of candidates, the formulation of programs, and the tone of a campaign simply by the fact of our increasing presence in the electorate.

Among its positive effects are counted the overthrow of corrupt, wheezing urban machines, the frustration, in alliance with liberals and labor, of President Nixon's full scale assault on congressional progressives, the unfettering of southern liberals from the shackles of the race issue, and the moderation of the once stridently segregationist tones of southern demagogues.

I can cite no more illustrative example of the pervasiveness of our influence than Strom Thurmond, once the personification of southern white supremacy, preaching racial fairness, hiring a black aide, and going out of his way to accept credit for the awarding of federal grants to black areas. That Senator Thurmond was afflicted with a social conscience at this late stage in his career is highly improbable. He was more likely motivated by pragmatic politics; blacks, once a negligible element in South Carolina elections, now compr~~om~~ise, thanks to a massive voter registration effort, nearly 25 per cent of the state's electorate, too much for even a man whose career has been firmly bound to the exploitation of racial prejudices.

This is not to say that the intensification of our political awareness has not had its negative aspects. Particularly in those municipalities and states where political slates have been fashioned on a monoracial basis have we provoked a sharp reaction from the white populace. To the long catalogue of anxieties which black self-assertiveness evokes in whites must be added fear of the black mayor or the black governor.

The outcomes of several recent elections were determined, not on substantive issues, but on "we-they" confrontations revolving on race. Race was the cutting edge in Cleveland, where the mayoral candidate hand-picked by Carl Stokes was defeated by a Republican with a strong identity in the city's sizeable ethnic communities. There was a similar outcome in Mississippi, where blacks had hoped to extend their control of local offices and add to their meager representation in the state legislature. Instead, a massive effort to arouse the political consciousness of blacks had the reverse effect of inducing a hugh white turnout (highest of any Mississippi general election) which doomed the overwhelming majority of Negro office-seekers.

The results of 1971 will no doubt weigh heavily on the judgements of those who are attempting to assess the impact of the growing black electorate on ~~the~~ presidential politics. The Nixon Administration will examine the outcomes in Cleveland and Mississippi, the elections of Rizzo in Philadelphia and Imperiale in Newark and take heart: the Southern Strategy, it would appear, is as valid in 1972 as it was ~~in~~ four years ago, even in the north. Already Kevin Phillips is predicting that the increased influence, and, in a growing number of instances, domination of northern political machines by blacks will dirve socially conservative Catholics into the Republican Party's waiting arms. More doctrinaire conservatives will take comfort in instances of disappointing black turnouts: centuries of sub-par education and obeisance to the white man have proved too formidable an obstacle for southern blacks to overcome in a few years, they will conclude, while northern blacks, seemingly consigned to a treadmill ghetto existence, have turned indifferent to the unkept promises of liberal politicians, no matter what their race or party affiliation.

If there has been a positive element in Richard Nixon's election, it would be the reunification and closing of ranks between disparate forces within the movement which had permitted differences over strategy and objectives to become exaggerated during the Johnson administration. With the White House occupied by a man whose personal philosophy was essentially conservative, and who represented social forces with a vested interest in the economic status quo, the issues which had created such serious internal ruptures became irrelevant. For instance, the debate over whether we should pursue the creation of a separate, ghetto-centered economy was recognized as academic since we understood that, his campaign rhetoric aside, Nixon would never commit the federal government to spend the billions necessary for even a limited program like black capitalism to succeed. More to the point, ghetto housing would not be replaced, there would be no improvement of ghetto medical services nor any perceivable expansion of educational opportunities for the children of the ghetto. We even found that those who had expressed disdain for integration as a social ideal during the controversy over community control began to reappraise their position when the new president, in one of his first actions in the area of race relations, made a transparent attempt to retard the pace of school desegregation.

Our view of Nixon was shaped at least partially by events of symbolic and psychological nature. Nixon's campaign, moreso than any presidential effort since Herbert Hoover, failed to speak to black needs or to treat blacks as individuals, and appealed, though in a more sophisticated manner than did Wallace, to those individuals who had justifiably earned reputations as enemies of black aspiration, and to those emotions based at least partially on racial prejudice which lurked in the souls of a not insignificant percentage of the electorate.

Having assumed office, Nixon greeted us with an unintegrated Cabinet, the appointments of Haynesworth, Carswell and Reh~~i~~nquist to the Supreme Court and the blundering attempt to emasculate the Voting Rights Act of 1965, But for many blacks the economic consequences of the Nixon administration were far more personal and profound. The recession which Nixon helped engineer, while cutting across racial lines, emburdened Negroes more severely than any single segment of the economy. The 10.5 per cent unemployment rate among blacks cited by the Bureau of Labor Statistics is the highest black jobless rate since 1963 and double the percentage for whites. The impact of Nixon's policies fell even harder on those who reside in our ghettoes, with over 14 per cent out of work, including 12.5 per cent of able bodied men and an even greater percentage of teenagers.

The country's economic failures have had two results of significance to the black community. One is the almost total negation of the potential of the myriad manpower and job development programs which were launched in an atmosphere of high hopes in the 1960s. While some of these programs were hampered by poor planning and administration, the overriding cause of their failure was the state of the economy: no group, no matter how extensively tutored or trained, can achieve social mobility during a time of Start here Page 5 recession and rising umemployment.

Recession, in turn prompted a reevaluation of not only the programs, but also the philosophies and strategies of those generally considered "traditional" civil rights leaders. Integration and full employment, which had been eclipsed by the appeal of community control, black studies and "self determination", were now recognized as fundamental to equality and social justice. At the same time those leaders--such as Roy Wilkins and A. Philip Randolph--whose commitment to true equality never wavered, assumed a new stature as the public wearied of those who preached violence and a distorted form of militance.

* * *

The most dramatic reflections of our political growth have occurred in the municipal elections in Gary, Cleveland and Newark, where control of City Hall was wrested from white-dominated machines which had ignored the needs of the substantial black populace. The psychological value of these victories can hardly be measured, for their influence reached beyond the ghettoes of the three cities to fill all black people with confidence and courage to demand their rightful share of political control.

But I feel it is necessary to add a cautionary note here. We cannot afford the luxury of deluding ourselves into believing that the control of three, or even a dozen cities will eliminate the ghetto or, for that matter, solve the basic problems of the urban impoverished. To do so would be to leave ourselves vulnerable to the same disillusionment ~~and~~ disaffection + frustration which fell upon the civil rights movement when it discovered the existence of economic and social discrimination far more deeply imbedded than legally sanctioned segregation.

The powers of a mayor have always been severely limited under our federal system and his authority is further checked by the shrinking tax bases and rising government costs which characterize almost all cities. A mayor, black or white, can promote limited improvements in police and fire service to a previously-neglected black neighborhood and, if he is fortunate enough to have inherited a solvent municipal bank account, build a school or a park in the ghetto. But a mayor, black or white, cannot reduce welfare rolls, provide the unemployed with jobs, or rebuild abandoned ghetto housing unless there is a comparable commitment to economic justice from the federal government.

Our movement, therefore, must have a basically national orientation so that the impact of our local advances is not blunted by a failing economy. To reach objectives that are national in scope, we must develop a set of strategies and tactics which are broad enough not only to accomplish our goals but also to solidify our relationship with other progressive elements in society. This is neither an easy task nor a romantic adventure, for ~~I~~ We include among the progressive forces elements who do not always agree, or, for that matter, regard each other with affection. It is certainly simpler to arouse fantasies of a liberal electoral coup by calling for a coalition of minorities, militant women, students, the poor, and, though not necessarily, workers added as an afterthought. There are today respected liberal politicians who proclaim openly that through just such an alliance lies the path to political victory and ultimately, social change. Seductive as such an approach may appear to revolutionary imaginations, it is guaranteed to lead ultimately to defeat, defeat which permits its adherents to luxuriate in the purity of a clean conscience, but defeat nonetheless. The victims, of course, will not be those who propagate the strategy, just as it can ill afford to ignore minorities or treat them as footnotes.

but those whom they claim to represent, particularly minorities and the poor.

We must clearly understand that a movement which seeks the liberal transformation of society cannot succeed if it consigns workers to a secondary role within the coalition. I should stress that by workers, I do not refer to some mythic creation of New Left imagination of total irrelevance to the American experience, but to all working people, and particularly to those represented by the trade union movements.

Constructing and maintaining a strong, progressive coalition of heterogeneous elements requires that one enter with a spirit of compromise,professionalism and militant commitment to ultimate objectives. It requires that political undertakings be more than mere exercises in education and consciousness raising, if for no other reason than an obligation to act responsibly on behalf of those whose economic ~~social~~ futures most critically depend on its success.

Coalition building also asks that those who contribute in strength and program be accorded a leadership position in relationship to that contribution. It is for this reason that a genuinely progressive coalition can neither ignore the labor movement nor treat it as a footnote. I emphasize this not out of sheer pragmatism, though labor's mass base, sophisticated organization and commitment to the defeat of Richard Nixon are facts of no little consequence. Beyond this, however, is the fact that the goals of labor and the objectives of the black community are fast converging; that as we emerge from the economic and social underclass our needs and priorities will become increasingly inter~~wind~~twined and identical with those of the trade union movement.

It is therefore in our interests to guard against the philosophies of separatism and narrow strategies which would nullify our num~~b~~erical power and create discord and misunderstanding within the coalition itself. We must reject those who urge that we embark on a separatist course aimed, presumably, at letting the white power structure, the Democratic Party, or whomever know that it does not control black minds or black votes just as we rejected similar blandishments of Dick Gregory and Eldridge Cleaver in 1968.

There will be those who will attempt to draw us into a fourth party movement which, given the rhetoric of its propenents, will proclaim itself to be the most effective avenue of upgrading the conditions of minorities. Putting aside for the moment the question of its contribution toward the re-election of Richard Nixon, I do not believe such a movement will ever win general support among blacks precisely because its advocates do not address themselves to those problems which most profoundly affect black people; that is to say, the problems of daily living which confront all working Americans.

We are prepared to support the candidate and party that emphasize a full employment economy, national health insurance, the rebuilding of our cities, tax reform; in other words, the unfulfilled legacy of the New Deal. With one of ten unemployed, blacks are not likely to view with enthusiasm the candidate who conceives of society's problems as an amorphous "quality of life", who seeks solutions through various forms of psychological liberation, or, even worse, denounces technology and calls on workers to reduce their consumption of goods and services.

Black presidential voting patterns forcefully demonstrate the unliklihood of our giving substantial support to a candidate running outside the two principal parties. Since the Depression, our voting habits have been consciously motivated by self interest. We have supported Democratic Party nominees because they by and large expressed a more complete commitment to the extension of civil rights and because, in each instance, the Democrats advocated social welfare and economic reform measures which would benefit the poor and working classes.

But our ballots was not proferred in the form of blank checks upon which the Democrats could dictate the terms of our support. The black vote often varied in direct proportion to the perceived civil rights commitment of the Democratic and Republican hopefuls. Thus Adlai Stevenson, who devoted little attention to the specific needs of blacks and balanced his 1952 ticket with Alabama's John Sparkman, enjoyed measurably less black support than did Lyndon Johnson or Hubert Humphrey. Another illustrative case is that of Richard Nixon. In 1960, running on a civil rights platform which approximated in strength that of the Democrats, Nixon received 30 per cent of the black vote. Eight years later, no longer running as the champion of racial equality, his black support dwindled to around 10 per cent.

Indeed, as the Republican Party has shifted from its moderately pro-civil rights position, through Goldwaterism and the Southern Strategy, it has suffered a perceptible loss of black strength. Whereas only one half of the black electorate identified themselves as Democrats in 1960, fully three of four did so in 1970. Our increasing tendency to affiliate with the Democratic Party came, significantly, during a period when white voters were shedding their party identifications and calling themselves independents in increasing numbers.

This phenomenon is not due solely to Democratic Party platforms and personalities: it can be traced at least in part to the party's increasing willingness to bring blacks into policy formulation roles and leadership positions. ~~Those who denounce the party as a closed, unyielding institution which has systematically denied society's minorities the right to participate in its internal affairs may not have once had a point; no black would contend that the party has in the past been a beacon of internal democracy.~~

~~But we must look to the present and future: current reality is that the process of internal reform which was in part inititated by the Mississippi Freedom Democrats at Atlantic City in 1964 has progressed to the point where the Democratic Party may perhaps soon be more open to participatory democracy than any major political party among the western industrial states. And while I do not necessarily believe that the guidelines formulated by the McGovern and Fraser commissions will solve all the problems or pacify all the critics, they should significantly eliminate the possibility of a repetition of the flagrant abuses of the past.~~

~~The party's commitment to reform was underscored by Lawerence O'Brien's recent pledge to apportion to blacks a share of convention delegates approximately equal to black membership in the party. Should O'Brien succeed in keeping this pledge, it would mean that black delegate strength would rise from 5.5 per cent in 1968 to~~

will serve as anything more than a forum for public hearings and a vehicle for public relations.

~~around 20 per cent this year.~~

An~~other~~ important development was the election of Patricia Harris, a Negro attorney and former dean of the Howard University Law School, as temporary chairman of the convention credentials committee. Within the party structure, there was no area where racial discrimination was practiced more blatantly than in the selection of convention delegates. Democratic organizations in southern states either ignored the Negro party members or would choose a few hand-picked black delegates whose votes could be controlled by the white leadership. These practices, and the mounting Negro reaction, led to the bitter and divisive conflicts during each of the past two conventions when unrepresentative southern delegation were challenged by insurgents from southern states. The potential for a reoccurrence of racial controversies will have lessened considerably with the appointment of Mrs. Harris ~~and the adoption of the reform guidelines.~~

* * *

Within the black political movement, the Congressional Black Caucus has perhaps enjoyed the most notable success in capturing the attention of the news media. But we must ask ourselves whether its ~~effectiveness will go beyond publicity raising~~. Can the black caucus, by itself, deal effectively with those remaining traces of discrimination and, more to the point, advance those economic reforms which will lead ultimately not only to black equality but to the building of a majority coalition with broad support among the black and white proleteriat?

I do not wish to denigrate the role which the intelligent use of publicity can play within a social or political movement. The civil rights movement certainly owes much of its success in eliciting white sympathy and white support to the news coverage of Birmingham, Montgomery and the 1963 March on Washington.

But as our goals have changed, so must our tactics. We are now confronted with economic and political problems, rather than purely social wrongs and we need a more sophisticated strategy to deal with these problems.

It will take more than publicity & conferences to rebuild our cities and put all our people to work. Indeed, the pathos of the ghetto has been reported extensively by television, magazine, book and newspaper and the results have been half measures, promises or continued neglect.

The black caucus suffers the limitations of any organization which perceives of itself as essentially a public relations mechanism. It cannot, by definition, act within the vanguard of a social movement but must instead concentrate on those issues, such as racism in the military services, the subject of the caucus's first hearing, which lie at the periphery of substantive change.

This limitation is not due to the capabilities of the caucus members or their political orientation, but is rather a weakness endemic to any movement which emanates in Congress. While Congress can certainly lay claim to substantial contributions toward racial progress, it did not provide the stimulus for this progress. As an institution, it reacts to pressures from outside, whether they be from constitutuents, lobbying interests, powerful social movements or the President. Its members, by the very act of their engaging in electoral politics, take on a set of styles, values and roles markedly different from the mass movement or protest leader. Thus while a black congressman may see himself as a spokesman for the Negro masses, this roles will be secondary to his allegiance to the particular constituents whose votes he must court every two years.

The priorities of the Daley machine, for instance, may influence the record of a black congressman from Chicago while a black who represents a sizeable, or perhaps majority white electorate may find it prudent to lower his racial profile. And while some black representatives may believe that a massive reduction in defense spending may provide a dividend for the reconstruction of the cities, a black representing a district with a heavy concentration of defense industry workers may view such an approach as only worsening unemployment.

Black congressmen are also subject to the same ambitions as are their white colleagues. Whether a congressman sees himself as the first Negro vice president, future senator, cabinet member or ambassador may reflect itself in his voting record and political style. We have already witnessed how a desire to advance within the House has influecned the record of Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm when she rejected appointment to the Agriculture Committee. Mrs. Chisholm was speaking as a member of Congress when she explained that "there are no farms in Bedford-Stuyvesant." In terms of improving the daily lives of blacks, however, many feel she may have exerted more influence on the agriculture committee, which oversees the allocation of food stamps, farm subsidies and rural development. and is controlled by some of the more entrenched southern conservatives. It was also her congressional ambitions which motivated Mrs. Chisholm's support for Hale Boggs in his race for Majority Leader. While Boggs civil rights record has been fair, it does not compare to those of two of his opponents, James O'Hara and Morris Udall. By supporting Boggs, the candidate of the southern and moderate wing, Mrs. Chisholm was able to achieve a seat on the prestigious Labor and Education Committee.

We must also ask ourselves how the caucus is seen by the rest of society and whether this perception affects its ability to pursue legislative goals. Will the caucus strengthen the bonds between black and white or appear as yet more evidence that Negroes prefer the separatist path to equality? More important, what is its impact on potential allies among the white working class who may as yet not understand the class kinship between black and white worker? Might it not serve to reinforce the presumptions of those who would prefer a black populace which does not value integration as a social ideal?

There is also the question of priorities. Should those whom black people have with their vote designated as their representatives dramatize subsidiary issues, like military racism, at a time when there are so many more profound issues which affect the daily lives of the overwhelming mass of blacks? My question is rhetorical, for obviously 13 members of Congress, no matter how unified, cannot alone transform economic institutions implanted deeply in our history and national heritage. But yet if these institutions are unchallenged even by those who represent the most impoverished, alienated and disaffected of our society we would be forced

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to admit that a half century of struggle for meaningful social change had been abandoned with a majority of our goals unachieved.

The challenge of molding a mass movement through which we can effect these changes is no longer a proposition for debating clubs or academic discussion groups; it is a matter of uppermost necessity for millions of poor and working class Americans. Translated into practical terms, it means mobilizing behind a candidate who can at once offer a broad ranging, radical economic and social program while unifying the various elements of the coalition: both those who depend on such a program for economic well being and those who have a moral commitment to the success of such a program.

I propose such a strategy fully aware that it would produce opposition not only from the right, but also from moderate liberals and some radicals.

Some on the Left will object to a campaign anchored to economic issues as morally flawed and strategically incorrect. They conceive of 1972 as the year in which those Democrats who may at one time or another have supported the war in Vietnam confess their past errors or be read from the party. Should these forces somehow manage to succeed in turning the presidential campaign into what has been termed an exercise in "left-wing Goldwaterism" they would certainly alienate sizeable numbers of the natural liberal constituency for years to come and deal incalculable damage to the aspirations of blacks and the poor for the foreseeable future.

At the same time I do not accept the objections of moderates who insist that a political program which calls for fundamental economic changes would intimidate the American worker. A belief has sprung up, nurtured by liberals who should know better, that workers are somehow moving to the right as they grow increasingly affluent. While it is true that some social issues, such as law and order and school busing have produced conservative reactions in working class neighborhoods, the same cannot be said for economic issues. Far from moving to the right, Americans are becoming growingly receptive to economic reforms which a decade or so ago would have been denounced as socialistic. The adoption of Medicare did not produce an outpouring of sentiment for insert (A)

Black people are still twice as likely as whites to be unemployed; three and a half times as likely to live in poverty; four times as likely to inhabit slum housing. We need a program of economic growth which can promote full employment, enable the underemployed to improve their status, rebuild the cities, ~~and~~ enable all young people who wish to attend college to do so, regardless of financial conditions, and provide access to quality medical care through national health insurance.

~~This is~~ To accomplish this ambitious project is obviously ~~a task~~ a task too massive in scope for 13 congressmen, no matter how committed or unified. ~~The role of~~ The Black Caucus can play an important and constructive role in dramatizing these fundamental economic issues, and in mobilizing the support and commitment of liberals and moderates so that their eventual passage may be ensured.

These issues should have a broad appeal among the electorate. Despite the carefully nurtured myth of America as the affluent society, we find today that fully 90 per cent of the population lives on a take home pay of under $15,000; that over half of the nation's families earn under $10,000, a figure which the federal government employes to define a "moderate" standard of living and that fully 20 per cent subsist on less than $5,000.

a return to the purity of free enterprise medical health care. On the contrary, an overwhelming majority of Americans now demand that the Medicare concept be extended to all age groups.

Far from divisive, a truly radical program would draw to the coalition those who have grown cynical of government's ability to effect meaningful change and of liberalism in general. It would create a focal point around which those with sharply contrasting social attitudes but common economic problems could unite. And it would enable the candidate of the left to distinguish his program from that of the President, no minor point when you consider Nixon's ability to create the impression of moving to the left at the same time that his basically conservative approach remains unchanged. There is scant evidence to support the thesis that an incumbent president can be defeated by a campaign centering on degree of candor and style when the public can see no perceptible difference in the issues which affect them most severely.

It is no longer enough to gloss over the divisions within liberalism in the hope that, given the time, they will resolve [illegible] themselves. The problems of the poor are here and now; their solutions require a massive, coordinated assault from government and the support of the larger society. Should we fail in 1972, we would face four more years during which we at best could mount no more than a holding action against the forces of conservatism and, at worst, witness the exacerbation of those differences over foreign policy and social issues which even now threaten the very foundations of our movement. The role of the black community in unifying liberals and giving their program a form and substance can be that of the vanguard. Its success could bring about a majority government committed to progressivism and radical reform for years to come. Its failure, given the temper of the times, may well signify the end of the liberalism we know and respect as a force in the politcal scheme of things.

# What Happened To King's Dream?

*In 1963 the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. told the world, 'I have a dream.' He was slain 10 years ago today as he pursued that vision. Have his ideals been realized?*

WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW! NOW!
WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW
WE DEMAND
AN FEPC LAW NOW!
DECENT HOUSING NOW!
END SEGREGATED RULES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Newsday Graphic by Gary Viskupic

**By Bayard Rustin**

Last week, I was talking to a young man who—at the time of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination in 1968—was in 10th grade. He recalled that evening in early April when the shocking news of King's murder was broadcast to the world. He remembered the stark, yet exceedingly dignified, funeral procession through the somber streets of Atlanta.

But this young man had few, if any, meaningful recollections of the great civil rights struggles of the 1950s and the 1960s. Names and places like James Meredith, Birmingham, Medgar Evers, Selma, "Bull" Connor, Little Rock, Rosa Parks and Montgomery were blurred in his mind, vaguely remembered but not fully comprehended.

He was, unlike his parents and older neighbors, untouched by the bitter reality of racial segregation. For him, the very concept of segregation seemed alien and peculiar, indeed unthinkable.

The attitudes of this young man, I think, testify to King's greatest accomplishment: racial segregation, whether de jure or de facto, has become politically and morally untenable in modern America. King, through the enduring beauty of non-violent witness and the political power of mass organization, successfully challenged the moral legitimacy of white supremacy. He showed America the true face of racism, a face which was hideous and inhuman.

But King and his supporters paid dearly in their crusade to unmask the obscene system known as Jim Crow.

*Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City, was an associate of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. during much of the civil rights era.*

I can still remember the beatings, the fiery church bombing, the jeering faces and the slaughter of innocent children. And I can still recall, in vivid detail, the late-night strategy sessions, the sometimes heated policy debates and the exhaustion at the end of a mass demonstration.

Yet, as painful as the memories are, they also provide a certain aura of comfort and solace: for only in remembering the trials of the past can we accurately measure our progress and set our direction for the future.

What, then, is the state of King's dream 10 years after his brutal death, and 15 years after he so eloquently proclaimed it on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial? Is it enough that young Americans—both black and white—are shielded from the horrifying practices of racial segregation? Or is it enough that blacks are no longer forcibly barred from the voting booth?

To answer these questions properly we must first understand King's message, a message which has been all too frequently distorted by friend and foe alike.

Unlike many earlier black leaders—I have in mind men like Marcus Garvey and Booker T. Washington—King was not simply a "black leader," concerned only with "black issues." He was substantially more than that. In presenting King to the assembled masses at the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom, A. Philip Randolph was far more precise when he called King "the moral leader of the nation." And it was King, more than anyone else, who transformed the civil rights movement into a broad *social* movement, seeking and forging coalitions with white allies.

This coalition strategy was based on King's social dream, a vision that consisted of two intimately linked components: first, the full realization of civil and political rights; and, second, the achievement of economic and social equality by black Americans.

In short, King proposed what might be called "a package deal" for black liberation. He viewed the social dynamic of collective struggle—rather than individual black achievement—as the chief instrument of black liberation. Freedom, according to King, would not—and should not—come piecemeal, nor would it come through the sheer benevolence of the white power centers. It would come only as the result of a social revolution, nonviolent to be sure, but a revolution, nevertheless, in the true sense of the word.

I have already argued that the civil rights movement has scored many remarkable victories during the last two decades. Nowhere in the United States—not even in the most isolated and backward regions of the Deep South—can a white man defile the dignity of black people by placing a "White Only" sign in his store or restaurant window.

Throughout the country, black children sit side by side with white children; they are no longer forced into grossly inferior "colored" schools. And everywhere, black voters, though seriously under-registered, are openly courted by black leaders, as well as by white politicians who only a few years ago openly and enthusiastically avowed racial segregation.

Whenever I cite the victories of the civil rights movement, as I have done, I am usually confronted by two conflicting, but equally disturbing, reactions: a self-satisfied sigh of relief that manifests a dangerous complacency, or a mocking voice proclaiming, "It doesn't matter, it's all a delusion." Both are reactions of impatient people.

The scoffers, on the one hand, demand instantaneous results and quick-fix solutions. They see people suffering and they react—quite rightly I think—with their hearts. But they fail to see the whole picture; they lack, unfortunately, a sense of history and movement. Ballots, they tell us, will not put bread on the table or satisfy a bothersome landlord.

The complacent ones, on the other hand, are just as impatient as the scoffers. Black people, they eagerly tell us, have "made it." And now they grumble and whine as they implore us to "get off their backs." Like the scoffers, they also fail to see the whole picture; they reject the social vision of the civil rights movement. For the complacent, civil rights and the ever increasing recial tolerance of white America are ends in themselves; anything more is considered black greed.

King wisely anticipated the reactions of the impatient. He clearly recognized the paramount importance of political rights and mobilized the civil rights movement behind the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These two pieces of landmark legislation were not, in his view, mere shams or hollow expressions of white piety or guilt. They were seen and used as tools for social change.

But King also realized that the initial victories of the civil rights movement, though achieved through the personal sacrifice of thousands and even the loss of life, would be the easiest. A year before his death, he wrote an insightful book, aptly titled "Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?", discussing the two major phases of the civil rights movement. King wrote:

"The practical cost of change for the nation up to this point has been cheap. The limited reforms have been obtained at bargain rates. There are no expenses, and no taxes are required, for Negroes to share lunch counters, libraries, parks, hotels, and other facilities with whites . . . The real cost lies ahead. The stiffening of white resistance is recognition of that fact. The discount education given Negroes will in the future have to be purchased at full price if quality education is to be realized. Jobs are harder and costlier to create than voting rolls. The eradication of slums, housing millions, is complex far beyond integrating buses and lunch counters." These words, uttered by King in 1967, contain the unfortunate truth of today's situation.

During the 10 years since King's death, phase II of the civil rights movement—the economic phase—has produced a spotty and somewhat disappointing record. Although most blacks have improved their economic position, at least marginally, since the 1950s, recent years have seen repeated setbacks for black people.

By 1970, the median family income of blacks had risen to nearly 62 per cent of the income of whites (in 1959 it was only 51 per cent). But by 1976, the median income of blacks had fallen back to 59 per cent, a dangerous reversal and an ugly reminder of our segregationist past.

And unemployment rates among black workers remain at intolerably high levels. For certain categories of black workers, teenagers for example, the unemployment rate is double that of white workers. But perhaps even worse, the labor force participation rate for black men of prime working age has fallen drastically since 1958—from 96 per cent to 88.5 per cent. This bleak statistic indicates that thousands of black workers have abandoned all hope of "making it" in contemporary America.

These disheartening trends are easily traced to the disastrous economic policies so doggedly pursued by the Nixon and Ford administrations. Everyone—except perhaps the bankers and certain lucky stockholders—suffered under the yoke of the recessions. And now, with a Democratic president elected with the overwhelming support of black voters, the situation looks only slightly better. Few politicians—and here I include liberals—grasp the concept that economic policy has become, in a very real way, the civil rights policy of the 1970's.

Black workers, no matter how well organized, cannot resume the slow march toward economic and social equality within the context of a chronically ill economy. We must continue to press for a firm commitment to full employment (the recent House vote on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is an encouraging sign), and a steadily rising standard of living. We must move ahead in the uphill battle for quality intergrated education. And we must reaffirm our support for America's once great urban centers, so often the depressing havens of America's poorest and most dejected people.

No, King's dream has not been realized after 10 long and sometimes cruel years. Nor do I really think that he expected us to see the dream fulfilled in 10, 20 or even 50 years. He knew that endurance and perseverance are the distinguishing marks of any worthwhile movement for justice.

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ARTICLE BY BAYARD RUSTIN
FOR CONFRONTATION MAGAZINE - SPRING 1975

For roughly the past decade--a period inaugurated by the outbreak of simultaneous debates over militancy and separatism in the civil rights movement on the one hand, and the escalation of the Vietnam war on the other--American liberalism has experienced a crisis of a dimension unprecedented in its history. The values and principles which for years had been the motivating force in the liberal movement were abruptly called into question, not by liberalism's conservative critics, but by elements within liberalism itself. Racial integration, the most cherished dream of the 1950s and early 1960s, diminished as a social priority while other, less complex causes beckoned to the activist-minded. The role of public education as a vehicle of social mobility was attacked by those who would "de-school" society precisely at the moment when newly emergent minorities looked to the schools as an essential means of escaping the poverty cycle. Economic growth, a principal mechanism for the reduction of poverty, was dismissed as spiritually and environmentally destructive by those dedicated to the "greening" of America. There even emerged a new attitude towards social programs: the Great Society was counted as little more than an ambitious failure; government had tried to do too much in the areas of housing, manpower training, education, and the like; the poor would be more effectively served by decentralized forms of government than by the infusion of funds from Washington.

Most liberals, it should be noted, did not share these views. But a significant, highly vocal, and influential minority did. The question is why. Why this massive crisis in liberal faith at a time when many of liberalism's most sought-after goals were nearing achievement, particularly in the area of civil rights? Many blamed the Vietnam War as the source of disillusionment and as the reason for the failure of Great Society programs. But this explanation does not account for the persistence of disillusionment on matters unrelated to foreign policy even after the war's conclusion.

There is, I believe, something far more fundamental at work here. It relates to how liberals see the state and society and, particularly, how liberals view working people and their representatives in organized labor.

This is certainly not a new problem. Liberals have historically held ambiguous, and very often contradictory, attitudes towards mass movements based on a majority of working people. Because liberalism is a movement based in the middle and professional classes, it has often been torn by contradictory elements: its genuine belief in social betterment and economic democracy frequently conflicts with attitudes and aspirations incompatible with the basic needs of working people. Thus liberals have been much more effective in winning structural reforms of the political system--reforms which, incidentally, made political power more accessible to influence by the middle and professional classes--than in bringing about changes in the economic order.

Until recently, the differences between liberals and labor were easily overshadowed by the fact of their political alliance. Since the time of the New Deal, as labor became more politically active and liberals became more involved with economic issues, liberalism saw the labor movement as its chief ally and embraced the overwhelming majority of labor's programs. As a result, liberals then saw working people as comprising their own movement's basic constituency and they drew up an agenda that swore to ensure as its first priority that working people would never again have to suffer the mass unemployment and widespread poverty generated by the depression.

But this commitment no longer seems to be binding. This is not to suggest that liberals have abandoned working people, but rather that there is a good deal of confusion in how they confront working people, and that this confusion is reflected in the programs and stances liberals adopt. For example, it is not unusual to hear the most simplistic attack on economic growth advanced by someone who at the same time is insistent that society must abolish poverty and racial inequality. It should be obvious by now that healthy and carefully regulated economic growth is a precondition for the further democratization of the economy and that a no-growth economy would intensify existing class differences. A person secure in his commitment to the betterment of the status of working people would never make such a foolish and irreconcilable set of propositions. Only someone who was uncertain about the direction social change will take could support such a viewpoint.

Current attitudes towards public education is another good example of the liberal dilemma. Americans have traditionally seen the public education system as an important instrument of democracy and upward mobility. And for all the myth-making which accompanies this view, there is a good deal of truth in it. American schools have in fact served as a means of upward mobility to a much more significant degree than have the school system of other countries, including those of the Communist nations. American mobility was particularly evident in the 1960s when the number of college classrooms was greatly expanded; when a higher percentage of students from the lower classes began to look to college as a means of attaining jobs less physically draining and more emotionally fulfulling than those held by their fathers; and when large numbers of minority students for the first time saw a college degree as a real possibility. Whatever problems surfaced, the record of American public education during the 1960s was not one of failure; if anything, it was a flawed but important movement towards the democratization of a basic social resource. And yet the response of important segments of liberalism was one of mounting criticism, coupled with growing disillusionment. There was no recognition of education's strengths; no acknowledgement of the role education had played in helping thousands of working-class youths to reach middle-class jobs. Even more unsettling were the new and "innovative" programs liberals advanced as educational panaceas: community control, the voucher system, performance contracting, radically unstructured classroom atmospheres. These proposals represented, first, a turning away from the traditional liberal approach to educational

Liberals and Workers 20

reform which had stressed smaller class sizes, improved teacher training, and remedial programs, especially for schools in poverty neighborhoods. Second, while these programs had initially been proposed by liberals, they also found widespread support among ideological conservatives: performance contracting and vouchers were embraced by education officials within the Nixon administration for the most conservative of reasons--they would cost the government practically nothing to implement. Third, those innovations that dealt primarily with the structure of education, rather than with improved performance in the schools appealed more to the particular needs of the middle class than to those of poor people, working people, and racial minorities. Widespread adoption of the voucher system, for example, would no doubt damage efforts at racial integration and for this reason, vouchers have consistently been opposed by civil rights organizations.

Liberalism has ~~also~~ developed in recent years a new cultural attitude toward working people, particularly white working people, that marks a distinct break with past liberal beliefs. ¶ During the 1930s, 1940s, and even 1950s working people were looked on with respect as hard-working, decent individuals whose values were as worthy as those of the rest of society. Contrast this with the current liberal attitude towards teachers, policemen, and construction workers. As individuals these working people are no longer accorded respect in liberal opinion; as for the unions representing these people, liberals often lump them together with corporations as comprising vast and powerful "vested interests" that operate against the public interest. The goals and the influence of a teachers' union are thus equated with those of the oil lobby.

To maintain any semblance of public dignity, then, working people find that they must identify, not with their job or class background, but rather with their racial, ethnic, or sexual heritage. It appears that liberals have to a significant extent accepted the myth of America as the affluent society in which the role of the working class has been minimized or abolished altogether. ¶ Thus workers are no longer valued in terms of their economic roles, but are accepted only in the light of their biological or racial ancestry. To be a Jew or a Negro or an Irish-American is to bear the dignity conferred by a unique historical tradition set apart from the mainstream; to be a worker, on the other hand, is to bear the scorn of society more than its respect.

It is this refusal to view social phenomena in terms of their economic roots that led in the late 1960s to much of the confusion over the direction of the civil rights agenda. And to the extent that many of the Negro's traditional allies in the liberal community believed individual white racism - not the economic system - to be at the heart of racial inequality, to that degree they postponed the implementation of massive social and economic reforms which would, in fact, have helped transform the ghetto. ¶ For individual prejudice is not the root cause of black poverty, but rather the discriminatory functioning of a free-enterprise system which makes it unprofitable to build low-cost housing, encourages the exodus of jobs from the inner cities to the suburbs, discourages full employment, and fails to take into consideration the trauma and disruption of cybernetics and automation. To blame white racism for the Negro's plight is not simply to forestall the possibility of fundamental economic transformation, it is also to imply that white working people--particularly those whose economic situation is little different from that of blacks--are in large measure responsible for racial inequality. This, of course, makes cooperation and political alliance between white and black workers that much more difficult.

A more fundamental consequence of liberal ferment is reflected in a new and as yet ill-defined attitude towards the function of the state. Here the position of liberals, on the one hand, and labor and the black community, on the other hand, can be clearly contrasted. Committed to its specific constituency of working people, and thus certain of its objectives, labor knows what it wants from the state: government policy which promotes healthy economic growth, policies and programs to ensure full employment, decent wages and working conditions, and government initiatives to ensure that basic social services--such as housing and health care--are so allocated as to be within the reach of the working class. The state, in other words, should adopt policies that provide more social and economic democracy. And similarly, the civil rights movement, because it speaks for a constituency of poor and working people, pursues an agenda differing little from labor's.

Unlike the labor and civil rights movements, liberals do not have a clearly defined constituency. But their conception of state power does not derive from philosophical abstractions; it is determined by their own needs and particularly by the needs of their political allies.

For many liberals, the economic activism of the New Deal warranted support above all because it was in the interests of their coalition partners in the labor movement, not because of traditional liberal dogma. For much the same reason, liberals endorsed massive federal involvement in a broad range of social and economic areas because another ally, southern blacks, could not achieve its goal of total freedom without the help of a strong, centralized federal government.

What most clearly differentiates the New Deal and the civil rights era from the current period is the degree of cohesiveness within the liberal coalition, together with the social movement generated by this cohesion. Liberals, labor, and later, the black community had sought a set of specific objectives, recognizing that they must move the state in a specific direction in order to realize their goals. There was a sense of order and unity in the formulation of strategies because the partners within the liberal coalition understood what they wanted from the state.

The sense of purpose of the New Deal and civil rights periods has today been replaced by an ambivalence over the role of the state precisely because liberals are ambivalent about whom the state should serve. The formerly strong consensus that the federal government should play the dominant role in formulating and implementing massive social programs no longer exists, primarily because many liberals have concluded that most Americans have now achieved middle-class status and don't need the services of government, and also because they are no longer enthusiastic about programs that do not benefit their own middle class. Instead of strategies to challenge the economic structure, they favor efforts to transform the structure of government, such as community control and other forms of decentralization. Although it is generally viewed as a radical step in returning political power to ordinary people, the decentralization movement is at heart a conservative notion, a reformulation of the state's rights thesis of which the pre-civil rights South was so enamored. Decentralization demands that the most liberal arm of government--Congress and the White House--surrender power to the most conservative elements in the states and localities. Hence it is hardly surprising that the concept of decentralized power was so warmly embraced by former President Nixon.

Many of the problems discussed here may, hopefully, have been resolved in the past few months, although it is unfortunate that it should take a rapidly deteriorating economy to refocus the attention of society on the precarious state of working people. For it is working people who have borne the brunt of mass unemployment, particularly in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations.

It has taken an unemployment rate in excess of nine ~~seven~~ percent, the highest of the post-war era, to demonstrate that lifestyle and liberation are not the central issues of our time, except insofar as everyone's lifestyle and freedom is threatened by the persisting failures of the economic system.

Thus i~~s~~t is essential that liberals rethink their basic attitudes--towards the state, towards their programmatic priorities, and most importantly, towards the working class. Liberals have played a central role in the struggles for social progress in America, but they have done so only in partnership with other progressive forces, particularly with the civil rights movement and the mass constituency of labor. Failure to understand this fundamental point will not only perpetuate the crisis of liberalism, it will certainly mean the continuation and worsening of the infinitely deeper crisis that America, and much of the rest of the world, is undergoing.

June 4, 1976

Ms. Roberta Berry
Poynter Project
410 North Park Avenue
University of Indiana
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Ms. Berry:

Here are ten of the points which I will incorporate in my speech for the Addition Locke Roach lecture.

1. Freedom and equality require an economic base.

2. Blacks can accomplish their goals only through political coalition.

The coalition of the 1970s is more genuine and stable than the Republican southern black coalition of the first reconstruction.

3. The political coalition which blacks seek to build must be based on economic issues.

4. The reconstruction period had been misunderstood. Without Reconstruction the 14th and 15th amendments could not have been passed and it would be impossible for the federal government to protect the civil and political rights of blacks.

5. American society has changed in ways that make a rollback like that which followed the end of the Second Reconstruction unlikely.

6. Nixon's Southern strategy was an attempt to repeat the formula that ended the first reconstruction.

7. Reform movements in the United States seldom stick with the most important problems. They are frequently unwilling to see a reform all the way through to a fundamental economic and social transformation.

8. The labor movement is a principal bulwark against retreat on civil rights.

9. Unlike a century ago, the black worker is a part of the economic mainstream.

10. Despite the despair in the ghetto and despite 14 percent unemployment this is a hopeful period for blacks. Important economic gains have been made and blacks have political leverage. With the intelligent use of political power, the economic dimension of the civil rights agenda can be completed.

I hope that this material will be of help to your committee in planning for my lecture. I am looking forward to seeing you on Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh

# Have We Reached the End of the Second Reconstruction

Delivered for the Addison Locke Roache Lecture
Indiana University, Gary, Indiana

June 9, 1976

by Bayard Rustin

History is rarely so simple and neat as to fit its flow to the arbitrary divisions of decades and centuries. The bicentennial of the American revolution is more than a patriotic celebration. Because America traces its origin to a set of ideas and principles, we have a unique opportunity to re-examine our past and to plan for the future of our democratic values.

The history of America has been a constant and unending battle between the impulse to expand the democratic and egalitarian promise of the Declaration of Independence into social practice and the inertia of privilege and prejudice which would restrict democracy to a fortunate few.

Viewed from the perspective of 1776, when the author of the declaration that "all men are equal" was a slave-owner, we can be justifiably proud of how far we have moved toward full implementation of our democratic rights. We can also be optimistic about the ability and willingness of America to solve its still pressing social problems.

But by coincidence, we celebrate another anniversary in 1976, an anniversary that is tragic and sad. One hundred years ago the first reconstruction came to an end. The aftermath of that failure has had a more deeper and lasting effect on the structure of

American society than all but a few events in our history.

The Reconstruction period is the most neglected period of American history. And when not neglected, it has been woefully misunderstood. I would suggest that it has been neglected and misunderstood because America's collective conscience is guilty. For the end of Reconstruction meant that America had turned its back on its democratic principles.

If all of American history can be seen as a struggle to make the principles of the Declaration of Independence a reality, reconstruction was the most noble and heroic struggle for democracy in our first century. Historians have called reconstruction the only authentic attempt at a social revolution in the United States. That judgement was certainly true until the combined effect of the civil rights movement and legislation of the 1960s and the Great Society.

The Civil Rights revolution of the 1960s was a continuation of the uncompleted struggle for social transformation of Reconstruction. The civil rights revolution would have been impossible without reconstruction. Only during the period of reconstruction was the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments possible. Without the period of radical reconstruction, the federal government might to this day lack the constitutional authority to protect blacks from legal and political discrimination.

The future of American democracy will be determined by the question of whether the second reconstruction will like the first, be terminated by an unholy alliance of the opponents of equality and political opportunists. The situation today resembles in many ways the end of reconstruction. Tremendous reforms have met increasing resistance as important and powerful forces seek to limit and, if possible, overturn change for their political and economic advantage. Now as then, many have grown weary of the struggle for democracy and others bitterly resent the changes that have been made. The essence of the political decision that brought an end to the first reconstruction was the consensus that the race problem was the South's problem and could only be handled there. Today there is a growing sentiment that the problems of the cities are the cities' problem and can only be handled there. And more and more people operate on the assumption that the problems of the poor can only be solved by the poor.

Indeed, the criticisms of Southern whites of the Freedman's Bureau sound more than a little familiar to our ears. The Bureau was attacked for meddling in matters that were not properly within the jurisdiction of the federal government. It was denounced for stirring up discontent among blacks and filling them with false hopes. It was criticized for employing corrupt and inefficient administrators who wasted federal money.

The state's rights plea of 1876 is again echoed in the anti-Washington rhetoric of 1976. The Social Darwinism of 1876 is paralleled by the new intellectual fashion that disputes the possibility, and even the desirability, of equality.

These observations are unsettling, but they comfort some liberals for they prove just how right the liberals are in blaming the current situation entirely on conservatives, reactionaires, and opportunistic politicians. But there are other similarities between 1876 and 1976 which liberals might not be so eager to hear me raise. One reason for the failure of Radical Reconstruction was that the reformers soon grew tired of reconstruction and moved on to other causes--civil service reform, tariff reform, defense of the gold standard, and prohibition . In our era we have seen the same thing. Reformers began to grow tired of the civil rights movement soon after 1965 and moved on to one cause after another--the Vietnam war, ecology, women's liberation, and the decriminalization of marijuana, to name just a few.

But if the similarities between 1876 and 1976 are to inform our analysis of what must be done, we must do more than list parallels. We must seek the reasons for the failure of reconstruction. One most fundamental reason for the failure of reconstruction was that many radicals acted on idealistic assumptions, while ignoring the sociology and economics of freedom. Most radicals in the 1860s believed that the black was what slavery had made him; give the former slave equal rights, they thought, and he would quickly be transformed into an industrious and responsible citizen. Many reformers in the 1960s just as naively thought that the problems of blacks were solely the result of legal discrimination. Abolish Jim Crow, they thought, and blacks will quickly be equal. And, to be honest, this unconscious assumption was not without its power in the black movement.

The parallel between the reformers of the 1860s and the 1960s is not accidental; it is rooted in the very nature of American reform movements. Reform movements in the United States have been dominated by intellectuals--men with no concrete commitment to the system, men with no close relationship to any of society's institutions, men without responsibility. Without a connection to a social base, the intellectual reformer feels no direct responsibility to a clientele. The reformer is free to speculate and propose without limit. His thinking tends to be erratic, emotional, compulsive, and abstract. The reformers' isolation from a social base means that they have never been able to stick to a basic agenda for change. Reformers have never made their primary objective the transformation of the economy because they are not responsible to a social constituency. When they have made economic issues a concern, they are too quickly diverted to other trendier causes before economic change can be completed.

The question in 1876 as today is whether the economic needs of blacks will be met. Viewed with hindsight, history always appears more inevitable than it might have been. Yet it is hard to conceive of reconstruction succeeding. If the program of the Radical Republicans had been implemented there would have been a steady, if extremely troubled transformation to a multiracial society in the South and in the nation. But economic and social conditions were not ripe for the success of the Radical Republican program. Indeed, the Radical Republicans themselves were not ripe for the kind of changes that would have had to have been made.

Reconstruction was doomed by its failure to provide an economic base for freedom. Legislation to provide each ex-slave with forty acres and a mule never had a serious prospect of being passed by the legislature.

And today the triumphs of the civil rights revolution are still not secured because the economic dimension of the civil rights struggle has not been completed.

In a primitive, naive, and anachronistic manner some of the black radicals of the nineteen sixties understood this. On the fringes of the black radical and nationalist circles there was a discussion of the "land question." Similarly James Forman's demand for repatriations was motivated as an attempt to win forty acres and a mule after a delay of one hundred years.

These demands were essentially gimmicks. Not only were they politically impossible, but they failed to redefine the economic precondistions for equality in terms appropriate to our complex industrialized economy. Today, the economic condition for true equality is jobs--a full employment economy.

It was not difficult to see the necessity of forty acres and a mule in the 1860s. It is not at all difficult to draw up an agenda to solve the problems of blacks and the poor today. What is difficult is to act upon a political strategy that makes the economic agenda politically feasible and attractive.

Like all analogies the one between 1876 and 1976 cannot only inform, it can mislead. The similarities of 1876 and 1976 do not mean that we are condemned to repeat the same abandonment of democracy. Rather it points to the similar dynamics of successful and flawed attempts at fundamental social transformation.

The political alliance between Republicans and southern blacks was an uneasy one from the beginning. Blacks flocked to the GOP because it had given them political and civil rights. Moreover, southern white Democrats were overtly hostile to blacks. Thus, blacks did not join the Republican party because they found Republican policies on other postwar issues particularly attractive. There was little agreement between the economic interests of blacks and the interests of the leaders of the Republican party. Blacks were small farmers, tenants, sharecroppers, and unskilled urban laborers. The Republican party generally deferred to the interests of northern business leaders when it came to economic policy.

Only a massive land reform program could have established a firm base for the exercise of Negroes' civil and political rights. Without that economic base only the presence of federal troops stood between blacks and the intention of southern white landholders and other propertied interests to regain control. Land reform failed for many reasons. Not the least reason was the failure of even the Radical Republicans to understand the necessity of giving emancipation economic support. But there were more fundamental reasons. The Republican party, even the Radicals, were ideologically opposed to government "paternalism" as stifling initiative. Any substantial program of land reform would have collided with the economic interests that the Republicans represented. Confiscation, even of former Confederate landowners, was an obvious attack on property rights. Finally, many business friends of the Republicans saw the propertyless black as a labor reservoir for northern industry or southern industry and agriculture in which they might invest.

Reconstruction collapsed when the Republican party lost the will to intervene against the physical violence of the Ku Klux Klan and similar groups that were an integral part of the crusade against the radicals in every Southern state. The bonds between northern Republicans and southern blacks had never been particularly strong. By 1876, in order to exist as the dominant national party, the Republicans no longer needed the votes of Southern blacks.

The second reconstruction differs from the first in many important respects:

first, the alliance of blacks and the Democratic party is more genuine and should be longer lasting;

second, the second reconstruction emerged from the masses of black people organized into political action;

third, it took place within a society that had undergone a period of immense social reform since 1932;

fourth, blacks have newly-won political leverage;

fifth, blacks have made important economic gains;

sixth, there has been a concerted and effective assault on the practice and philosophy of racial discrimination.

It is precisely because the changes that have been instituted since 1954 are so far-reaching that it is unlikely that the second reconstruction will come to the same tragic end as the first reconstruction. It is not so certain that the dynamic of change started in the 1950s, already slowed, will not be halted altogether.

To cite just a few of the changes:

Between 1960 and 1970 the median income of black workers more than doubled.

The median income of black families increased from 51 percent of median white income to 61 percent between 1959 and 1969. By 1970, black husband-wife families whose head was under 35 years old were earning an income 82 percent of corresponding white families.

The percentage of black families living in poverty declined from 56 percent in 1962 to 31 percent in 1969.

Unemployment in the black community dropped from 12.4 percent in 1961 to 6.4 percent in 1969.

While black advancement in the 1960s was undeniable and substantial, progress ground to a halt after 1969. By many measures there has even been a decline in the social and economic status of the black community. Joblessness among black workers has more than doubled. The number of blacks living in poverty has once again begun to increase. The real income of black families has failed to keep pace with inflation, while earnings of white families have remained slightly above prices increases. The number of blacks and other minorities moving into higher-paying jobs has declined significantly during the past seven years.

But these reverses were primarily the result of the regressive and reactionary economic policies of the Nixon administration which decreed . that nation must tolerate more unemployment in order to restrain inflation and gave us both record unemployment and record inflation. The economic and social decline of the black community since 1969 was not the result of programs that curtailed the rights of blacks. Just as blacks gain proportionately more from full employment and rapid economic growth so they suffer more from unemployment and economic stagnation.

Nixon's Southern strategy was an attempt to adopt the political formula that ended the First Reconstruction to the modern period.

As enunciated by Kevin Phillips and other administration figures, the message was clear--the Republicans don't need and can't get the votes of blacks, so they would build a Republican political majority from those that are opposed to black progress and its by-products. It attempted to play to the resentments that had been created by integration and the social programs of the Kennedy and Johnson years. And, in a political strategy that was not recognized by liberals, the Nixon administration attempted to create new resentments. For instance, the famed Philadelphia plan which required federal contractors to include a set percentage of black workers on projects built with federal funds, was announced on the same day that the Nixon administration cut federal construction funds by 75 percent. The result was that white workers were told that they must share with blacks jobs from a declining pool of work. The Philadelphia Plan made no provision for training, nor did it provide a means for blacks to attain the security of journeyman status within the unions. It was designed to embarass the unions, to organize public pressure against them, and to divide white and black workers.

The Southern Strategy was not entirely successful. Its successes owed more to the blunders of liberals than to the racism of the American people. The southern strategy did not work in the congressional elections of 1970 and 1972. Congress continued to be overwhelmingly Democratic and liberal. In 1972 only one of the 65 congressmen with outstanding civil rights records was defeated--and that was due to redistricting. Nixon was re-elected not as the candidate of the southern strategy but as the candidate of peace and prosperity.

But if Nixon's southern strategy was not able to instituionalize Phillips' "emerging Republican majority" it did paralyze the movement toward social and economic equality. Watergate has given those committed to furthering equality another opportunity to renew the momentum of the Second Reconstruction. That opportunity will be lost unless we understand the economic and political requirements of equality in 1976.

Once Jim Crow was abolished and an elaborate legal mechanism to guarantee political and civil rights had been established, the problems of blacks became primarily economic. The means to solve those economic problems lay in the realization that the problems of black and white workers were fundamentally the same.

A few of the Radical Republicans had shared this conception in the 1860s. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts explained that "We have advocated the rights of the black man, because the black man was the most oppressed type of the toiling man of this country.... The man who is the enemy of the black laboring man is the enemy of the white laboring man the world over. The same influences that go to keep down and crush the rights of the poor black man bear down and oppress the poor white laboring man."

But however noble and correct Wilson's sentiments, they were at the time more verbal expression of moralism than a reflection of political and economic reality. Blacks simply were not members of the industrial working class, blacks by and large lived in the South, there was little opportunity for white workers and black tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or agricultural laborers to get together.

When Martin Luther King addressed the 1960 convention of the

AFL-CIO and identified the needs of blacks with the needs of working people the situation had changed drastically. And it was to change even more in the coming decade. Indeed the most dramatic and largely unnoticed change brought about by the civil rights revolution was a massive transformation in the composition of the black work force. Prior to 1960, black workers were concentrated in the poorest paying occupations offering minimal opportunities for upward mobility: farm labor, unskilled workers, domestic and household work, and service jobs. By 1970, a combination of anti-discrimination laws, federal manpower programs, and a rapidly growing economy acted to pull most black workers out of the ranks of the working poor and into the solid working class. Some 60 percent of all black workers held jobs as skilled or semi-skilled operative and craftsmen or as white collar workers. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of blacks holding working class jobs rose from 2.9 million to 5.1 million, a shift in occupational status unprecedented in its dimensions and rapidity.

This change in occupational status brought with it a dramatic change in the relationship of the black worker to the larger society. The black worker could no longer be said to be an outsider to American life, as he had been during the previous 400 years of slavery and Jim Crow.

The black worker is strategically located in the labor movement, black voter have a strategic political role, and black institutions have a powerful set of allies.

It is a well-hidden fact that over two-and-half million blacks are union members. There are more blacks who belong to trade unions than to any other instituion in American society except for the church. The labor movement is the most integrated instituion in American society. Its integration is not limited to the rank-and-file. Increasing numbers of blacks are winning important union offices and occupying policy-making positions in the labor movement.

The labor movement, like every other instituion in American life, has its legacy of racism and discrimination. But the labor movement has done far more to set its own house in order than other segments of American life. AFL-CIO President George Meany testified before Congress in favor of adding a Fair Employment Practices section to the 1964 Civil Rights Act which would bar discrimination by business, government, and unions. This section was opposed by the Kennedy administration and many influential liberals as premature and likely to kill the entire bill.

The labor movement has become the principal force for social change and racial and economic justice in the United States. Every civil rights organization will tell you that without the political muscle and brains of the labor movement the civil rights legislation of the 1960s could not have been passed.

The growth of organized labor is perhaps the most important change in the structure of American society in the last hundred years. It has not only transformed social relations through increasing the power of workers at the workplace, it has pressed for the passage of social legislation that built an ever growing quantity of justice and compassion into the very fabric of American life.

The most important change brought by the growth of the American labor movement is that we at last have a reform movement that is rooted in a mass social institution. The labor movement brings a stability and perseverance to the struggle for social justice which no other institution can approach. The labor movement acts on a consistent set of principles and does not conform to every passing fad and fashion. Liberal and intellectual critics of the labor movement have mistaken labor's consistency for conservatism and have made their own faddishness into the test of liberalism and commitment to social justice. It sometimes seems as if the only consistent principle of these reformers is their devotion to new principles and new causes--even if it means deserting and casting aside fundamental struggles as old hat.

Leaders in civil rights organizations recognize the value of labor's consistency. Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP recently sent a telegram to George Meany commending his support for the principle of integrated education. Mitchell said of Meany and the labor movement, "With you on the side of consitutional rights, victory is certain in the end."

If one thing is certain in today's often confused political situation it is that the labor movement is a bulwark against reaction. The labor movement will be there fighting against roll-backs, whether it is the attempt to roll back the welfare state or the attempt to roll back civil rights.

The labor movement is not the principal ally of civil rights because it consists of saints--though there are probably more men and women of principle, dedication, and commitment to justice in the ranks of labor than anywhere else. Although most labor leaders are opposed to discrimination on moral grounds, they also have highly practical grounds for their position. They know that discrimination hurts the entire labor movement just as it hurts blacks. They understand from long experience that anything which divides workers makes it more difficult for them to struggle together for the achivement of common goals.

Given the character of the American working class, the only possibility for genuine labor solidarity is for blacks to be fully integrated into every level of the trade union movement. If they are not, then they will continue to exist outside the unions as a constant source of cheap labor exploitable by management to depress wages or to break strikes.

The political power of blacks unlike the days of the first reconstruction is nationwide and so strategically located that it cannot easily be ignored in national politics. The Republicans party of the 1860s and 1870s was not the natural home of the southern blacks, although they had no real alternative shelter. The Republicans were the political instrument of the northern middle class and northern business enterprise.

The Democratic party of the present is the party of the poor, of working people, and of middle class professionals and academics. It is a natural home for the overwhelming masses of black voters. No national Democratic candidate can be elected without the overwhelming support of black voters and without running on issues that can turn out black voters in overwhelming numbers. A recent poll illustrated just how crucial the black vote is to the Democrats. The poll showed Jimmy Carter, the leading Democratic candidate, running about six points ahead of Gerald Ford. Carter and Ford ran virtually even among white voters, thus the entire margin of Carter's lead comes from his 9 to 1 lead among black voters.

Indeed, one of the clearest signs that, despite all the similarities which I have noted to 1876, something fundamentally different is happening in this reconstruction is the success of Carter's candidacy. For in fact Carter has won the votes of southern whites and of blacks.

The balance of power role of northern black voters in the 1940s through the 1960s fundamentally altered the nature of the Democratic party by neutralizing and then throwing out the Dixiecrats and segregationists. The national Democratic party then passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which insured that millions of previously disenfranchised blacks in the South would be able to vote. Once this happened the entire political climate of the South was radically changed. Not only have racial moderates and progressives like Jimmy Carter, Dale Bumpers, and Reuben Askew emerged, but the black vote restrains and limits former segregationists.

But all is not well. While the political power of blacks means that no candidate can safely ignore the effect of the black vote, the black vote can be neutralized. The black vote is potentially important, but it can be made impotent. In 1972 blacks voted overwhelmingly for George McGovern, but McGovern was such a disastrous candidate that blacks had no impact on the election result. Because the New Politics movement as the vehicle of McGovern's candidacy alienated so many white working class voters, Richard Nixon could ignore black voters and black needs.

The black vote is crucial only when it is added to enough other votes to reach 51 percent. The political influence of blacks depends upon the exercise at all levels of political power and political wisdom, the highest form of political power, to prevent the nomination of candidates and the adoption of programs which will alienate the potential coaltion partners of blacks.

The progressive coalition of blacks, liberals, and the trade union movement, which has been responsible for the major social advances since the New Deal, has been virtually immobilized by internal divisions for almost a decade. There has been conflict between blacks and lower-class whites, but this is primarily the result of a stagnant and contracting economy and the inaedquacy of the liberal response to the economic crisis.

A more fundamental conflict is that between liberals and the labor movement. American liberalism has experienced a crisis of unprecedented dimensions in the last decade. The values and principles which for years had been the motivating force for the progressive coalition have been called into question, not by liberalism's conservative critics, but by elements within liberalism itself. Liberals have lost a sense of direction and purpose. The traditional goals of integration, the expansion of the welfare state, and economic growth are no longer thought to realiable or even desirable. But they lack new goals to replace the ones they have cast aside. A number of new theories and slogans have been created to give this defeatist mood a forward-looking image, but it is really little more than an accommodation to the new conservatism.

Since liberalism is in confusion and disarray, the progressive coalition can only be revitalized by turning to its most stable and important elements--the labor movement and the civil rights movement. Labor knows what it wants: government policy which promotes healthy economic growth, decent wages and working conditions, and government initiatives to insure that basic social services are so allocated to be within the reach of the working class. The civil rights movement, because it speaks for a constituency of poor and working people, pursues an agenda differing little from labor's.

We have not reached the end of the Second Reconstruction. The agenda for insuring full equality has still not been completed. Nor have the forces of change become so weakened, demoralized, or disillusioned that the accomplishments of the Second Reconstruction can easily be turned around.

It would be impossible for blacks to be pushed back like we were after the end of the first reconstruction. Neither of the conditions that allowed the segregationists to subjugate blacks--terror and denying the vote--are possible today. We have the vote and we will not relinquish it. That is not to say that there will not be slowdowns or temporary setbacks in the quest for real equality.

This is, I believe, a hopeful period for blacks. Despite the ravages of unemployment, there is nonetheless a potential for upward mobility. Today despite the despair of the ghetto, there are grounds for optimism. One sign that blacks perceive this as a hopeful period is the absence of separatist programs. The only periods when blacks have turned to separatist and nationalist programs have been periods of despair, following the creation of hopes and expectations which were then dashed. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey had a genuine mass movement. Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and the Panthers, even at their height and even with all the attention lavished on them by the media never had a mass movement. The overwhelming majority of blacks have rejected the separatist line as a non-solution.

We have weathered the storm that almost by necessity had to follow the tremendous though indequate changes of the sixties. We now have the opportunity to move forward once again towards greater equality. In 1876, the political question was the removal of northern troops from the South--a step that was unquestionably a retreat and which blacks were powerless to prevent. In 1976, the question is whether the nation will make a commitment to full employment.

The Humphrey-Hawkins full employment and balanced growth bill is symbolically and politically the most important measure on the public agenda since the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. It is significant because the two groups that have pushed it to the forefront are the labor movement and the civil rights movement. It is politically practical because it is addressed to the needs and aspirations of black and white workers. If passed, signed into law, and effectively implemented it would make possible the completion of the economic dimension of the civil rights movement.

If, in this bicentennial year, we make a commitment to full employment, a conference one hundred years from now will not have to ask "Have we reached the end of the Third Reconstruction?"

New York Times January 27,1978

# Does Civil Rights Include Energy?

It is ten years since Martin Luther King Jr. stunned his allies in the civil rights movement—and their benefactor in the White House—by leaping into another pasture of protest to join the opposition to the Vietnam War. His foray into foreign policy raised a basic question about the scope of black political activity: Should civil rights groups concern themselves only with racial equality and social welfare, or should they pursue the sources of inequality and poverty in the total fabric of economic and even foreign policies? The question reappeared last week when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stepped forward to offer what it saw as a black position on energy.

After decades of intense civil rights activity, during which it routinely supported the general policies of liberal Democrats, the N.A.A.C.P. decided on a sharp break with President Carter. It endorsed the oil industry's desire for the deregulation of the price of natural gas. It supported the accelerated development of nuclear breeder reactors as preferable to coal conversion. It pressed for higher rates of growth even at some cost in environmental damage. Government constraints on energy demand and consumption, it argued, can only inhibit growth and therefore retard the financial and social progress of blacks.

Predictably enough, the N.A.A.C.P. suddenly found itself with some unfamiliar allies. A delighted oil industry reprinted the new statement on energy in newspaper advertisements. The Wall Street Journal proclaimed that blacks finally understood the wondrous workings of a free market. Republicans came scurrying to learn if this was an opening to a long-lost constituency.

A second consequence was a split in the ranks of the civil rights movement. The National Urban League, which had taken the lead in protesting what it regards as President Carter's inadequate response to black needs, broke with the N.A.A.C.P. and held with the White House on energy. Black members of Congress were quick to counter the N.A.A.C.P. position by arguing that deregulation of energy prices would only exacerbate black poverty and unemployment. Other liberals sniffed for sinister connections between members of the N.A.A.C.P. board and agents of the oil industry.

Troubled by the criticism from customary allies, the board and staff of the N.A.A.C.P. are now quarreling about the circumstances of their energy statement and the wisdom of venturing into such unfamiliar political terrain. It would be a pity if they confuse the two questions.

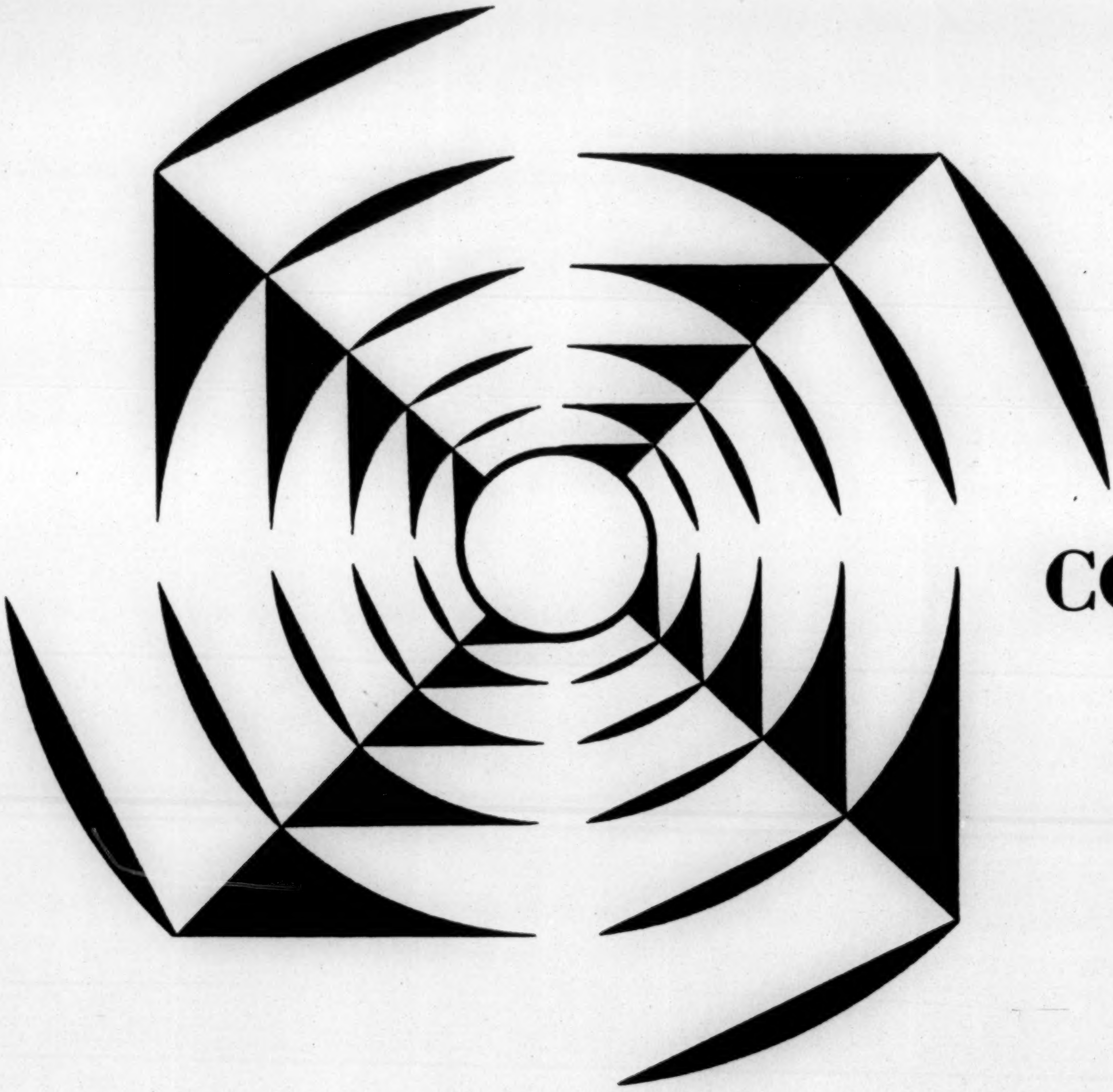
We happen to believe that the N.A.A.C.P. paper on energy was inadequately prepared, poorly reasoned and, finally, wrong for all Americans. But we applaud the growing recognition by civil rights groups that the great issues dividing the country can, logically, also divide sophisticated black organizations. And we agree with the underlying judgment that blacks, along with the rest of society, will benefit from the spread of black influence to both political parties, in conservative as well as liberal circles, in the business community, the labor movement and other established power centers. The best politics for us all is a truly integrated politics.

In a prophetic remark only months before his assassination, Martin Luther King observed that, with the elimination of legal segregation, the civil rights movement would have to aim for genuine equality for the disadvantaged. Slums would have to be rebuilt, ghetto schools upgraded and meaningful jobs created. That phase of the effort, he knew, would cost billions of dollars. And to achieve such a redistribution of resources, he said, black and poor, people would have to "grasp the levers" of political and economic power to influence the course of events" generally.

Ten years later those levers remain elusive. Blacks invested virtually all of their political capital in Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign and now wait impatiently for the results. Implicit in the statements of the Urban League and N.A.A.C.P. is the explicit idea recently expressed by the Rev. Jesse Jackson. He told Republican leaders that a disappointed black community should no longer be considered the automatic ally of any single party or party faction.

In one sense, a black interest in energy policy was only the natural consequence of a growing interest in tax and monetary policy and other broad issues. But the N.A.A.C.P.'s experience also points to new difficulties. The black position on Jim Crow laws was always self-evident; the consequences for blacks of one or another economic or foreign policy are by no means clear. In debating the wider questions, civil rights groups will have to rely upon "outside experts" for their research and analysis, perhaps risking, as the N.A.A.C.P. did, manipulation and exploitation by other interests. It will take a special sophistication to protect the integrity and credibility that black groups have attained over the years.

Still, the disadvantaged need effective representation on all the issues that shape their lives. However flawed this beginning, aggressive black voices on all sides of national policy debates should be welcomed by all Americans.



# COALITION!

**Bayard Rustin**

An event recently took place which has deeply disturbing implications for all of us concerned with social progress and economic justice. In Florida—a poor state, a state with one of the highest percentages of persons subsisting on fixed incomes, a state with serious unemployment—the voters permitted busing to obscure every other issue in a Presidential primary election. We face serious troubles when busing, not jobs, determines the outcome of a primary in one of our largest states. The reality is that the most serious problem facing America today is the economic situation in which whether you are rich, middle class, poor or *lumpen-proletariat*, our national economic policies are gravely affecting us all for the worst.

The Florida results are deeply symbolic, for they demonstrate in a quite measurable way how an essentially unimportant issue can be manipulated and distorted so as to create division among those with a personal stake in progress. Many of those same people who find busing a convenient tool with which to sow political discord recognize and are attempting to exploit elements of the new emphasis on ethnicity for precisely the same purposes.

We are now in the throes of what I refer to as a worldwide "New Tribalism." We see people on every continent substituting ethnicity for realistic and effective solutions. We see it in Canada, where the French-Canadians want to go their separate way. We see it in Belgium, where the Walloons want to wear their hair Walloon style and eat Walloon food. I don't even want to talk about the Irish problem.

Why are we experiencing this ethnic phenomenon, and what of it is good and what bad? In a sense, ethnicity is beautiful and creative. It is an expression of pride in one's past, of self-respect, and of the dignity that is essential to a healthy human condition.

But the rise of ethnicity also reflects a political fact of life about which I feel we should be less enthusiastic. We now find that there are politicians who will promote and encourage ethnic identification to relieve themselves of the responsibilities of advancing true social and economic reform. They will parcel out a few favors in the hopes of appealing to ethnic feelings while ignoring health care, housing, taxes, the whole list of vitally needed changes.

The ethnic problem within the United States at some point has to emerge simply because we were lied to, accepted the lie, and there is no greater danger to a man than when he fools himself. We expect the opposition to fool us; but when we fool ourselves we are in deep trouble. We consistently have fallen for the old melting pot concepts. But there *never* was a melting pot; there is not *now* a melting pot; there never will be a melting pot; and if there were, it would be such a tasteless soup that we would have to go back and start all over!

Whether we are blacks or of any other ethnic origin, we must not fool ourselves once we have said that we demand dignity. We are constantly talking about personal dignity when what we need is social dignity. Anyone can achieve personal dignity simply by believing he is dignified. But social dignity is another thing entirely. Eating soul food, wearing hair in an Afro, or taking black studies courses has nothing to do with social dignity. For how can we have dignity if we must rear our children where there are rats and roaches in deplorable tenements, where the streets are filled with junkies, where there is poor medical care, and no jobs?

I can point to no better illustration of how the power structure exploits racial and ethnic feeling than the current fad of decentralization or community control. But does it make sense to believe that you can solve the health-care crisis, the housing crisis, the unemployment crisis by decentralizing? We need massive planning and massive funding, not decentralization.

Decentralization and community control also represent another disturbing trend in our society which one might call the worship of the new. The ancient Romans conceived of Janus, their God of gates and beginnings, as two-headed: one looking forward and one to the past. We must never forget that nothing creative can be accomplished unless one is looking both forward and backward. We have come through a period when everything new was accepted as gospel. We had the "New Politics," and then the "New Left." The black community saw a new and instant leader proclaimed by the press every six months.

I think it is time we realized that blacks, Italian-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos—all who know discrimination and who have been denied their rightful share of power—can only uplift themselves through the political system. Those who tell us that the political system does not work are only revealing their ignorance. The political system works beautifully, but not for us. It works for those who control it.

Our objective should not be to condemn politics but to seek to control the political system ourselves. But none of us can do it alone—not the Italians, nor the blacks, nor the Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, or poor whites. Only through a coalition of those forces which have a self-interest in social progress can we achieve that progress. To create and strengthen that coalition, we must be constantly on guard against those issues and tactics which will create divisions among us.

So we find blacks and Puerto Ricans in the Bronx fighting over who will control an anti-poverty program. Or blacks and working-class white ethnics in a bitter dispute over open housing. No one has to tell me that there are blue-collar workers in Queens who are prejudiced. I know that. And I know that there are suburban

Jews who discriminate, just as I know there are blacks in Harlem who are irrational in their attitudes toward whites. If I must be permitted to have my fools, I'll permit others to have their fools, too! The question is: When are the majority of us going to stop capitulating to each new fad, each new irrationalism, and assert affirmative, positive leadership?

Politics is important, not only because it is ultimately the only avenue to power, but because it is the most democratic form of expression in our society. True, there are other forms of group expression. There is confrontationism, and we have experienced our share of that. And there is elitism, such as 200 persons who feel they have the right to shut down the Pentagon. But the elitists and confrontationists take the easy, and ultimately futile, road to social change. There is only one way to change society—by going out and educating the poor about the issues and about the value of political action. There is no other way.

Confrontations and violence have never brought anything of lasting value. Perhaps the greatest myth of the past decade is that blacks are getting more than other people because of the riots. I am still trying to discover what we are supposed to have won. I haven't found it yet. There is more unemployment, more deteriorated housing, and worse medical care in Watts right now than before the riots.

You can engage in confrontation after confrontation and maybe the power structure will give you a concession here, a crumb there. Maybe you'll be given a meaningless anti-poverty program, which will likely be shut down as soon as things get quiet. But once you escalate the confrontations, and demand more than a few token concessions—that's when you will be repressed.

We have yet to witness one positive, lasting accomplishment from violent confrontation, though we have seen many of confrontationism's destructive legacies. The whole notion that an escalation of violence, a hardening of rhetoric, and posturings of militancy can win progressive social change automatically destroys any possibility of creating an effective coalition.

***We have yet to witness one positive, lasting accomplishment from violent confrontation***

I know there will be times we will not agree. There will be occasions when I will be fighting, on an intellectual level, with Jews and Italians, not because they are Jews or Italians, but because our ideas are different. But in order to maintain a relationship whereby we can disagree without hating or resorting to the stereotype, we must have trust. We must strive for common goals, we must speak with candor and honesty, and we must tolerate and respect the cultures of others.

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We stand united in our commitment to democratic principles, and we are alarmed that American democracy is threatened as a consequence of our nation's failure to build a just social order.

For more than a decade now we have witnessed "the second American revolution"--the struggle of black Americans for racial equality. We are aware that progress has been made in this area, but we cannot ignore the reality that millions of Negroes are still subjected to second-class citizenship. The civil rights movement destroyed the legal foundations of racism in the South, but segregation still confronts us as the single greatest obstacle to building a unified society. The situation has actually grown worse, for while the problem was formally a matter of segregation by race, we are also experiencing today the effects of segregation by class. The middle class of both races has fled the inner city, leaving behind ghettos that have become festering enclaves of poverty, crime, violence, demoralization. This problem is at the center of a larger urban crisis in which the very survival of our cities is at stake.

Our nation has responded to this crisis more with dismay and confusion than with constructive social action. The general awareness that the problem exists has been neither a guide nor an incentive to action. We are all aware that unemployment is one of the greatest problems of poor blacks, yet it has been the conscious policy of our government to increase unemployment in the hope of slowing the rate of inflation. Poor blacks have not been the only ones to suffer from this policy, but they have suffered most severely. We are also aware of the acute housing shortage in our cities, yet housing construction has almost ceased for everybody except the most affluent, and the richest nation in the world must look on helplessly as desperate squatters move into abandoned dwellings. The list of problems extends endlessly--education,health care, crime, pollution— in each case our government has responded falteringly and with inadequate resources. Americans seem unable to face up to an unpleasant reality; neglect will only make matters deteriorate further. The less that is done about our problems today, the less we will be able to do about them tomorrow.

What is required is a massive social commitment of will and resources to eliminate poverty and urban decay. For this reason we are unalterably opposed to any strategy which undermines the capacity of our nation to mobilize this commitment, or which is offered as a weak alternative to the basic reforms that are necessary.

We are, therefore, opposed to anyone who engages in or advocates violence as a means for achieving social change. However militant the rhetoric or "revolutionary" the deed, violence serves only one function: to strengthen the forces of reaction in America. Rather then uniting progressive forces around a program for social change, violence inevitably leads to the creation of a coalition of opposites. Provocation from the left brings on reaction from the rights, and reaction from the right seems to justify the wild rhetoric of the left. This is not a coalition for change but a dance of death which can lead only to the destruction of democracy in America.

We are opposed to any separatist strategy for the same reason that we oppose violence: In the end the only ones to benefit from such a strategy will be the worst enemies of blacks and the most uncompromising opponents of social change. We affirm as a fundamental political principle the fact that Negroes by themselves cannot carry out the programs that are needed to deal with the present crisis. They have neither the numbers nor the resources. The black struggle will succeed only if it can attract support from major elements in the white community. Negroes must, therefore, become part of a broad coalition of forces demanding social change. The only alternative is isolation and inevitable defeat, and such will be the consequence of the separatist strategy regardless of the intentions of those who advocate it.

And finally, we are opposed to any minor social programs insofar as they are offered as alternatives to the massive commitment that we are urging. Efforts to foster small ghetto business or tax incentives that encourage industry to help employ the poor must be reluctantly accepted for what they are--sincere but inadequate attempts to cope with severe problems. They must not be allowed to obscure the ~~extent~~ depth of the crisis or the extent of public commitment and political organization that will be required to deal with it.

We must not delude ourselves into thinking that tinkering with the social process will solve the present crisis, or that somehow it will solve itself through the bootstrap efforts of the poor or the natural workings of the economy. What is required is a social and economic program which is planned and carried out by the only agency with the resources and the power to effect basic reforms. That agency is the Federal government.

We need a national housing program so that each American can be guaranteed a decent home.

We need a national program to tear down our slums and rebuild our cities.

We need a national health program so that the elderly and the infirm can be guaranteed adequate medical treatment.

We need a national education program so that each young person in America will receive a quality education.

We need a national program to clean our air and waters.

We need a national crime program which will upgrade police forces and modernize our system of penal reform.

~~And~~ We need a program of full employment, with the government as employer of last resort, so that every-able bodied man or woman in America can be given a decent job.

And we need a guaranteed annual income for everyone who is too old, too young, or two sick to work

We are aware that America is not now prepared to undertake these reforms. Yet we are also aware that eventually we will have no choice but to do so. We are already a nation at war with itself, torn by dissension and shattered by violence. We are a nation consumed by rage and fear. Either we will continue to fight with each other or unite to build a just society. We feel that a majority of Americans wants a just society, and that our democratic system is capable of meeting the present challenge. We believe that American democracy can be reformed. And it is on the basis of this belief that we appeal to Americans to honor the ideals of this nation and to fulfill once and for all our national commitment to social justice.

articles

# INTEGRATION STATEMENT

There is a false and tragic notion abroad in American today--that integration is dead. It isn't though there are some people who wish it were. They include the traditional enemies of integration, those who have always wanted an American rigidly segregated by race, religion and ethnic background. Today they have new allies, those members of the very minority groups that have the most to gain from an open society, but who insist nonetheless the destinies of their peoples can best be worked out in isolation. Theirs is the counsel of despair.

We believe there is hope. In the past two decades there has been significant progress toward integration--in education, jobs, politics, housing and the use of public facilities. Insufficent though this progress has been, it is still progress. And it is blind folly to disparage or ignore it. Integration remains, therefore, a realistic and feasible objective. It is also, needless to say, of vital importance to the social and moral health of this nation. We are moved to reaffirm our full, unalterable allegiance to the goal of an integrated, democratic, plural society. Integration, as the word is used here, should not be confused with the idea of America as a "melting pot" which has little relevance to our society today. We believe that black Americans and all minority Americans should take pride in their distinct cultures and heritages. We also believe in a "black power" that expresses itself in economic and political advance.

But we denounce a pride that infects its possessors with suspicion and hatred of the members of all other groups. We reject a society of "we" and "they". We also reject an entrepeneurship that believes the economic problems of the ghetto and barrio can be solved in small shops and plants and family enterprises. We reject the romanticizing of the ghetto as a fit place for human habitation.

The racist nature of our institutions makes it inevitable that we shall have segregated schools and segregated communities in this country for sometime to come. But for God's sake let us not pretend, as the separatists do, that that's a boon. Let us recognize those walls for what they are--shameful evidence of centuries of injustice; barriers to fulfillment' cages in whose confinement inhabitants become embittered and wild. And let us also recognize that the only thing to do with the ghetto is to do away with it. Given the present situation, we are forced to accept as a mean expedient the concept of improving what is particularly in education, employment and housing. But let us not see these improvements as ends in themselves. They only have validity if they lead people out of the ghettos and help them to move freely and fearlessly into all levels of our society.

We must act at various levels at the same time. The effort to rescue black children from self-hatred, by inculcating a sense of pride in their origins and history, must go on at the same time they are absorbing the basic skills they need to live and thrive in America. Power bases must be built in order to prepare minorities to play meaningful roles in the government of our cities, states and nation. Our housing and job programs must have as one of their principal objectives the creation of integrated communities and integrated work forces.

The very enormity of the task moves us beyond the tiny, private enterprises that so many separatists advocate. Only one entity in our nation has sufficient power to undertake the task we see before us and that is the Federal government. All our energies must be bent to make the Federal government responsive in all its programs to the desperate needs of the poor and the oppressed--for in the denial of those needs lies the destruction of our present democratic system.

The goverment we envision can only be achieved through the cooperative effort of all people who want to live and work together. We reject violence with the same unbending conviction that we reject separatism.

Our goal is a restructuring of society by all of us, so that it reflects the immense richness of our variety. We want a society that welcomes our contributions; a society in which we catch glimpses of ourselves in our newspapers, textbooks, movie and TV screens, in all our agencies and councils of government. We want a society that does not press us into molds but lets us break molds and live, so long as we hurt nobody, lives of individual and collective fulfillment.

That is what we mean by an integrated society. And toward the advertisement of such a society we now rededicate ourselves.

# ARTICLE FOR NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL JOURNAL ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By Bayard Rustin

The shape of the black agenda in the coming period will be determined by the evolving nature of our needs. From a time when black people wanted social liberties all white people enjoyed as a matter of course, we have moved to a point where there is an increasing convergence between our needs and the needs of a great many, perhaps even a majority, of Americans. Simply put, we need jobs for the unemployed, and better jobs for the marginally-employed; a guarantee of adequate housing and affordable medical care; improved education and expanding access to higher education; a strategy that attacks crime and violence free of the demagogy of the Right, and a massive program to rehabilitate the cities.

As imposing as this agenda might appear, it is not utopian. Obviously, its attainment requires a change in national political leadership, for until there is an administration committed to the completion of the civil rights movement's economic goals our efforts will be limited to a holding action against budget cutbacks, vetoes, the weakening of enforcement, and divisive issues--such as busing--which are introduced to solidify the Administration's political position. A second prerequisite to more substantive change is that we acknowledge that the black man has achieved considerable progress, and ~~a~~ recogni~~tion of~~ze the forces and programs that brought us that progress.

Certainly the decade which spanned the period since the 1963 March on Washington has been an era of unparalleled progress for black Americans. Moreover, this progress has extended beyond the acquisition of social liberties--as guaranteed in the 1964

Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and open housing legislation--to encompass substantial economic gains. There has been a massive shift in the character of the black working class, a significant reduction in poverty, and educational advances beyond what we might have realistically envisioned at the time of the March.

But there has also been failure and frustration. The very precepts on which we based the struggle for racial equality have been called into question by conservatives and liberals alike. Early this year, while he was still riding the crest of his landslide victory, and before his administration was engulfed in scnadal, President Nixon launched a determined effort to discredit the policies of previous Democratic administrations. Social spending programs, he told the nation, had failed; the blame rested with a federal government too removed from the needs of its citizens to effectively administer housing, education and health programs. Some liberals, although expressing strong disagreement with Nixon's alternative of laissez faire, echoed his philosophy of decentralization. Wrote Anthony Lewis in the New York Times: "America needs principled conservatism... opposed to centralized power on philosophical grounds." Other liberals, reacting to the revelations of scandal and deception within the administration, lay the blame on an all-too-powerful office of the President: centralized authority, they assert, is at the root of the totality of the national's ills, foreign, domestic and spiritual.

There are momentous implications in Nixon's New Federalism and in the liberal resopnse to it. Myths are being created and spread about what government can and cannot accomplish, and the acceptnace of these myths could have incalculable consequences for black people if they should become the basis for future social policy.

The most damaging myth is that racial progress in the 1960's was limited to the winning of equal access to public accommodations and other ~~basically~~ social rights. According to this thesis the economic XXXXXXXXX policies and social initiatives of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations were little more than well-meaning failures. Some go as far as to assert that blacks are worse off today than during the era of Jim Crow because expected gains have fallen so far short of the revolutionary rise of expectations.

This is simply not borne out by the facts. In fact blacks did make substantial gains between 1961 and 1969--during the eight years of Democratic Party rule. Unemployment was cut from one million persons, representing 12.4 of the black workforce, to 600,000, or 6.4 per cent. The number of Negroes living below the federal poverty level declined from 12 million to 7.6 million. The number of blacks holding jobs in white-collar, operative, or craftsman field3/ increased by 69 per cent while there was a 13 per cent decline in the number of Negroes working as domestics, unskilled laborers and farmworkers. Instead of the most poorly-paying, unstable and unorganized occupations, blacks now found frequent employment in jobs that are highly unionized, offer decent working conditions and benefits, and increased chances for advancement. From an economic underclass, the predominant portion of the black workforce became a part of what we generally consider the working class.

How does this record of progress relate to social policy? An examination of the record since 1969 gives a clear picture of how government programs and policy affect the economic conditions of blacks.

Unemployment has risen to around 10 per cent, and is more serious for teenagers, returning veterans, and those who live in inner-city ghettoes. Some 200,000 persons have been added to the poverty rolls, the first increase in poverty in over 12 years. The black-white income gap, which has decreased from 51 per cent to 61 per cent in the previous decade, began to widen once again.

These statistics certainly raise the question of whether the e~~a~~ffect Mr. Nixon's policies has been ~~"begin"~~ "benign" or otherwise. Since he has assumed office, 300,000 blacks have foun~~s~~d themselves on the unemployment lines, the poverty rolls have risen by 200,00 and the narrowing of the racial income gap--a steady process of the 1960's -- has been blunted. The conclusion to be drawn is not that the Great Society programs failed, but that, incomplete and flawed as they were, they were beginning to accomplish the formidable task of bringing blacks into a full role in the economy.

The key to this progress~~ion~~ was the Johnson Administration's emphasis on jobs, Total freedom, A. Philip Randolph early recognized, meant freedom from unemployment and underemployment. When he addressed the crowd assembled at the Lincoln Memorial ten years ago, Randolph stressed that the March was a demonstration for jobs as well as social liberties. "We know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty," Randolph said. "It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits--because we are the worst victims of discrimination."

One of the Great Society's weaknesses was its failure to commit itslef to attaining a full employment economy. For to attack the roots of poverty ~~and~~ and discrimination would have been far more effective, and the results more enduring, that community action agencies, tax incentives to businesses, and all the other indirect strategies which were doomed to failure by their very narrowness.

Thus our program must be a national program. It may not bear the imprint of civil rights, but its fulfillment will have incalculable affects on the lives of the poor.

By merging our agenda with that of the much broader working class program, we are not proposing to ignore the unique needs of blacks. Strong enforcement~~s~~ of civil rights legislation will be an important issue for the foreseeable future. But we must also acknowledge that our basic problems are economic and recognize that the program to overcome economic inequality is a program that transcends race.

But while this may not be a "black" program, it will benefit blacks much more than other groups simply because so great a proportion of the black population consists of poor and working class people. Because blacks hold a disproportionate number of low income jobs, they have a special stake in the adoption of legislation increasing the minimum wage. Broadening the minimum wage coverage to include domestic workers would benefit black women far out of proportion to any other group in society. Repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, permitting states to pass right-to-work laws, would be a direct challenge to the pervasive economic caste system of the South. In the southern textile industry alone there are 700,000 unorganized workers--many of whom are black--earning wages at or near the poverty level.

The period ahead will not be an easy time for blacks. Assuming Nixon serves out his second term, the chances for substantial economic change are slight, although his weakened political state should doom the more outrageous efforts to emasculate and dismantle social programs he inherited from earlier administrations. In the meantime, blacks have an important and perhaps pivotal role to play in the rebuilding of a broad-based, majority coalition that sees its basic function as representing the needs of working people. The coming period will not be marked by the dramatic changes that marked the 1960's; we will rather be laying a foundation for the revival of the movement that made those changes possible, so that we may complete the agenda of the March on Washington.

# THE MYTHS OF THE BLACK REVOLT

By: Bayard Rustin

Inevitably during a period of social turmoil there develop conflicting political strategies for change. These strategies will be based on varied emotional responses to daily events as well as on fundamentally different philosophies. Such intellectual conflict is occurring today in the black community, and I think this is all to the good. The debate may be characterized by great emotion and rhetoric, but ultimately it will serve the educational function of refining theories, delineating positions, and stimulating further dialogue.

A full-fledged ideological and political debate has not taken place in the black community since the monumental exchanges between W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington which ~~took place~~ occurred over a half century ago. The intensity of today's dialogue is an indication of the aroused political awareness of black people and an overall heightening of aspirations and militancy. As a result of these developments, there is enormous potential to build a movement for progressive social reform. But this potential can also lead to consequences of a reactionary nature for it is in itself a politically neutral phenomenon. An informed black militancy, based on a clear analysis of the economic and social situation of Negroes both in the South and in the Northern ghettos, an identification of the major institutions which can provide blacks with the maximum power and leverage in their struggle for equality, and a political strategy that can influence these institutions to serve the needs of the poor--such a militancy will move our society in a progressive and equalitarian direction. ~~But a militancy will move our society in a progressive and equalitarian direction.~~ But a militancy that is based on frustration, withdrawal, and a desire to simplify or avoid reality rather to transform it will unintentionally aide the right, isolate blacks, and destroy the possibility of solving the problems which afflict our nation.

It is with the hope of furthering dialogue so as to encourage the emergence of an effective, programmatic militancy that I offer here a critique of certain myths that have recently become popular among some blacks. Let me be clear that by "myths" I am not referring to those allegorical stories by which a people or nation interprets its history and beliefs, but to a series of concepts that derive from wish-fulfillment or a misperception of political reality, and which can thus mislead black people in our struggle to achieve equality. Such myths deserve serious critical appraisal.

## 1. The Myth of Black Unity

The myth of black unity is put forth by those who perceive race as the dominant factor in determining the political consciousness of a group. I do not deny that race is one such factor, particularly in the case of Negroes. To a degree, black people have a common heritage of slavery, although one out of every nine Negroes before the Civil War was a freedman, and there were 4,000 Negro slaveholders. There was also the very considerable difference between these slaves who were forced to work in the fields and those others-relatively more advantaged - who were house servants. In terms of contemporary experience, a certain unity is imposed upon blacks by those whites who stereotype Negroes and discriminate equally against them. But the failure to differentiate among blacks is the result of white prejudice and ignorance and should hardly serve as a model of belief for those blacks who wish to abolish racism in America.

Of the factors which obstruct black unity, there is age--a generational conflict exists today in the black community to the same degree that it exists in the white community; and geography--blacks have no territorial focus for unity, and beyond that, there is little shared experience between rural and urban Negroes, as well as between Southern and Northern Negroes.

But more profoundly, there are differences of class and philosophy. Negroes, like the Irish, Italians, Jews or any other American ethnic group, are divided socially and economically on the basis of class, and engage in the same practices of residential "grasshopping" and job mobility. One may criticize these practices, but they must be recognized as sociological realities. Moreover, the white employer is divided from the white employee by virtue of the fact that the profits of the one come out of the wages of the other - and vice versa. To deny that this can also be true of blacks is not merely to perpetuate an illusion, but also to lend support to those beliefs- that Negroes are inherently different from whites, that they are not subject to the same laws governing human behavior - which have always been used to segregate blacks and deny them equal access to the social and economic advantages of this country.

Philosophical differences are as pronounced as class divisions. If one were to ask representatives of various black organizations to draw up a program for the education of Negro children, the plans would be far from identical. The Muslims would propose a program based on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the NAACP plan would be integrationist, and CORE would demand separate black school districts. There are also serious philosophical differences among the most extreme groups. Those who wish to build a political movement by appealing solely to the racial consciousness of blacks will be deeply disillusioned.

## 2. The Myth of Black Capitalism

The fact that black capitalism has been proposed by Richard Nixon is by itself enough to make one question its efficacy as an economic program. But is is also being proposed by many other people and by some leaders of CORE and consequently warrants close analysis.

I favor some aspects of the proposal for black capitalism more for psychological than for economic reasons because it is important to destroy the brutal stereotype that black people are incapable of engaging in enterpreneurial activity. But the economic impact of black capitalism has been--and can only be--marginal at best, and if we are not careful, this approach may actually compound the injustices from which Negroes suffer.

There is, first, the very simple fact that the vast majority of black people are not capitalists and will not become capitalists in the forseeable future. They are salaried workers, and those most in need are the working poor, and the unemployed. Any program to economically uplift the majority black people must be designed specifically for these individuals.

Now black capitalism does not appear to me to be so designed. Its main beneficiaries will be a small number of enterpreneurs, and because of the conditions under which they must earn a living, they will have a stake in racial separatism - a condition that has never been conducive to black progress. In general, black enterpreneurs must oppose economic integration for the simple reason that they are threatened by white economic competition. Andrew Brimmer, the only Negro member of the Federal Reserve System, has pointed out that "With the progress of desegregation the considerable protection which segregation provided for Negro businessmen has been eroded substantially. Thus, in virtually every large city (especially in the East and Midwest), hotels and better class restaurants which previously catered exclusively to Negroes have encountered hard times." Much of the talk we are hearing about black capitalism today, therefore, results from the desire to restore a black monopoly over a segregated black market. Yet this has been difficulty in the face of competition from large chain organizations, particularly since, as Brimmer notes, some black enterprizes, due to high operating costs in the ghetto, have been forced to raise their prices ten to fifteen percent above those of their larger competitors. I cannot see how under such an arrangement a black worker or welfare recipient can benefit from "buying black."

But I can see how they will benefit by Federal programs to reconstruct our cities, to provide full employment, a decent income, and adequate health care for everybody, and to improve the quality education in our schools. To the degree that talk of black capitalism diverts our attention and political energies away from this fundamental solution to the social and economic problems of black Americans, to that degree its ultimate effect will be deleterious. And to the degree that it re-inforces racial sepratism, it will exacerbate those problems of poverty and discrimination which derive from separatism.

## 3. The Myth of Reparations

Reparations is attractive as a concept,but as a program it is impractical and politically reactionary. The power of the concept derives from its call for justice, and certainly no individual of good will can deny the magnitude of the injustices that have been committed against black people in America. But it is equally a call for retribution, and as such it has become more a *moral* than a *political* demand. James Forman is, in effect, not demanding equality for black people so much as he is condemning white people. He seeks not to correct social injustice but to purge white guilt.

It is in part for this reason that he has chosen to direct his attack at the church, the institutional embodiment of our society's moral and religious pretentions. But I would question the efficacy and the social utility of an attack that impels the attacked to applaud and morally debase themselves. And I would doubt that two such hate-and self-hate-generating feelings as Forman's moral agression and white churchmen's guilt can produce anything that is socially creative. Certainly such feelings will not improve the lot of the unemployed black man and the miseducated black child.

But of course it will be said that Forman is demanding *money*--"15 dollars per nigger," to quote his own words. This pittance,if ever given, would hardly right the balance of wrongs committed against black people, nor would it appreciably improve their present situation. Most black people, I am sure, do not even *desire* such charity. They want work with dignity. Justice will be embodied in their attainment of an equal social position, not in the flagellation and self-flagellation of white people.

Moreover, the political effect of the demand for reparations can only be reactionary. It will, first, tend to isolate blacks from any political allies. Demands of a purely racial nature cannot appeal to the white poor who have common interests with blacks. And I do not trust those affluent whites who, out of guilt, are sympathetic to reparations. Guilt is an uncomfortable emotion, and the gulty party will ultimately rationalize his sins and affirm them as virtues. By such a process, today's ally can become tomorrow's enemy. Political alliances are not bult on the shifting sands of moral suasion.

Second, it is an error for black people to focus their struggle on so organizationally diffuse and non-political an institution as the church. This can only deflect their attack away from the major political and economic institutions of the society and thus seriously weaken the effectiveness of the black movement for equality. The church may have been chosen as a target because of its vulnerability, but it is precisely because of this debility that black people must concentrate their energies elsewhere.

## 4. The Myth of Black Studies

In the long history of the black struggle, many slogans have emerged which have defined the demands of Negroes at a particular point in time. During Reconstruction, for example, the slogan was "Forty Acres and a Mule." It was both precise and practical. Today's slogans are neither, and Black Studies is a good illustration of this point.

What Black Studies *should* mean is a thorough and objective scholastic inquiry into the history of the black man in America. This history has been scandalously distorted in the past, and, as a field of study, it has been relegated to a second-class status, isolated from the main themes of American history and omitted from the historical education of American youth.

But I am afraid that Black Studies, as it is presently conceived by its proponents on campus, will not correct these errors so much as as compound them, for its primary purpose will be to further ends that are fundamentally non-scholastic. It is hoped, first, that Black Studies will serve the *ideological* function of creating a mythologized history and a system of assertive ideas that will facilitate the political mobilization of the black community. Such an ideological undertaking would necessitate the substitution of a glorified version of black history for the present debased version, but neither version seems unduly concerned with the discovery of historical truth.

It is also hoped that Black Studies will serve the political function of developing and educating a cadre of activists who conceive of their present training as a preparation for organizational work in the black community. One may feel--as I do--that there should be more young Negroes engaging in activities designed to uplift their brethren, but to the extent that Black Studies is used as a vehicle for political indoctrination, it ceases to be a legitimate scholastic program.

What I find most distressing about the ideological and political conception of the role of Black Studies is the contempt that is shown toward black history and culture as potential academic disciplines. Faculty members will be chosen on the basis of race, ideological purity, and political commitment--not academic competence. Needless to say, this is not the best way to go about developing an intellectually respectable program. Under such conditions, competent black professors will not even want to teach in Black Studies programs--not simply because their academic freedom will be curtailed by their obligation to adhere to the revolutionary "line" of the moment, but because their association with such second-rate programs will threaten their professional status. If such a situation is permitted to develop, Black Studies will become little more than a haven for opportunists and ideologues.

There is, finally, the psychological function of Black Studies. It is hoped that by studying Negro history and culture, the self-image of young blacks will improve. Implicit here is the dual assumption that first, young Negroes have a negative self-image because second, they are ignorant of their history. ← If there is truth to either assumption, then I entirely agree--they should devote many intensive hours to the study of our people's rich heritage of struggle and achievement.

But Black Studies is also serving the psychologically protective function of enabling black students who have been brutalized in the past by segregated education, to withdraw from the demanding competition of the university. In this I see little virtue. Providing these students with separate courses of study in soul music and soul peotry--things they can just play with and pass--will enhance neither their competence nor their confidence. Nor will it deal with the fundamental problem of improving the quality of their education in order that they can obtain skills that will be useful in the world they must eventually enter as adults.

To solve this problem would require larger and better trained teaching staffs, remedial efforts, and, and an expansion of facilities, all of which can be obtained only through a massive increase in present expenditures. And if these changes are not made, the cheap separatist solution will ultimately boomerang, for Black Studies can provide psychic comfort for Negro Students only temporarily. When they realize that college administrators are interested more in political accomodation than quality education--when they realize that New Leftist students and faculty members are using black students for their own revolution-by-proxy--and when they realize that they are not being given an education but only a paper degree that will hardly improve their intellectual competence or their economic power, then they will rebel with far greater violence and bitterness than anything we have yet seen.

I want to conclude by emphasizing that I am opposed to any program in Black Studies that separates the contribution of black men from the study of American history and society. Racist textbooks and historians have played this game too long for black people to add to the damage that has already been done. The magnificent contribution of black people to America must be recognized and recorded, not only by black people, but also by whites who can benefit at least as much from such knowledge.

## 5. The Myth of Violence

There are those who propose violence as the solution to the problems of poverty and injustice. The rationale here is that by threat of force, black people can extort from the white community the resources they need to improve the conditions of their lives. I disagree with this proposition not only because I believe that unjust means cannot lead to just ends, but also because the tactic of violence is suicidal. Whites may for a time make minor concessions to blacks who use violence--and thereby help to discredit non-violence as an effective means for achieving social change--but the point must inevitably be reached when the state will take repressive measures which will inflict untold harm upon the black community. Those who romanticize black violence--particularly the pseudo-revolutionaries of the New Left who can retreat into their universities and suburbs when the repression comes--deserves special condemnation.

Moreover, the solution to social injustice cannot be brought about by violence which is calculated to increase white fear and political reaction. Black violence will strengthen George Wallace sooner than it will increase the economic and political power of Negroes. If blacks are enraged because they do not have jobs, and whites are fearful that somebody may take their jobs away, the solution is not social warfare but full employment. If blacks are enraged because they do not have decent homes, and whites are fearful they will lose their homes that are still not fully paid for, then the solution is not violence destructive to the entire social fabric, but the construction of adequate housing for all. It is because what is needed is the expansion of resources in order to reduce competition over what presently exists and to provide a secure existence for everybody that A. Philip Randolph proposed a Freedom Budget for All Americans.

Finally, I should add that blacks have already suffered great losses from the ghetto riots of recent years, not only in lives, but also in property and jobs. The burnt-out homes and places of business have not been rebuilt but remain as glaring monuments to the futility and self-destructiveness of violence. And a study has shown that in Washington, D.C. alone, 4900 employees--the majority of them Negroes--lost their jobs as a result of the riots which swept the city following Dr. King's death. Violence may indicate to America the despair which blacks feel, but its major effect is the aggravation of the degrading social and economic conditions which have nurtured and perpetuated that despair.

6. The Myth of Separatism

Separatism is valid neither from a psychological nor a political point of view. Dr. Kenneth Clark has recently argued that "There is absolutely no evidence to support the contention that the inherent damage to human beings of primitive exclusion on the basis of race is any less damaging when demanded or enforced by the previous victims than when imposed by the dominant group." Some separatists today are withdrawing in despair from America culture, others out of a nationalist affirmation of the desirability of a separate black society. But both are withdrawing from the challenge posed to the Negro by W.E.B. DuBois "to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self...to be both a Negro and an American...."

Even if sepratism were psychologically sensible--which it is not--it does not make political sense. The only reason the Civil Rights bills of 1964, 1965, and 1968 were passed was because Negroes had allies in the labor movement, the liberal community, and in religious organizations. It was only this coalition of forces that had the power to defeat the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition that has traditionally blocked any progress in the field of civil rights. Black separatism will strengthen the conservative coalition by weakening its opposition (that is why Republicans and Southern conservatives have always favored segregation), and it will be an obstacle to the reallignment of the Democratic Party. Let us remember that it was the integrated delegations from Mississippi and Georgia which forced the segregationists from those states out of the last Democratic Party convention.

Black people are being elected to offices thorughout the country for the very reason that they are not campaigning on a separatist line. Charles Evers' slogan, "Don't vote for a ablack man. Or a white man. Just a good man.", is being adopted in concept by black politicians in every region. In the Southern states, the number of black elected officials has increased dramatically in recent years. There were only 72 in 1965 when the Voting Rights Act was passed, and today there are 461, and that number is steadily growing. Men like Evers, Howard Lee, Carl Stokes, and Richard Hatcher are proving that black separatism is an obstacle to black political power. This point was also proved by Tom Bradley who, though ~~deplected~~ defeated by a man who deliberately aroused racial fears and hatreds, nevertheless won 47% of the vote in a city only 18% black. It is only a matter of time before Los Angeles too shall have a black Mayor.

7. The Myth of the Black Revolution

I believe that the black struggle for equality is revolutinnary, but not in the traditional sense of a violent seizure of state power. The black revolt is fundamentally cultural in that Negroes are affirming their dignity as black people and are demanding that their humanity be fully recognized and appreciated. But politically, blacks are not demanding revolution but rather participation in the democratic process and the enjoyment of the fruits of American society. In general, they want their rightful share of the pie.

Thus, the demand for equality is itself not revolutionary, but the response that must be made in order to satisfy this demand very much is. By this I mean that justice cannot be done to blacks in the absence of a total restructuring of the political, economic, and social institutions of this country. There cannot be full employment, the rebuilding of our cities, the reconstruction of our educational system, and the provision of adequate medical care for everybody, within the context of our present definition of social and economic priorities. When we talk about the achievement of these goals, let us be clear that we are proposing nothing less than the radical refashioning of our political economy.

The Negro struggle for equality will continue until the kind of revolution I have described is achieved. There will be periods, such as the present, when progress will be slow, and as a result, there will be bitterness, frustration, and a casting about for instant solutions that avoid the challenges of fundamental social change. But even in what I have called "myths" I see a sign of hope, for they represent a sustained protest against injustice and ~~they~~ thus symbolize the refusal to accept the condition of inequality. But our task must now be to transform these myths into the reality of a political strategy and a social program so that we can get on with the job of transforming America.

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# THE POLITICS OF BLACK PROTEST

By Bayard Rustin

The past decade has been a period of unprecedented social upheaval in America, and at the center of this turmoil has been the movement for racial justice. During this brief time we have been through an entire cycle of protest--from court litigation to non-violent civil disobedience to race riots and urban guerrilla warfare. As with every historical period, parallels could be drawn with the past. The March on Washington, the outbreak of large-scale violence in hundreds of Negro communities, and the rise of the Black Power movement--these events had their precedents in the March on Washington movement of 1941, the race riots of 1919 and 1943, and the black nationalist Garvey movement in the 1920s. But in the 1960s they occurred with a driving momentum that made the race problem the central issue in our national politics.

It is difficult to judge precisely what the effect of this experience with uninterrupted social protest has been on black Americans, but I would not doubt that it has made their political consciousness sensitive primarily to what we may call the upward arc of historical movement. The problem is that such a consciousness finds it hard to come to grips with the reality that history consists of alternating periods of movement and stagnation, of action and reaction, of tremendous hope and enthusiansm, which can be followed by cynicism and exhaustion. I am not suggesting that this process is inevitable, though to a certain extent it does seem to contain an internal dynamic that operates independently of human will. What I am suggesting is that we must understand this process if we are to be in a position to influence.it.

What we must first understand is that the pendulum of history has already begun to swing downward. It is impossible now to gauge the extent of this reaction. My own feeling is that the drift to the Right in American politics can be reversed if we do the correct thing. But we cannot escape the conclusion that, for the present at least, the conservatives have made important and ominous gains. They control the White House and, through the power of presidential appointment, have gained a majority on the Supreme Court.

WHAT IS HAPPENING today is not very different from what happened in the 1970s. At that time, the country had been through a period as turbulent as the one we have just experience. The Civil War and its aftermath left the North with a moral burden it simply could not bear. It was far more interested in pursuing its own commerical interests than in advancing the welfare of Negroes in the South and, of course, the North also suffered from the disease of racism. All hope for black equality collapsed when Northern Republicans worked out a compromise with Southern Democrats in the disputed election of 1876. The Southern Whigs agreed to let the Republicans retain control of the White House, in return for which federal troops were withdrawn from the South and large subsidies were provided for the construction of the Southern railroad system. The Compromise of 1876 initiated the darkest period in the history of American Negroes. The system of Jim Crow was established and lynchings and terrorism became commonplace as poor Southern whites, embittered by poverty, were encouraged to unleash their wrath upon Negroes.

Things have not yet reached that stage today, but the parallels are frightening. The Southern strategy of the Nixon administration is based upon the same principle as the Compromise of 1876: namely, Northern Republicans and Southern conservatives share common interests and together can rule this nation. I do not think it is possible to condemn too harshly what the President has done in the South in order to form this alliance. Indeed, I can think of no recent President who has more blatantly sacrificed the ideals of equality and racial justice for his own political encs. Nor is Nixon simply riding the wave of reaction. He is encouraging that reaction, for he knows that he became President because of divisions in the society, and that it is in his interest that these divisions grow wider. More specifically, he wants to see another antiblack Wallace vote in 1972, only this time he wants it cast for himself. This is the prime motivation behind the President's opposition to the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, his nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court, and his clear message to Southern segregationists that the federal government will not oppose any efforts to roll back whatever advances had been made in school integration. Bay means of such acts he has helped foster a mood of confrontationism and racial hostility. He has profoundly and perhaps permanently alienated blacks, he has put the white moderates of the South on the defensive and he has given a go-ahead signal to the reactionaries.

What worries me most about the present situation is that there has been a decline in the effectiveness of some of the forces that have traditionally held reaction at bay. In the case of the South, we have already seen how the federal government, formerly an ally in our struggle has contributed to the resurgence of conservatism. Nationally, the progressive coalition of blacks, liberals, and the trade-union movement, which has been responsible for the major social advances since the New Deal, is now weakened by internal divisions.

This coalition held together surprisingly well in the November elections but many problems remain. In part this is due to conflict between blacks and lower-middle-class whites. This conflict has probably been exaggerated in the press, but a disturbing amount of it does exist, primarily because of economic competition between the two groups. Such competition can be reduced to a minimum if an expanding economy provides enough opportunities for everybody. But today, as a result of the Nixon administration's disastrous economic policies, we are in a recession. Consequently, the likelihood is that there will be an increase in racial tension which will further eat away at the unity of the progressive coalition.

Finally, the dramatic events of the last few years seem to have totally disoriented a sizable portion of the liberal community. Many liberals have lost a sense of purpose and direction. The traditional goals of integration and the expansion of the welfare state are no longer thought to be feasible or even desirable. But they have found no goals to replace the ones they have case aside, with the result that they have become politically immobile. A number of theories have been created to give this mood a forward-looking image, but it is really little more than an accommodation to the new conservatism.

By nommeans do I want to give the impression that the situation is hopeless. There is atendency today to anticipate the apocalypse. Such ideas are sheer indulgence, because even if there were any truth to them--and I do not believethere is--it would be our duty to act so as to prevent the worst from happening rather than to enable the fulfillment of our prophesies. Such moods can be harmful, for, as George Orwell has pointed out, "an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on idefinitely. A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure,and then fail all the more completely because he drinks." Our struggle is too important, there is still so much that remains unaccomplished, that it would be a grave errer were we to indulge in this "end-of-the-world" chatter.

The situation is not hopeless. There are progressive forces at work in American society that did not exist in 1876. There is, first of all, the militant desire for racial justice, which is shared by countless numbers of young blacks. In the words of the civil-rights songs, I don't think that anybody is going to turn them 'round--not now, not after we have come so far. Then there is the black vote, which in both the North and the South has become a major new factor in American politics. It has helped put twelve blacks into Congress and countless others into State and local office, and it has become a key factor in the victory of virtually liberal This vote has increased not only in numbers but also in sophistication, and in addition to the gains it has already won for blacks, it exercises a restraining influence on the scope and effectiveness of anti-Negro forces. The recent defeat in South Carolina of Alan Watson, who ran an utterly racist campaign with the full backing of the President, should make this point eminently clear.

Last, there is the trade-union movement which, though much maligned from both Right and Left, remains the strongest bulwark against reaction. Let us be very clear that the civil-rights forces alone could not have defeated Haynsworth and Carswell. They succeeded only because they were allied with the trade-union movement, and it is this alliance, based upon mutual interest between blacks and labor, which offers the greatest hopesfor future progress.

Thus, there are factors working both for and against the achievement of full racial equality. In a very real sense, we are at a crossroads, If Mr. Nixon succeeds in carrying out his Southern strategy, then the commitment to equality, on which America defaulted almost 100 years ago, will again be deferred to some future time. And if he fails, then we will be provided with an opportunity to resolve one and for all a central dilemma of American life--the relationship of blacks to American society and, in an even more profound sense, their relationship with themselves. Our task is to see to it that he fails.

If we are to have any hope of accomplishing this task, it is essential that we make an important distinction between issues of politics and problems in psychology. We should see this as a distinction between what we do in order to influence the political and economic relations in the society and what, in a more personal way, we do to achieve self-knowledge and identity. Now I do not think that these are hard and fast categories that totally exclude one another. A just society certainly encourages a healthy psychology, and individuals can find personal fulfillment through political involvement. But I think we must make this distinction, because in periods of great social upheaval--and we are living through such a period--there is a tendency to politicize all things, including scholarship, art, friendship, and love. The most extreme form of this total politicization is totalitarianism, a stage we have not yet reached.

But even a moderate form of it can be dangerous since it can lead to a politics so preoccupied with psychological issues that the goals of political action are obscured and even rendered unobtainable.

A. great cultural revolt is now taking place among many young black Americans. Young blacks are striking down the traditional symbols of racism. They are taking new pride in their cultural heritage and are demanding to be accepted as full and equal human beings. I thinkkthis is an exciting and creative social phenomenon, but it raises three political problems, which we must analyze carefully.

The first is that in some instances the cultural revolt includes a demand for racial separatism, which is entirely serl-defeating from a political standpoint. Translated into political terms, the cultural revolt too often expresses itself as a desire for self-determination. Now this is a very complex issue, with which A. Philip Randolph tried to deal almost 30 years ago. At that time, he acknowledged that "the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or a class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted." But Mr. Randolph did not mean that blacks should isolate themselves from broader political movements in the society. He followed that statement with these words of caution: "But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom."

This should indicate a political principle that we must never forget. As long as blacks constitute only 11 percent of the population, any go-it-alone strategy is bound to fail. Separatism can only aid Nixon's Southern strategy which is designed to build a conservative majority on the basis of hostility to blacks. In this sense separatism is the opposite of self-determination, because it can lead only to the continued subjection of blacks. Real self-determination can only be achieved by a unified black movement joining with other progressive social forces to form a coalition that represents a majority of the population. We must keep this in mind, if we are to prevent the black cultural revolt from playing into the hands of white conservatives and segregationists who are the very worst enemies we have

A second problem is that the cultural revolt has been accompained by a growing tendency to justify, and sometimes engage in, violence as a form of political struggle. A clear distinction must, of course, be drawn between the violence of the oppressor and the reactive violence of the oppressed. Morally, the former is more reprehensible than the latter. But we must also judge the use of violence by the oppressed from a political standpoint. The question here is whether violence is an effective form of political struggle.

I thin it can be demonstrated that for a racial minority the use of violence is not only politically ineffective but counterproductive and even suicidal. Who benefits when blacks engage in violence? Do blacks benefit, or do George Wallace, Spiro Agnew, John Mitchell, and Richard Nixon? I ask this question rhetorically, since it should be clear that violence dan do nothing more than produce a reaction against blacks that will strengthen our enemies and the-eby make it impossible to achieve the things stands to gain from some of the more extreme activities of the Black Panthers and similar groups; it is the people who call for more police and less social spending. The problem is not only that violence obstructs the achievements of social change by strenghtening the Right: it also obscures the very meaning of social change by offering the desperate adventures of a few "revolutionaries" as an alternative of the mobilization of political majorities, and by making it appear that killing a cop is a serious alternative to full employment. I am not here discussing the motives of young blacks who preach violence. But I do call into question the effects of their actions. If we are to think strategically about eliminating racial injustice, then we should not be satisfied with an approach that results in aggravating our problems.

Finally, the third problem raised by the cultural revolt is that it has been exclusively preoccupied with racial issues and has thus tended to ignore other issues that are also vitally important. Ralph Ellison has written of his "struggle to stare down the deadly and hypnotic temptation to interpret the world and all its devices in terms of race." He wrote this as an artist who has devoted his life to portraying human reality in all its complexity. I would like, if I may, to apply Ellison's idea to the economic situation of black Americans today.

It goes without saying that Negroes are brutalized by racial prejudice and discrimination. What is not often remember, however, is that were we to eliminate racism today we would have solved only part of the problem, and perhaps not even the major part. The fact is that we live in a society that not only tolerates a relatively high level of unemployment, but is willing to increase that rate in order to combat inflation. Automation is eliminating thousands of jobs that were held by both whites and blacks. This problem does not spring from blackness but from a technological revolution that has affected all poor people regardless of their race. We might psychoanalyze racism out of all the prejudiced white people in the country, but until we are willing to accept the principle that every able-bodied man or woman has the right to a decent and well-paying job, we shall not have begun to attack the economic roots of racial injustice. We need a social and economic program that will wipe out poverty, and we need that far more than we need pure white hearts. White soul-searching will do little to lower the 34.9% unemployment rate for black youths. I do not mean to disparage the attack on racism, but if we do only that we shall provide an out for those whites who are far more interested in "giving a damn" about impoverished blacks than in doing the economically more uncomfortable things that could eliminate hunger and deprivation.

I emphasize these economic problems since there is a tendency on the part of the intellectual elite among blacks to ignore them. It is extraordinarily important that black intellectuals not lose touch with the problems and aspirations of the great mass of blacks who are not part of this elite. In order to do this they must guard against the possibility of becoming concerned only with intellectual, cultural, and racial issues while the problems of lower-and working-class blacks remain economic. These millions of black people do not have the choice of withdrawing into the kind of concerns, sometimes mere fantasies, which are now prevalent among certain elements of the black intelligentsia, and until they do have that choice, it is our responsibility to fight for programs that will enable them to achieve full economic justice.

A fantasy which, for some people, has become a tenet of political faith, is that a black revolution in America is not only desirable but also possible. What should be apparent, however, is that we are not in a revolutionary situation, Indeed whatever there is of revolution today, in any meaningful sense of the term, is coming from the Right. Moreover, a black revolution is inconceivable in a society where blacks are only 11% of the population and where, in addition, the vast majority of blacks are interested in improving their condition, not in overthrowing the government. The real effect of engaging in revolutionary acts in a non-revolutionary situation is to divert precious energies away from the political arena where the real battles for change must be fought, and also to precipitate a vicious reaction the chief victims of which will be blacks. The choice is not between reform and revolution though we might wish it were. It is between reform of a very radical nature—and endless social conflict. Young blacks who act upon the assumption that revolution is a valid political option,will find that their strategy is ultimately self-destructive.

How can such radical reform be brought about? It would be a serious error to present any strategy as a panacea. The kind of change that is required will not come about easily by any means. We have only to lookaat the civil rights movement from the Montgomery Bus Protest to thd demonstrations in Selma to appreciate the struggles that had to be waged to win a measure of racial justice, and we will have to go far beyond what was accomplished then if we are to achieve what we need today. There are powerful forces, composed largely of the corporate elite and Southern conservatives, which will resist any change in the economic or racial structure of this country that might cut into their resources or challenge their status, and the programs that we need would do precisely that.

Given the severity of the social crisis and the magnitude of the conservative opposition, we are faced with the terrible dilemma of needing both a racidal social program and a political majority that will support it. Nothing less than a political majority, outnumbering the conservative forces, would adequate to carry such a program through, In this regard, a strategy that is geared to organizing only blacks is far too limited in scope. It is necessary to think in much broader terms--building a majority movement--if we are to develop a means of meeting the massive social and economic needs of black America.

It will be said, that a strategy for organizing just blacks is entirely pracitical since so many blacks live in gheptos which elect their own representatives. We should be careful to distinguish here between two fundamentally different approaches. An entirely positive approach would involve orgainzing blacks in order to increase their participation in the political process and to strengthen the coalition of liberal forces of which Negroes are a vital element. A negative approach would be the formation of separate black political organizations which would play an independent role in American politica. Such a strategy would severely restrict the political influence of Negroes. It first of all would reduce the number of blacks elected to office since men like Kenneth Gibson and Carl Stokes would have been defeated had they not appealed to a substantial part of the white constituency. Moreover, Negroes *by themselves* so not passess the resources to solve the problems of unemployment and urban decay. In the absence of sufficient funds for social paograms, even dedicated black mayors will be unable to take effective action. They will be frustrated at every turn and the people who elected them to office will become totally disillusioned.

The alternative to the politics of frustration is a politics based on the concepts of coalition and realignment. Coalition politics offers a way to transform the social and economic structure of America through majority political action. It means simply that the forces in the society which desire social change must coalesce into a solid majority. These forces are the minority groups, the working class, and the liberals. Together they form a natural majority for change. If they are divided, only the conservatives can benefit.

Today these groups form the mass constituency of the Democratic Party. Of course there are other groups in the Democratic Party--I am thinking primarily of the Southern conservatives--who have little in common with either blacks, workers, or liberals. But the objective of blacks who are fighting for change must not, therefore, be the abandonment of the Democratic Party but rather its *realignment*. The conservative elements should be encouraged to leave the Democratic Party and seek their natural habitat in the Republican Party. Were such realignment to take place, the Democratic Party would become a vehicle for genuinely radical social change. It would be able to appropriate the resources that are required for programs to attack poverty and all the other problems which afflict blacks. Whites will be willing to support such programs since they also stand to benefit from their Full employment, national programs for health care, housing, education, and welfare--these things are needed by whites as well as by blacks and are the basis upon which they can join together for social action.

The kind of realignment I have proposed is already taking place with blacks serving as the catalyst for change. The Democratic party in the South is gradually being transformed into a coalition of blacks and white moderates. The process still has a long way to go, but Nixon's Southern Strategy, ironically, should speed it along. The key political issue today is whether Nixon will succeed in his "Northern Strategy," which consists of an attempt to win white workers over to the Republican Party by playing upon their hostility to social disorder. He tried to do this in the last election but was not entirely successful, largely because his economic policies have caused tremendous hardship for the very people he was appealing to.

But there is always the possibility that he will succeed if the alliances which hold the liberal coalition together break down. It is, therefore, essential that we do everything in our power to maintain these alliances and not help Nixon achieve his goals by embracing separatist strategies. Towards this end I am encouraged by the role blacks played in the 1970 election. Though there was much talk in the press about the apathy of the black voter and a low turnout in the Negro community was predicted, the results of the elections show how groundless such talk was. Black voters proved themselves to be far more sophisticated than some of their analysts.

They turned out in higher numbers than they did in the 1968 presidential election, and they used their votes to stem the right-wing trend and to help elect many liberal--as well as many blacks--into office.

The trend toward greater political participation in the black community is proof that Negroes fully understand that the ballot box is one of the most effective means for achieving real "black power." The Negro community is far more politically involved and organizationally astute today than ever before. The combined strength of a reawakened black community and its political allies in the trade union movement and the liberal community might be enough to reverse the trend to the right of the past few years and to initiate a period of social progress.

# A STRATEGY FOR Social CHANGE

By Bayard Rustin

We are living in an age of revolution--or so they tell us. The children of the affluent classes pay homage to their parents' values by rejecting them; this, they say, is a youth revolution. The discussion and display of sexuality increases--actors disrobe on stage, young women very nearly do on the street--and so we are in the midst of a sexual revolution. Tastes in music and clothing change, and each new fashion too is revolutionary. With every new social phenomenon now being dubbed a "revolution," the term has in fact become nothing more than a slogan which serves to take our minds off an unpleasant reality. For if we were not careful, we might easily forget that there is a conservative in the White House, that our country is racially polarized as never before, and that the forces of liberalism are in disarray. Whatever there is of revolution today, in any meaningful sense of the term, is coming from the Right.

But we are also told--and with far greater urgency and frequency--that there is a black revolution. If by revolution we mean a radical escalation of black aspirations and demands, this is surely the case. There is a new assertion of pride ~~in~~ in the Negro race and its cultural heritage, and although the past summer was marked by the lack of any major disruptions, there is among blacks a tendency more pronounced than at any time in Negro history to engage in violence and the rhetoric of violence. Yet if we look closely at the situation of Negroes today, we find that there has been not the least revolutionary reallocation of political or economic power. There is, to be sure, an increase in the number of black elected officials throughout the United States and particularly in the South, but this has largely been the result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which was passed before the "revolution" reached its height and which was renew~~al~~ed only after considerable opposition from the present Administration. Some reallocation of political power has indeed taken place since the Presidential election of 1964, but generally its beneficiaries have been the Republicans and the anti-Negro forces. Nor does this particular trend show much sign of abating. Nixon has already begun to reconstruct the Supreme Court after his own image, and he is undertaking an intensive campaign to have conservative Republicans elected to Congress. The possibility that he will be successful is considerably enhanced by the sorry state of the Democratic Party.

There has been, it is true, some moderate improvement in the economic condition of Negroes, but by no stretch of the imagination could it be called revolutionary. The expansion of the economy and of government social programs during the period 1960-68 were responsible for a marked improvement in the Negro's economic status. Nonwhite employment increased by 1.3 million or 19 percent during this period, 4 percent higher than the rise in total employment. Non-white adult men in particular benefited from this trend as their rate of unemployment dropped from 9.6 percent in 1960 to 3.9 percent in 1968. While these developments were not "revolutionary," they nevertheless provided blacks with a great economic lift. But the favorable trends of those years have now been sharply reversed under the impact of the Nixon Administration's conservative economic policies. The effects of the Nixon crusade against inflation have fallen most heavily upon the poor and the working class, two groups in which blacks are disproportionately represented. During the year preceding July, 1970 for example, the unemployment rate for Negro youth rose from 24.8 percent to 30.2 percent. For those who confuse the bitter outcries of blacks with an actual revolution, some statistics from the Watts ghetto should be instructive. In the 5 years since the Watts uprising, the conditions in that ghetto have continued deteriorate while at the same time the economic situation for the entire Los Angeles area has been improving. Unemployment in Watts has increased by 61 percent while it has decreased by 14 percent for all of Los Angeles. The unemployment rate in Watts now stands at 16 percent, 4 times higher than for the entire city. However It seems likely that the Watts situation is not unique.

Any appearance that we are in the grip of a black revolution, then, is deceptive. The problem is not whether black aspirations are outpacing America's ability to respond but whether they have outpaced her willingness to do so. Lately it has been taken almost as axiomatic that with every increase in Negro demands, there must be a corresponding intensification of white resistance. This proposition implies that only black complacency can prevent racial polarization, that any political action by Negroes must of necessity produce a reaction. But such a notion ignores entirely the question of what kind of political action, guided by what kind of political strategy. One can almost assert as a law of American politics that if Negroes engage in violence as a tactic they will be met with repression, that if they follow a strategy of racial separatism they will be isolated, and that if they engage in anti-democratic activity, out of the deluded wish to skirt the democratic process, they will provoke a reaction. To the misguided, violence, separatism, and minority ultimatums may seem revolutionary, but in reality they issue only from the desperate strivings of the impotent. Certainly such tactics are not designed to enhance the achievement of progressive social change. Recent American political history has proved this point time and again with brutal clarity.

The irony of the revolutionary rhetoric uttered in behalf of Negroes is that it has helped in fact to promote conservatism. On the other hand, of course, the reverse is also true: the failure of American to respond to the demands of Negroes has fostered in the minds of the latter a sense of futility and has thus seemed to legitimize a strategy of withdrawal and violence. Other things have been operating as well. The fifteen years since Brown vs. Topeka has been for Negroes a period of enormous dislocation. The modernization of farming in the South forced hundreds of thousands of Negroes to migrate to the North where they were confronted by a second technological affliction, automation. Without jobs, living in cities equipped to serve neither their material nor spiritual needs, these modern-day immigrants responded to their brutal new world with despair and hostility. The civil-rights movement created an even more fundamental social dislocation, for it destroyed not simply the legal structure of segregation but also the psychological assumptions of racism. Young Negroes who matured during this period witnessed a basic challenge to the system of values and social relations which had presumed the inferiority of the Negro. They have totally rejected this system, but in doing so have often substituted for it an exaggerated and distorted perception both of themselves and of the society. As if to obliterate the trace of racial shame that might be lurking in their souls they have embraced racial chauvinism. And as if in reply to past exclusions (and often in response to present insecurities), they have created their own patterns of exclusiveness.

The various frustrations and upheavals experienced recently by the Negro community account in large part for the present political orientation of some of its most vocal members: seeing their immediate self-interest more in the terms of emotional release than in those of economic and political advancement. One is supposed to think black, dress black, eat black, and buy black without reference to the question of what such a program actually contributes to advancing the cause of social justice. Since real victories are thought to be unattainable, issues become important in so far as they can provide symbolic victories. Dramatic confrontations are staged which serve as outlets for radical energy but which in no way further the achievement of radical social goals. So that, for instance, members of the black community are mobilized to pursue the"victory" of halting contruction of a state office building in Harlem, even though it is hard to see what actual economic or social benefit will be conferred on the impoverished residents of that community by their success in doing so.

Such actions constitute a politics of escape rooted in hopelessness and further reinforced by government inaction. Deracinated liberals may romanticize this politics, nihilistic New Leftists may imitate it, but it is ordinary Negroes who will be the victims of its powerlessness to work any genuine change in their condition.

We are living in a time of great social confusion--not only about the strategies we must adopt but about the very goals these strategies are to bring us to. Only recently whites and Negroes of good will were pretty much in agreement that racial and economic justice required an end to segregation and the expansion of the role of the federal government. Now it is a mark of "advancement," not only among"progressive" whites but among the black militants as well, to believe that integration is passé. Unintentionally (or as the Marxists used to say, objectively), they are lending aid and comfort to traditional segregationists like Senators Eastland and Thurmond. Another "advanced" idea is the notion that government has gotten too big and that what is needed to make the society more humane and livable is an enormous new move toward local participation and decentralization. One cannot question the value or importance of democratic participation in the government, but just as misplaced sympathy for Negroes is being put to use by segregationists, the liberal preoccupation with localism is serving the cause of conservatism. Two years of liberal encomiums to decentralization have intellectually legitimized the concept, if not the name, of states' rights and have set the stage for the widespread acceptance of Nixon's "New Federalism."

The new anti-integrationism and localism may have been motivated by sincere moral conviction, but hardly by intelligent political thinking. It should be obvious that what is needed today more than ever is a political strategy that offers the real possibilities of economically uplifting millions of impoverished individuals, black and white. Such a strategy must of necessity give low priority to the various forms of economic and psychological experimentation that I have discussed, which at best deal with issues peripheral to the central problem and at worst embody a frenetic escapism. These experiments are based on the assumption that the black community can be transformed from within when, in fact, any such transformation must depend on structural changes in the entire society. Negro poverty, for example, will not be eliminated in the absence of a total war on poverty. We need, therefore, a new national economic policy. We also need new policies in housing, education, and health care which can deal with these problems as they relate to Negroes within the context of a national solution. A successful strategy, therefore, must rest upon an identification of those central institutions which, if altered sufficiently, would transform the social and economic relations in our society; and it must provide a politically viable means of achieving such an alteration.

Of all the institutions in America, it is the trade-union movement and the Democratic party which offer the greatest leverage to the black struggle. The serious objective of Negroes must be to strengthen and liberalize these. The trade-union movement is essential to the black struggle because it is the only institution in the society capable of organizing the working poor, so many of whom are Negroes. It is only through an organized movement that these workers, who are now condemned to the margin of the economy, can achieve a measure of dignity and economic security. I must confess I find it difficult to understand the prejudice against the labor movement currently fashionable among so many liberals. These people, somehow for reasons of their own, seem to believe that white workers are affluent members of the Establishment (a rather questionable belief, to put it mildly, especially when held by people earning over $25,000 a year) and are now trying to keep the Negroes down. The only grain of truth here is that there is competition between black and white workers which derives from a scarity of jobs and resources. But rather than propose an expansion of those resources, our stylish liberals underwrite that competition by endorsing the myth that the unions are the worst enemy of the Negro.

In fact it is the program of the labor movement that represents a genuine means for reducing racial competition and hostility. Not out of a greater tenderness of feeling for black suffering--but that is just the point. Unions organize workers on the basis of common economic interests, not by virtue of racial affinity. Labor's legislative program for full employment, housing, urban reconstruction, tax reform, improved health care, and expanded educational opportunities is designed specifically to aid both whites and blacks in the lower and lower-middle classes where the potential for racial polarization is most severe. And only a program of this kind can deal simultaneously and creatively with the interrelated problems of black rage and white fear. It does not placate black rage at the expense of whites, thereby increasing white fear and political reaction. Nor does it exploit white fear by repressing blacks. Either of these courses strengthens the demagogues among both races who prey upon frustration and racial antagonism. Both of them help to strengthen conservative forces--the forces that stand to benefit from the fact that hostility between black and white workers keeps them from uniting effectively around issues of common economic interest.

President Nixon is in the White House today largely because of this hostility; and the strategy advocated by many liberals to build a "new coalition" of the affluent, the young, and the dispossessed is designed to keep him there. The difficulty with this proposed new coalition is not only that its constituents comprise a distinct minority of the population, but that its affluent and youthful members --regardless of the momentary direction of their rhetoric--are hardly the undisputed friends of the poor. Recent Harris polls, in fact, have shown that Nixon is most popular among the college educated and the young. Perhaps they were attracted by his style or the minimal concessions he has made on Vietnam, but certainly their approval cannot be based upon his accomplishments in the areas of civil rights and economic justice.

If the Republican ascendancy is to be but a passing phenomenon, it must once more come to be clearly understood among those who favor social progress that the Democratic party is still the only mass-based political organization in the country with the potential to become a majority movement for social change. And anything calling itself by the name of political activity must be concerned with building precisely such a majority movement. In addition, Negroes must abandon once and for all the false assumption that as 10 per cent of the population they can by themselves effect basic changes in the structure of American life. They must, in other words, accept the necessity of coalition politics. As a result of our fascination with novelty and with the "new" revolutionary forcesthat have emerged in recent years, it seems to some the height of conservatism to propose a strategy that was effective in the past. Yet the political reality is that without a coalition of Negroes and other minorities with the trade-union movement and with liberal groups, the shift of power to the Right will persist and the democratic Left in America will have to content itself with a well-nigh permanent minority status.

The bitterness of many young Negroes today has led them to be unsympathetic to a program based on the principles of trade unionism and electoral politics. Their protest represents a fefusal toaaccept the condition of inequality, and in the sense, it is part of the long, and I think, magnificent black struggle for freedom. But with no comprehensive strategy to replace the one I have suggested, their protest, though militant in rhetoric and intention, may be reactionary in effect.

The strategy I have outlined must stand or fall by its capacity to achieve political and economic results. It is not intended to provide some new wave of intellectual excitement. It is not intended to suggest a new style of life or a means to personal salvation for disaffected members of the middle class. Nor is either of these the proper role of politics. My strategy is not meant to appeal to the fears of threatened whites, though it would calm those fears and increase the likelihood that some day we shall have a truly integrated society. It is not meant to serve as an outlet for the terrible frustrations of Negroes, though it would reduce those frustrations and point a way to dignity for an oppressed people. It is simply a vehicle by which the wealth of this nation can be redistributed and some of its more grievous social problems solved. This in itself would be quite enough to be getting on with. In fact, if I may risk a slight exaggeration, by normal standards of human society I think it would constitute a revolution.

# # #

Busing

Issues "Busing"

Whatever its causes, the isolation of the races has ~~caused~~ brought suffering to both blacks and whites. The events of the past decade should teach us that a continuation of this isolation can have only tragic consequences for America.

This is particularly true ~~of the continuing of~~ for the young. If for no other reason busing &&&&&& should be welcomed if it &&&&&&&& helps erase the mutual suspicion with which the young people of both races view each other. Dr. David Porter, superintendent of schools in Harrisburg, Pa., has pointed out that the neighborhood school pattern in that city was "providing that another generation of children would grow into a class consciousness that already was destroying the ability of Americans to get along with each other."

The racial divisions which afflict this country will never heal ~~until~~ as long as our young ~~receive~~ continue to build ~~impressions of their fellow men on second hand stereotypes~~ second hand impressions of their fellow man, impressions which are ~~not~~ based not on experience but on ~~tele~~ the media and distorted stereotypes.

We should look at cities like Harrisburg, where busing has been in operation for several years. Most of these communities report that parents have accepted ~~the plan~~ and in some cases endorsed busing. More important, ~~tensions~~ racial tension which threatened to blow the lid off ~~of~~ ghetto schools have been significantly reduced. And there are early indications ~~that~~ that the black children involved in busing are already displaying improved academic work.

Busing is not the only or even the best answer to the problems facing inner city schools. There is a crying need for the expansion of housing, particularly for low and middle income families. Zoning and land use laws must be reformed, so that low income families are not locked into the ghetto. The inequities of property tax policies need correcting so that cities ~~are not required to~~ can provide proper financing for their schools.

The busing of children to achieve racial integration of the schools is not a system of education; it is merely a means of transportation. What matters is not how a student reaches school, but the quality of education once he arrives.

The school bus has been an important part of the && American public ~~school~~ education system for many years. It is the only way thousands of rural children can reach their classroom. In the South, busing was used to prevent the mingling of the races in school with scarcely a murmer of objection. Black children--who lived within the shadow of a white school--were bussed 30 or 40 miles daily in the name of "separate but equal." The same was the case for many southern white children. The morality, practicality or cost was not questioned.

Now the North is concerned about busing. While segregation has never been legally imposed in northern states, the isolation of the races && in many northern cities is ~~as~~ equally as severe as it is in the south. Chicago, Indianapolis and Milwaukee are the most segregated cities in terms of housing.

Nor can the north say that the residency patterns are the result of economics or of the desire of black persons to live with members of their own race. The poverty of many black families is unquestionably a major cause of the concentration of blacks in the inner cities. ~~[illegible]~~ But blacks did not create the black ghetto alone. There were other factors--the resistence of whites to integrated neighborhoods, restrictive zoning regulations of the suburbs, the unconscionable practices of real estate dealers--which were ~~[illegible]~~ imposed on the black man by the larger white society.

But integration is important, even if it necessitates busing. To ~~If we~~ avoid this challenge will only play into the hands of those who now declare that integration is ~~impo i impossible,~~ unworkable and not particularly desirable. These are the forces who call for t community control but really mean racial separatism. ~~Such~~ ~~These views can only be~~ The adherents to these doctrines represent a small minority. ~~But they beco the abrogation of the responsibility to quality, integrated education~~ But the abandonment of a commitment to quality, integrated education can only ~~can only~~ enlarge the ~~sepatatis constituency.~~ separatist constituency. The separatist philosophy, appealing as it may sound ~~to~~ during this difficult period, is a ~~no~~ philosophy that cannot succeed. Strengthening the ghetto society is no answer ~~becau~~ because there is nothing of strength in the ghetto.

# BLACK AMERICA: TRANSITION AND TURMOIL

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA -- BE THEY LABOR UNIONS, RADICAL PARTIES, OR CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS -- LIVE OR DIE DEPENDING UPON THEIR ABILITY TO ACCEPT CHANGE, TO RECOGNIZE CHANGE, AND TO DEAL WITH CHANGE. BECAUSE OF THIS IMPORTANT NEED FOR ADAPTABILITY, MOVEMENTS AND GROUPS THAT BECOME ETERNALLY WEDDED TO DOGMA AND OBSOLETE CONCEPTS SOON FIND THEMSELVES -- AND RIGHTLY SO -- ISOLATED IN THE CURIOSITY SHOPS OF HISTORY.

SLOGANS AND DOGMA, HOWEVER, PROVIDE ORGANIZATIONS WITH A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF COMFORT, STABILITY AND CERTITUDE. BUT A SERIOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENT -- LIKE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA -- NEEDS FAR MORE THAN THAT. IT REQUIRES CREATIVITY, NEW IDEAS, AND NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE CHANGING FACE OF A RAPIDLY CHANGING SOCIETY. THE INTELLECTUAL AND PROGRAMMATIC STERILITY OF THE TRUE BELIEVER IS ABSOLUTELY MURDEROUS FOR VIBRANT AND DYNAMIC MOVEMENTS.

WITH THIS SAID, I HASTEN TO POINT OUT THAT ORGANIZATIONAL FLEXIBILITY AND CREATIVITY ALMOST ALWAYS LEAD TO INTERNAL BICKERING, CHRONIC FACTIONALISM, AND SOMETIMES EXHAUSTION. IN SHORT, ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSITION IS ALWAYS ACCOMPANIED BY TURMOIL.

TODAY, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT -- IF WE CAN USE THAT TERM -- HAS ENTERED A CRITICAL PERIOD OF TRANSITION AND TURMOIL. THROUGHOUT THE 1960'S AND 1970'S, WE WITNESSED WHAT SOME HAVE CALLED "THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION." AS A RESULT OF BITTER CONFRONTATIONS, GOVERNMENT ACTIONS, AND A PROFOUND AND LASTING CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF WHITE AMERICANS, THE MOVEMENT FOR BLACK EQUALITY AND FREEDOM FINDS ITSELF IN A COMPLETELY NEW AND DIFFERENT SITUATION.

Contemporary American society barely resembles the America of Calvin Coolidge, Roosevelt, Eisenhower, or even Lyndon Johnson. Likewise, the problems of today's American blacks barely resemble the problems of their grandparents, or even their parents. Jim Crow segregation, blatant job discrimination, and black serfdom are no longer major features of American society. Racism, to be sure, still exists in our country, but its manifestations are more subtle, and increasingly less important. Moreover, racism is no longer the sole, or most important problem facing blacks. As I will discuss later, the problems of black Americans, especially working-class blacks, are far more difficult than the mere problem of black skin color in an overwhelmingly white nation. All this has serious and far-reaching implications for the representative organizations of black America -- the NAACP, the Urban League, and others.To survive they must cope with the new and unfamiliar problems of an ever changing black population. Organizations equipped to battle the racism characteristic of Orval Faubus, George Wallace, and Lester Maddox, must now willingly "re-tool" in order to deal more effectively with the sometimes strange and confusing trends which mark our present times.

During the next half hour or so, I hope to suggest some new directions for the historic civil rights organizations. I plan to relate my suggestions to what I view as the most important development in emergence of class history -- the emergence of class structure in the black community. Toward the end, I will make a few comments regarding the current debate about affirmative action.

## RACE AND CLASS

CLASS ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY HAVE ALWAYS AROUSED SUSPICION AMONG POLITICAL LEADERS AND SO-CALLED MAINSTREAM SCHOLARS. AS NUMEROUS STUDIES HAVE SHOWN, FEW AMERICANS -- INCLUDING BLACKS -- THINK OF THEMSELVES AS BELONGING TO A "RULING CLASS" OR A "WORKING CLASS." INSTEAD, VIRTUALLY EVERYONE IDENTIFIES WITH AN ENORMOUS, ALL-ENCOMPASSING SOCIAL CATEGORY KNOWN AS THE "MIDDLE CLASS." WHILE MOST AMERICANS SOLEMNLY DENY THE EXISTENCE OF RIGID SOCIAL CLASSES, THEY DO, NEVERTHELESS, INTUITIVELY KNOW THAT SOCIAL CLASSES DO INDEED EXIST. ALLOW ME TO EXPLAIN. SEVERAL MONTHS AGO DURING THE FIRST STRIKE AGAINST THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, GROUPS OF UNION PICKETS PHYSICALLY BLOCKED DELIVERY TRUCKS MANNED BY STRIKE BREAKERS. THE STRIKERS, WHO WERE LITERALLY FIGHTING FOR THEIR JOBS, FULLY REALIZED THAT THEY AND THEIR MANAGERS DID NOT SHARE COMMON ECONOMIC INTERESTS. FOR THE MANAGERS, THE ELIMINATION OF HUNDREDS OF JOBS WOULD PRODUCE ADDED PROFITS AND LARGER MANAGERIAL SALARIES. FOR THE STRIKING PRINTERS, CLERKS, AND TRUCK DRIVERS, A VICTORY BY MANAGEMENT WOULD SURELY MEAN PROLONGED, MAY BE PERMANENT UNEMPLOYMENT. THOUGH BOTH THE STRIKERS AND MANAGERS CALL THEMSELVES "MIDDLE CLASS" THE COMMONALITY OF THEIR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IS EXTREMELY SLIGHT. THE LOUD AND CONSTANT DENIAL OF A BASIC SOCIAL PHENOMENON DOES NOT EXTERMINATE THAT SOCIAL PHENOMENON.

NOW, HOW DOES ALL THIS RELATE TO BLACK AMERICA? I RAISE THE ISSUE OF CLASS, BECAUSE FAR TOO MANY PEOPLE -- BOTH BLACK AND WHITE -- FAIL OR REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE THE EMERGENCE OF A FULLY DEVELOPED CLASS SYSTEM WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. RATHER THAN VIEWING CLASS AS THE MOST CRITICAL FACTOR, MANY PEOPLE CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE RACE.

It is fairly easy to understand this misplaced emphasis on skin color. Until fairly recent times -- perhaps up until the 1960's -- black people were indeed universally poor, universally under-educated, and universally oppressed and despised.

In 1944, Gunnar Myrdal, a sensitive and brilliant Swedish economist, produced a monumental study entitled An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. Myrdal noted that following emancipation American blacks did not constitute a class, nationality group, or even -- strictly speaking -- a race. Instead, blacks belonged to a "caste." Myrdal's description of a "caste" is important: He commented: "The scientifically important difference between the terms "caste" and "class" as we are using them is, from this point of view, a relatively large difference in freedom of movement between groups."

As an example, of this, Myrdal pointed to state laws forbidding interracial marriages. Incidentally,30 states had such laws in 1944. Myrdal wrote that such laws characterized a system in which "a man born a Negro or a white is not allowed to pass from one status to the other as he can pass from one class to another. In this important respect, the caste system of America is closed and rigid, while the class system is, in a measure, always open and mobile."

Myrdal's distinction between class and caste is, I think, crucial to understanding the development and implications of a class-structure within the black community.

I can think of no city, town or county -- even in the once hatred-filled areas of Mississippi -- where the black population is regarded as a social caste. Unfortunately, some people -- black nationalists as well as white racists -- continue to propagate the highly misleading notion that all blacks, regardless of occupation, income or

SCHOOLING — HAVE THE SAME NEEDS, THE SAME DESIRES, AND THE SAME ATTITUDES. SUCH A BELIEF IS AS ABSURD AS STATING THAT SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY HAS THE SAME NEEDS, DESIRES AND ATTITUDES AS A SECOND-GENERATION IRISH-CATHOLIC PLUMBER IN THE BRONX. JUST AS IRISH-AMERICANS, POLISH-AMERICANS, JEWISH-AMERICANS, AND OTHER HYPHENATED AMERICANS BELONG TO CLEARLY DISTINGUISHABLE CLASSES. BLACK AMERICANS ALSO BELONG TO CLASSES.

MY POINTS ABOUT RACE AND CLASS ARE NOT BASED ON IDLE SPECULATION, OR SIMPLE IMPRESSION. RATHER, THEY ARE BASED ON RELIABLE DATA.

WHILE THERE ARE MANY DETERMINANTS OF CLASS, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IS USUALLY REGARDED AS THE MOST IMPORTANT. THUS, AN EXAMINATION OF OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY CAN PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF A CLASS STRUCTURE. SOME OF THE PRESENT DATA IS A BIT SKETCHY, BUT IT DOES, NEVERTHELESS, INDICATE THE GENERAL OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS AMONG BLACKS. MOREOVER, THE DATA CLEARLY SHOWS THAT A DRAMATIC CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE DURING THE LAST SEVERAL DECADES.

LET US EXAMINE THE STATISTICS. BACK IN 1940 — A MERE 38 YEARS AGO — 78.1% OF ALL EMPLOYED BLACK MEN WORKED AS FARM HANDS, COMMON LABORERS, OR MENIAL SERVICE WORKERS — SHOE SHINES, WINDOW WASHERS, VALETS AND THE LIKE. ONLY ABOUT 4% OF ALL BLACK MEN WORKED AS PROFESSIONALS (MANY IN THIS CATEGORY WERE LOW-PAID RURAL TEACHERS), TECHNICAL WORKERS, AND SALES CLERKS. ABOUT 17% WERE CRAFTSMEN, AND FACTORY HANDS. AND ONLY 1.3% WERE PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS. IN 1940, THEN, NEARLY 8 OUT OF 10 BLACK MEN HAD TRADITIONALLY BLACK JOBS, — CHARACTERIZED BY LOW-PAY, LOW-STATUS, BACK-BREAKING WORK AND NO OPPORTUNITY FOR ADVANCEMENT.

THIRTY YEARS LATER THE SITUATION WAS AMAZINGLY DIFFERENT. IN 1970, LESS THAN 1 IN 20 BLACK WORKED ON A FARM AND LESS THAN 3 IN 10 HAD A SERVICE JOB. DURING THE 30 YEARS BETWEEN 1940 AND 1970, THE

PROPORTION OF BLACK MEN EMPLOYED IN PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL JOBS INCREASED FROM 1.8% TO 7.0%; THE PROPORTION WORKING IN FACTORY JOBS -- MANY OF THE GOOD-PAYING UNION JOBS -- ROSE FROM 13% TO 29%; AND THE PROPORTION WORKING AS SKILLED CRAFTSMEN ROSE FROM 4.5% TO 15.2%.

IF WE LOOK AT THESE STATISTICS IN TERMS OF THREE BROAD CLASSES -- THE UPPER CLASS, THE WORKING-CLASS, AND THE POVERTY-CLASS -- MY POINTS BECOME SOMEWHAT CLEARER.

IN 1950, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY -- 78% -- OF BLACK MEN BARELY SUBSIDED IN THE POVERTY-CLASS. ONLY 1 IN 5 HAD MODERATELY GOOD-PAYING, STABLE JOB. AND A MERE 3% HAD UPPER-CLASS OCCUPATIONS.

BY 1970, THE PICTURE HAD CHANGED CONSIDERABLY. APPROXIMATELY 56% OF ALL BLACK MEN HAD STABLE, GOOD-PAYING WORKING-CLASS JOBS IN MANUFACTURING, CONSTRUCTION, AND THE PUBLIC SECTOR. ANOTHER 10% HAD UPPER-CLASS POSITIONS, AND 37% -- STILL AN UNACCEPTABLE PROPORTION -- HAD POVERTY-CLASS JOBS, OR "TRADITIONALLY BLACK" JOBS.

IN ADDITION TO CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS AMONG BLACKS, SOMETHING ELSE WAS HAPPENING. BLACKS WERE RAPIDLY LEAVING THE POVERTY-STRICKEN AND STAGNANT RURAL AREAS. IN 1890, FOR EXAMPLE, 80% OF ALL BLACKS LIVED IN RURAL AREAS. BY 1970, ONLY 19% LIVED IN THOSE AREAS.

NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS DIVISIONS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY CLOSELY RESEMBLES THE CLASS DIVISIONS IN THE BROADER SOCIETY. BLACK BUSINESSMEN HAVE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PRIORITIES AND ATTITUDES AS WHITE BUSINESSMEN. AND BLACK WORKERS HAVE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PRIORITIES AND ATTITUDES AS WHITE WORKERS. I CAN PROVIDE YOU WITH THREE ENLIGHTENING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THESE TENDENCIES.

FIRST, CONSIDER THE POSITION OF MOST BLACK DOCTORS ON THE ISSUE OF COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE. WHILE SENATOR KENNEDY'S HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN ENJOYS BROAD SUPPORT AMONG LABOR, CIVIL RIGHTS, consumer and community groups, the American Medical Association has launched a well-financed campaign aimed at defeating Kennedy's proposal. Black doctors -- who profit handsomely from the present inequitable and archaic system -- have joined forced with the AMA and its conservatives allies to defeat this program, a program which would offer significant aid to black workers and the black poor. Regrettably, the black consciousness of black doctors rarely extends beyond wearing an Afro, or hanging expensive African art in their waiting rooms and offices.

As my second example I present a case involving a black-owned insurance company. This particular company which prides itself on its wonderful contributions to the local minority community, viciously turned on its own employees -- all of them black -- when they decided to join the Office and Professional Employees International Union. As provided by the National Labor Relations Act, the employees voted for union representation. But the employer refused to bargain with the employee union. Instead, the black-owned company accused its black employees of ingratitude and undue militance. The company also criticized its black employees for joining a "white" labor union.

My final example also involves trade unionism. As you, probably know, Congress spent a great deal of time debating the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978. A clear majority in both the House and Senate supported the bill, however it was killed by a conservative filibuster in much the same way that civil rights legislation was scuttled.

Many black leaders, like Benjamin Hooks and Vernon Jordan, recognized that the debate on labor law reform was extremely important to blacks. As several studies have convincingly shown black union members earn substantially more than non-union blacks. Furthermore, MOST OF THE ORGANIZING DRIVES THAT WERE BEING ILLEGALLY OBSTRUCTED BY DEFIANT EMPLOYERS INVOLVED LARGE NUMBERS OF BLACK WORKERS. BUT DESPITE ALL THIS, NUMEROUS BLACK BUSINESS LEADERS, INCLUDING THE RESPECTED HEAD OF THE LEADING ORGANIZATION OF BLACK BANKERS, WENT TO CONGRESS AND LOBBIED AGAINST LABOR LAW REFORM. IRONICALLY, THEY OFFERED CONSIDERABLE AID AND COMFORT TO MANY OLD SEGREGATIONISTS -- STROM THURMOND, JAMES EASTLAND, JOHN STENNIS, AND OTHERS -- WHO LED THE ASSAULT AGAINST LABOR LAW REFORM.

I MIGHT ADD THAT WHILE BLACK BUSINESSMEN WERE FRANTICALLY SENDING LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO CONGRESS URGING DEFEAT OF LABOR LAW REFORM THOUSANDS OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS FROM THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE WERE DELUGING CONGRESS WITH MESSAGES DEMANDING SOLID SUPPORT FOR LABOR LAW REFORM. THE CLASS STRUGGLES, I THINK, COULD BE SEEN IN THE MAILS.

WHAT AM I SUGGESTING WITH ALL THESE STATISTICS AND EXAMPLES? WELL, FIRST OF ALL, I CERTAINLY AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAS BECOME AN EXACT REPLICA OF WHITE AMERICA WHERE POVERTY IS A FAINT MEMORY, AND OPPORTUNITY IS SEEMINGLY UNLIMITED. NOR AM I SUGGESTING THAT BLACK DOCTORS AND ENTREPRENEAURS ARE SOMEHOW DISLOYAL OR IMMORAL FOR OPPOSING NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE, UNIONS, DECENT MINIMUM WAGES, FULL EMPLOYMENT, AND LABOR LAW REFORM.

RATHER, MY POINT IS THAT BLACK AMERICA IS NO LONGER MONOLITHIC, AND BLACK PEOPLE ARE NO LONGER PART OF A CASTE SYSTEM.

AS I INDICATED AT THE OUTSET, A TRANSITION FROM ONE SET OF REALITIES TO ANOTHER SET OF RADICALLY DIFFERENT REALITIES INEVITABLY LEADS TO TURMOIL. AND CONFUSION. THE SPLITTERING OF THE ONCE MONOLITHIC COMMUNITY HAS LEFT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN A PECULIAR QUANDRY. HAVING GROWN AND MATURED AT A TIME WHEN UNANIMITY OF PURPOSE AND VISION

REIGNED IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS NOW FACED WITH THE ENORMOUS PROBLEM OF RECONCILING THE DIVERGENT AND FREQUENTLY CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF BLACK WORKERS, BLACK PROFESSIONALS, BLACK ENTREPRENEAURS, AND THE EVER PRESENT BLACK POOR. SUCH A RECONCILIATION, I THINK, WILL PROBABLY PROVE IMPOSSIBLE.

THE FACT THAT BLACK AMERICA DOES NOT NOW HAVE A SINGLE, UNIVERSALLY-RECOGNIZED LEADER CONFIRMS MY POINT. WHILE WE HAVE EXCELLENT SPOKESMEN LIKE VERNON JORDAN, BEN HOOKS, SENATOR BROOKE, MAYOR BRADLEY, AND OTHERS, I SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT FIVE BLACKS LOCKED IN A HOTEL ROOM COULD DECIDE ON ONE CANDIDATE FOR THE POSITION OF "BLACK LEADER IN AMERICA."

SOME PEOPLE, OF COURSE, LAMENT THE SPLITTERING AND FRACTURING OF THE UNITED BLACK MOVEMENT. BUT INSTEAD OF VIEWING THIS NATURAL AND ALMOST INEVITABLE DEVELOPMENT AS A GREAT TRAGEDY, I THINK IT SHOULD BE -- AND MUST BE -- REGARDED AS THE SWEET FRUITS OF VICTORY. FOR IN DESTROYING THE RACIAL CASTE SYSTEM -- A SYSTEM MARKED BY CRUELLY, IMMORALITY, AND HUMAN DEGRADATION -- WE HAVE BEGUN TO MAKE RACE AN INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT FACTOR IN SOCIETY.

WHEN I SAY THIS, I DO NOT MEAN THAT RACE IS NEVER A FACTOR, OR THAT RACISM IS A SIMPLE-MINDED MYTH. INSTEAD, I TEND TO AGREE WITH PROFESSOR WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON, THE AUTHOR A SIGNIFICANT BOOK ENTITLED THE DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE. PROFESSOR WILSON WROTE: "...WHEREAS THE OLD BARRIERS ENCOUNTERED BY BLACKS) WERE BASED EXPLICITLY ON RACIAL MOTIVATIONS DERIVED FROM INTERGROUP CONTACT, THE NEW BARRIERS HAVE RACIAL SIGNIFICANCE ONLY IN THEIR CONSEQUENCES, NOT IN THEIR ORIGINS. IN SHORT, WHEREAS THE OLD BARRIERS BORE THE PERVASIVE FEATURES OF RACIAL OPPRESSION, THE NEW BARRIERS INDICATE AN IMPORTANT AND EMERGING FORM OF CLASS SUBORDINATION."

In other words, I think Professor Wilson is correctly arguing that a black steel worker is unemployed not because he has black skin, but because he works in an industry highly susceptible to the ups and downs of the business cycle. The problem for the black steelworker is not skin color, it is, instead, the irrationaly and highly arbitrary nature of our much praised free enterprise system. If, as I often repeated, that unemployed steelworker suddenly became white, he would still be out of work.

The implications of this class-oriented analysis are quite clear. Black organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League can no longer concern themselves exclusively, or even primarily, with racial issues. To do so, they risk a slow and irreversible drift into oblivion. Today, black organizations must have a broad vision and a comprehensive program. The days of racially-oriented protest must give way to class-oriented politics.

Fortunately, recent developments, suggest that black leaders understand the need for changed approach. The NAACP and the Urban League, for instance, have become actively interested in a whole array of issues ranging from energy and public employment to economic policy and labor relations. And Congressional Black Caucus has been a leading froce in the effort to win Senate approval of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill. These new and diverse interests of black groups serve as a positive sign of a creative and far-reaching evolution of the historic civil rights organizations. They have indeed made the difficult transition from protest to politics.

But in the area of affirmative action, the transition has been less than complete. If affirmative action is transformed into a clear-cut racial issue by some widely respected blacks and demogogic whites, the progress of all minorities — racial as well as economic — will be

JEOPARDIZED.

As I see it, the civil rights movement is now confronted with one overwhelming challenge; We must use the Court's decision as a foundation for advancing authentic affirmative action programs. In the wake of Bakke, we have an unparalleled opportunity to counter the widespread and destructive belief that racial quotas and affirmative action are the same thing. As a result of the Bakke discussion, Americans -- both black and white -- are at last beginning to understand that minorities do not seek "preferential treatment". Quite the contrary, they seek FAIR treatment.

Now that the Court has ruled on the Bakke case, supporters of affirmative action must once again seize the initiative. As a start, I propose that we free ourselves from the old obsession with quotas and numerical targets. The Court has clearly ruled that racial quotas are illegal and unconstitutional. If we now attempt to cleverly devise DE FACTO quota systems tailored to fit the legal limits set by the Court, we will only deceive ourselves. Strict legality, as black people have cruelly learned is never a guarantee of fairness, or effectiveness.

Rather than relying on discredited and highly unpopular racial quota systems, the civil rights movement now has a serious obligation to examine and develop creative forms of affirmative action. For in destroying the popular misconception that affirmative action systems are designed to advance "incompetent blacks" at the expense of white people, we will be creating the proper atmosphere for the expansion of authentic affirmative action.

When I speak of authentic affirmative action, I have in mind several highly successful outreach programs such as the Recruitment and Training Program, Minority Women's Employment Program, The Urban

League's LEAP, The Human Resources Development Institute and the paraprofessional program sponsored by the United Federation of Teachers. These programs, unlike simple quota systems, provide blacks and other minorities with valuable job skills that facilitate fair and equal competition in the labor market. All this is accomplished without stigmatizing blacks as "special cases," without diluting fair and acceptable standards, and without provoking widespread anger about "preferential treatment" and "reverse discrimination."

Because of our pre-occupation with quotas, we in the black community have never organized a thorough discussion of the goals and techniques of affirmative action. In the past, our approach has been overly narrow, and emotion-laden. Now, however, it is imperative that we have such a discussion, not only among ourselves but with our allies in the labor movement, the liberal community, and other ethnic groups. As we learned from the civil rights struggle, black Americans are powerless without allies. Unless we build a solid constituency for affirmative action, we will have only ourselves to blame for its failure.

People frequently ask if I am a pessimist or optimist about the prospects for black Americans. My answer is always unequivocal -- I am an optimist, but I am not a fool. It has taken us well over a hundred years, to reach our present position, and I suspect that many more years will pass before all black Americans have achieved full equality and freedom.

AMERICAN GIRL DECEMBER 1977

# THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT —PAST AND PRESENT

by Bayard Rustin

**For some, Bayard Rustin came to be in 1963 on a summer day when black and white, men and women, joined hands to march down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol in a display of solidarity and strength. Martin Luther King delivered his "I had a Dream" speech. Then-President John F. Kennedy met the leaders. The man who planned all this was Bayard Rustin.**

**As far back as the 1940's, Mr. Rustin was traveling abroad to meet people like Nehru in India; and traveling South to talk to sympathetic whites about the plight of the blacks.**

**In the 50's, he marched in picket lines fighting for black representation in labor unions. And he worked with Martin Luther King.**

**Always ahead of others to see distress areas, he was organizing seminars to talk about the special problems of youth and inner city in the early '60s.**

**Today, Bayard Rustin still addresses himself to young people and old guard leaders like Roy Wilkins, former head of NAACP, and new ones like Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young.**

**For those who pursue the hopes and dreams of a better world for all people, Bayard Rustin stands for truth and integrity.**

**Sometimes they agree; sometimes they don't; but they listen.**

**It is, then, with great pride that we offer this message from Mr. Rustin written especially for American Girl.**

When I speak to black students today, I am frequently asked what the Civil Rights Movement accomplished. I am reminded on these occasions that the Civil Rights Movement is now a part of history. For me, it was an experience that took place only yesterday, the lessons of which are still fresh in my mind. But for high school students who were only 3 or 4 years old at the time of the March on Washington in 1963, the Civil Rights Movement is something to be read about—as one might read about the Civil War—not remembered.

In my view, the Civil Rights Movement was one of the great revolutions of the twentieth century. Its significance is all the greater because it did not, as did other revolutions in our century, lead to new forms of oppressions (the Russian Revolution is a good example of this), but to a genuine improvement of the lives of individuals and to a strengthening of the values of freedom and equality in our society. Not only did the Civil Rights Movement tear down the structure of segregation and Jim Crow in the South, but it set in motion a series of events that have transformed this country. We have seen this impact in the sharp increase in the number of Blacks attending college and graduate schools, in the elimination of discrimination from the trade union movement, in the steadily increasing number of Blacks gaining access to professional careers and in the growing political influence of American Blacks. Jimmy Carter has acknowledged that he would not be President today were it not for the black vote and he might have added that there would not *be* a black vote to speak of had not the Civil Rights Movement struggled for, and won, the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

This is hardly to say that no problems remain. One has only to look at the cities of our country to know that there is still a great deal to be done. But I have always acted on the belief that one cannot do anything at all if one wants to do everything at once. Nor can one think clearly about what can be done in the future if one does not recognize what was accomplished in the past and how it was accomplished.

In addition to its concrete achievements, the Civil Rights Movement produced what I would call a cultural revolution in the black community, especially among black youth. Young people rejected the racial stereotypes of the past and asserted new pride in themselves and in the history of black Americans as a people. All this took place with great force in the late 1960's. If we look back on this period, we can see that two things were happening at the same time. The first was a rapid movement of tens of thousands of Blacks through the doors of opening opportunities and into the mainstream of American life. The second was what psychologists call a defensive reaction. The great black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier has brilliantly explained how a segregated group can grow accustomed to the ghetto and therefore fear the interaction and competition that is inevitable in an integrated situation. Certainly one aspect of the demands for separate courses for black students was rooted in a retreat from the threats of an openly competitive situation.

But that was some years ago. The fact is that the walls of the ghetto did come tumbling down, at least for a substantial number of Blacks. I detect today a new confidence among black youth, especially those going on to higher education. They're less interested in demonstrating their resentment against society than in gaining access to the skills that are necessary if one is to get ahead. They want a good education which will enable them to gain steady employment, increasing wealth and status and better opportunities for their own children in the years ahead. No doubt the economic recession we have been through since 1973 has contributed to the seriousness with which young Blacks are striving to attain knowledge and skills that one must have to advance in our highly technological society. But in a deeper sense they are simply carrying the Civil Rights Movement a step further—and a step closer.

The goal of those who sacrificed during that movement was to achieve equality: an equal share of the economic and social rewards of this society and of the political influence within it. The Civil Rights Movement knocked down the barriers to equality of opportunity. The successors of the movement, today's youth, are now taking advantage of the new opportunities made available. The young people of today may not have lived through that movement and they may know little about it. Be that as it may, they are both its beneficiaries and its offspring. The task now falls to them to carry forward the movement for equality until nobody need be the victim of poverty and injustice.

# CIVIL RIGHTS, 1980s

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*Analysis of Issues, Goals*

# New Approach Sought to Solve Lag in Civil Rights Progress

By Bayard Rustin

**IT IS WIDELY** recognized that the struggle to improve the social and economic life of black Americans and poor people in the United States has reached an impasse. While we are fully aware of the impending problems and hardships we face, too little thought has been given to three important questions:

- What economic changes have occurred in the 1970s and 1980s which require changes in the strategies and tactics used so successfully in the '60s?
- Why do we appear to have lost the support of those allies who stood so firmly alongside us in the 1960s?
- Why do so many of the major objectives and programs we in the civil rights movement earlier espoused appear to have lost support even within much of the black community: integrated schools and housing, busing, etc.?

**TO INTELLIGENTLY** answer these questions we must ask others:

- To what degree has race declined as the dominant factor in the continuing inequality of the races, and in what areas is this development most apparent?
- Which problems have not traditionally received significant attention by black leaders, but require their attention today?
- Can we develop a strategy to deal with the decline in black political participation? This question involves both the role of blacks in the electoral process (political party participation, registration levels, voter participation rates) and the relationship of blacks to such grass-roots forces as community groups, business, the trade union movement, and the like.
- Can new approaches to affirmative action be devised which can win the support of a consensus of those groups which once comprised the civil rights coalition? Here it would be essential to look carefully at whether a course of action based on economic and class criteria or on ethnic, religious, racial, and sexual criteria should be pursued.
- An examination of the process by which blacks can achieve further economic and social progress.
- An assessment of the differences between the social and economic programs of the traditional civil rights organizations and those of the black political leadership, with a view toward creating a common program for the future.
- The attitudes and relations of American blacks toward refugees and undocumented aliens who are perceived to be in competition with blacks for jobs and social services, and how these attitudes and relations affect the process of coalition building.
- The role of heightened racial identity as a motivating force toward progress and, simultaneously, the role of race consciousness as an impediment towards the development of effective strategy and tactics.
- How can the educational process be modified to meet the changing needs of the job market?
- Can new careers be created to meet the needs of the poor? Can the very nature of work be redefined?

**THERE IS A NEED** to bring together the most creative minds in America to explore these questions. Such a group must try to develop a new social policy for the 1980s, founded upon the results of their philosophical, sociological, and intellectual exploration.

This group, or institute, would need to examine both domestic and foreign policy issues which affect minorities, women, and the poor. For instance, it is imperative to recognize that blacks may lose a vast number of American jobs, not because of discrimination, but because of the shift of labor intensive industry abroad—a fact largely ignored by the black community. There is a clear and urgent need to respond to this and similar developments.

A broad range of very important issues require from us a serious analysis and the formulation of new objectives. If we in the civil rights community do not make such an effort, we will continue to hold on to those policies, programs and strategies of the past which demonstrably are failing.

# Civil Rights: 20 Years Later

## MY TURN/BAYARD RUSTIN

Twenty years ago this week, 250,000 black and white Americans gathered in Washington's sweltering heat to assert their commitment to an America based on the principles of racial and social justice. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was a landmark in the decades-long struggle for civil rights, economic justice and due process for all Americans.

Yet 20 years after that pivotal day on which our consciences were stirred by the eloquence of Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, the economic status of black Americans is deteriorating, black unemployment stands at nearly 20 percent and our civil-rights leaders appear to be incapable of developing broad-based support for their agenda.

It would be convenient to ascribe all the problems confronting black Americans to the persistence of racism. But while racism continues to exert a baneful influence upon our society, the plight of black Americans today is more and more the consequence of a number of important nonracist, structural features of our economy:

- The decline in labor-intensive industries and the displacement of unskilled and semi-skilled black workers as a consequence of automation and robotization.
- The elimination, because of unfair foreign competition and a severe recession, of hundreds of thousands of jobs in industries such as steel and autos that have historically provided well-paying jobs for large numbers of black workers.
- The collapse of black-family structures—a result as well as a cause of the black plight—and the alarming increase in the number of unwed black mothers, most of whom live in poverty.
- The decline in the size of the public sector, which in recent years has employed some 60 percent of all black college graduates and has been a major factor in the emergence of a black middle class.
- The shift from heavy industry and manufacturing toward high-technology industries for which many blacks are ill prepared.
- The continued growth of a black underclass of poor and indigent which in 1978 stood at 30 percent but today stands at approximately 36 percent.

It would, of course, be easy to pin the blame for all this on the current administration. Although President Reagan's policy of blind reliance on the marketplace has worsened the plight of blacks, the deteriorating conditions of the black poor and particularly of the working poor began before Reagan took office and would have continued, perhaps at a slower pace, even had President Carter been re-elected.

Some may argue that the problems I have outlined are too large ever to be solved. Yet, paradoxically, the dilemmas confronting black Americans *are* solvable, for the very reason that they are now intimately linked with the overall performance of our national economy. Although blacks are disproportionately represented among the poor, there are ever-increasing numbers of white poor. Although many blacks are joining the ranks of the jobless because of the decline in our basic industries, far larger numbers of whites have lost their jobs.

> Racism persists, but blacks, like whites, are poor because of structural problems in the economy.

An important opportunity exists to develop a broad coalition based on a nonracial strategy for dealing with the decline of basic industries, with the significant growth in poverty and with the high rates of unemployment that will persist even after our projected economic "recovery." Unlike 20 years ago, when discrimination was the most significant obstacle to black economic well-being, the latest available figures show that except in the South, the median wage of blacks who are lucky enough to hold jobs is 99 percent that of the median white wage. This rarely acknowledged fact is a consequence of the civil-rights legislation of the 1960s. It is also a consequence of the high rate of black participation in organized labor. For as the late black labor leader A. Philip Randolph noted, a union contract provides equitable, nonracial wage standards for all employees. Unlike 20 years ago, when we marched to protest the racist denial of black access to the voting booth, today as a result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, black voters are a cohesive and increasingly significant national political force with a rate of voter participation approaching that of the white electorate.

**Jobs:** Each of these developments confirms the correctness of Randolph's view in 1963 that civil rights would be supplanted by economic rights as the fundamental issue for black Americans. Today the recession and the long-term crisis our nation confronts suggests that economic issues are not solely an item for the black agenda. They are a matter of concern for white blue-collar workers, for recent college graduates anxious about a stagnant job market and for the growing ranks of black and white poor.

It can therefore be asserted that the goal of the participation of large numbers of blacks in the economic mainstream has been achieved. Yet when in 1963 we marched under the banner of integration we did not envision that participation to be within industries and occupations that are in substantial decline.

Thus today's black agenda must be part and parcel of an agenda for all Americans. It must be an agenda that includes such items as national commitment to excellence in education, federal programs in vocational training, increased federal aid for higher education and a national industrial policy in which government plays an active role in fueling the growth of expanding industries, easing the transition of workers displaced by the changing economy and developing a more highly skilled work force able to compete in the international marketplace.

Clearly such an agenda is not specifically black. Rather it is an agenda that can unite a potent coalition of blacks and whites, Christians and Jews, workers and the poor. Only such a coalition can help attain the goals that 20 years ago brought 250,000 of us to the edges of Washington's reflecting pool on a scorching August Saturday. Only such a coalition can help us achieve our centuries-long dream of "Jobs and Freedom."

*Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, organized the 1963 March on Washington.*

COMMENTARY

By Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

# Blacks and the Reagan Program

**When President-elect Ronald Reagan assumes office on January 20, 1981, the Republican Administration and Republican-controlled Senate will have to contend with a strong labor movement and with a House of Representatives still in the hands of Democrats.**

Some voices in the black community have responded to the election of Ronald Reagan with a reaction that borders on panic. There have been claims that a Reagan administration and a conservative Republican Senate will mean open season on blacks and the poor; that we will see the growth of racism in our country.

Clearly, a number of the positions which President-elect Reagan endorsed during his campaign were dangerous to the interests of blacks and other working people. In the view of many economists, his support of the Kemp-Roth tax cut not only will disrupt needed social services and programs, but will also fuel the flames of an already out-of-control inflation. Additionally, President-elect Reagan's advocacy of sub-minimum wage would harm the interests of unskilled adult workers, a significant number of whom are black. The Reagan-Republican strategy of blind reliance on free market forces in such areas as energy will also result in further inflationary pressures. In short, the expressed policy of the Reagan Administration clearly will result in some damage to black interests.

Some damage, yes. But open season on blacks and the poor? The mushrooming of racism? Here one senses that rhetoric has clouded the vision of some black community leaders.

As President, Ronald Reagan, like all Presidents before him, will be limited in the programs he is able to implement by both Congress and organized segments of American society.

Although our country moved in a conservative direction this election year, a Republican Administration and a Republican-controlled Senate, will have to contend with a strong labor movement and with a House of Representatives still in the hands of Democrats. Moreover, there is division concerning policies and programs even within the ranks of President-elect Reagan's advisers. Some Reagan advisers, like Rep. Jack Kemp claim they do not wish to see programs which would result in hardships to working people. Others, particularly New Right adherents and conservative policy advisers such as black economist Thomas Sowell, have what appears to be a visceral hatred for organized labor.

**As President, Ronald Reagan, like all Presidents before him, will be limited in the programs he is able to implement by both Congress and organized segments of American society.**

At present there are conflicting signs about the Reagan Administration and the Republican-controlled Senate. On the one hand, Sen. Thurmond, a right-winger with a history of racist views, has hinted that he might move to abolish the 1965 Voting Rights Act (an effort which, incidentally, would end in failure). On the other hand, Sen. Orrin Hatch, anti-labor Chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, dropped plans to press immediately for a youth sub-minimum wage. This, one Senate Labor Committee aide notes, is because the Senator "doesn't relish the prospect of spending a number of years at war with labor."

That a conservative idologue of the Hatch mold would be unwilling to take on the trade union movement on this important issue may be an indication that at least some Republicans are beginning to accept the realities of power in America.

Labor and black community groups have been and remain an important force in American life. To attack them directly is to risk confrontations and social unrest. The power of the *organized* has clearly not been washed away by the results of the election. And so the Reagan Administration and the Congress will have to deal with these social forces just as previous administrations have.

**Labor and black community groups have been and remain an important force in American life. To attack them directly is to risk confrontations and social unrest.**

Before responding with recrimination and opposition to the Reagan program, we must first know what that program will be. At present, Reagan policy advisers appear to be recommending proposals which are at variance with one another. Some argue for huge cuts in government spending and for a balanced budget, while others believe that tax cuts will result in greater prosperity and greater tax revenues to fund government programs. Some Reagan advisers have begun talking about "urban enterprise zones" which would offer tax breaks for businesses locating in impoverished areas. Programs such as this should first be carefully examined by economists, public policy experts and those whom they will directly affect before they are rejected out of hand. Perhaps such proposals are flawed, but before we can make that judgement such programs have to be formulated and proposed.

**If the Republicans fail to deliver on their promises of lowering taxes, stemming inflation, and decreasing unemployment, voters will have ample opportunity to send President Reagan and his conservative congressional colleagues a message by repudiating the Republican formula in upcoming elections.**

In a word, blacks and organized labor should carefully monitor the policies of the new administration, attacking and criticizing those proposals which deserve to be repudiated. It is counter-productive to mount a political offensive without being fully aware of what we are up against.

And in the final analysis, blacks and other working people should maintain their confidence in the democratic process. If the Republicans fail to deliver on their promises of lowering taxes, stemming inflation, and decreasing unemployment, voters will have ample opportunity to send President Reagan and his conservative congressional colleagues a message by repudiating the Republican formula in upcoming elections.

* * *

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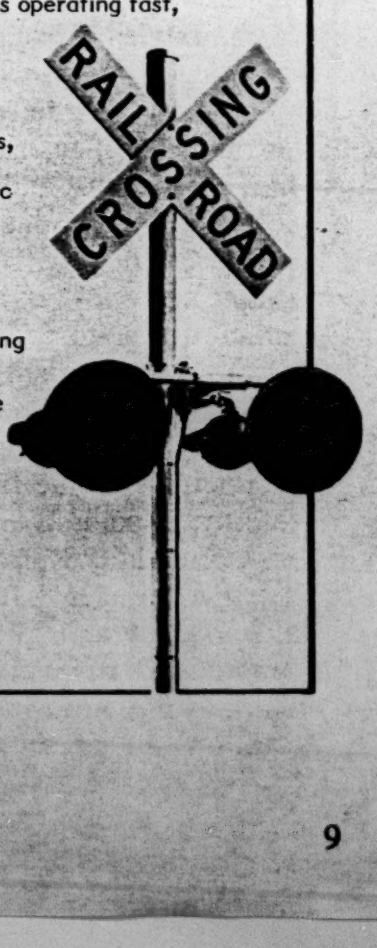

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## A Service in Commemoration of the Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.

January 19, 1987

### Introduction of Bayard Rustin

The Reverend Edwin A. Lane
Chairperson, 1987 Martin Luther King Day Committee

Bayard Rustin has been involved in the struggle for human rights and economic justice since before most of us in this room were born. He is presently co-chair of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which concentrates in the area of voter registration drives and strengthening relationships between the black community and the labor movement. And he is also the president of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, which focuses on international human rights.

Dr. Rustin left his position as the executive secretary of the War Resisters' League in order to assist Martin Luther King, Jr. in the early days of the Montgomery bus boycott. He was the deputy director and the chief organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, at that time the largest demonstration in the nation's history, and considered by many to be the high point of the civil rights movement, leading to the passage of major civil rights legislation in the 1960s.

He has often put his body on the line in defense of his principles. A Quaker, he was imprisoned as a conscientious objector in 1943. In 1947, he served thirty days on a chain gang in North Carolina for his participation in the Journey of Reconciliation, the forerunner of the Freedom Rides in the 1960s. And as a result of his articles in the New York Post on the chain gang experience, the action began which led to the abolishment of those chain gangs in Georgia.

A long-time supporter of workers' rights, and a participant in many strikes, Mr. Rustin was arrested in 1984 while demonstrating in support of the clerical and technical employees at our sister University in New Haven. Mr. Rustin also has supported human rights struggles worldwide, in India, in many African nations including South Africa, in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Laos, in Israel -- working for the freedom of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews, and in El Salvador and Grenada.

He is the holder of many, many awards, and many, many degrees, including an honorary here at Harvard in 1980. Bayard Rustin's work for freedom and justice for all gives him a very special claim to represent the tradition of Martin Luther King, Jr., and to address us today at this Commemorative Service in Dr. King's memory and honor. Dr. Rustin.

**(applause)**

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A Service in Commemoration of the Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.

January 19, 1987

## KING: BEYOND THE DREAM

An Address by

**Bayard Rustin**

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor for me to come here today to talk about the civil rights struggle, and Dr. King in particular. I shall try to avoid the usual things which are said about Dr. King because they need not be said over and over again, and in fact some of them have begun to obscure the fundamental questions we now face, and that is in many respects a tragedy.

I should like to begin by talking about the political contribution of Martin King to this nation, for this is very often forgot. The founding fathers of this nation were very wise men for their time, but, like all of us in our time, they made grievous mistakes. The founding fathers did not calculate to create two nations in their effort to create one, but, by failing to face the problem of slavery, they indeed created two nations which could not stand. There are two outstanding Americans who attempted to create one nation out of the mistake of our founding fathers. One was Abraham Lincoln, for whom there cannot now be a national holiday, and the other was Martin Luther King, for whom there is a national holiday.

Therefore, fundamentally and politically to understand the importance of Martin Luther King's national holiday, it is quite urgent that we understand why there cannot be a national holiday for Lincoln. And the difference has to do with the spirit, and the evolving of strategies and tactics to attempt to make a single nation out of two. Lincoln, undoubtedly one of the greatest and most heroic figures the world has ever known, cannot have a national holiday here. And he cannot have it, unfortunately, because the strategies and tactics associated with him for the creation of a single nation were so destructive, so violent, included the burning of Atlanta, included the unnecessary march of Sherman to the sea, destroying everything in a six-mile track. And the violence and hatred -- the North's inability to give medical care to the prisoners from the South, the starvation of many of the Southern prisoners by the North -- all left a backlog of violence, so that I should not think for a hundred years we would be able to get a holiday for Lincoln, because the South, who suffered, were so brutalized, and so brutalized economically after that war, that there was not the spirit to make it possible for Lincoln to have a national holiday. And those who argue that the national fundamentally important thing about Martin Luther King is that he brought to blacks equality, is not the most important thing about King.

Could be improved and clarified

Nor is this holiday a holiday for blacks. In fact, had it been a holiday for blacks, we would not have got it. It is a holiday to which all Americans had to pledge themselves because his spirit of non-violence, love, and affection meant that reconciliation and peace makes now possible the political emergence of a single nation: the United States. Let us never forget that King's greatest contribution is that he has freed this nation finally, without violence, to try now to become one nation.

I should like secondly to point out four contributions that King made to our society which are seldom mentioned. They have nothing to do with dreaming.

One, wherever there is top and bottom -- whether it is South Africa, or here, or in your home, or in the church, or in the club -- top and bottom inevitably mean that the top has contempt for the bottom and the bottom fears the top. What makes Martin Luther King totally different from DuBois, totally different from Malcolm X, totally different from Marcus Garvey, and most other black leaders, is that while all of them said you must not fear those on top, they were largely dealing with poetry, speeches, and writing. Dr. King led blacks into the streets with their hands in the hands of whites, so that fear on the bottom could be overcome simultaneously with the destruction of contempt on the top. That was miraculous.

Next, Dr. King advanced strategies and tactics which became universal, in that no one else had created the miracle of a destruction of old institutions simultaneously with the creation of new institutions. That could only be done if suffering was accepted voluntarily. Dr. King taught the world that there is only one security, and none other. Whether you are talking about the relationship between your family, or your wife, or your lover, or the beloved community which is not so beloved, or the world, security can only spring from the voluntary acceptance of insecurity. And thereby new institutions are created. It was that if these thirty people in the first three rows could not eat in a restaurant, if they would follow a certain pattern, they could first of all destroy the old institution, and create a new one simultaneously. Sit, sit, sit in the theater, hotel, restaurant, bus, whatever. If with good will, if with the combination of those on top and bottom, eliminating contempt and fear simultaneously, that institution, whether it be hotel, theater, or restaurant, will be dissolved and simultaneously a new one created before your eyes. The theater is closed down; because of the dislocation that is made by those who formerly had fear and contempt, and a new institution is created out of their immediate effort.

substitute "with"

delete –

Next, Dr. King devised strategies and tactics which have now been used by every other oppressed group in the United States, and will be used by every oppressed group in the United States if they want to eliminate the problem. The Hispanics learned from him, and they have gone into the streets. The women picked up his strategies and tactics, and went into the streets. The students of this nation, lo, we all knew students were brutalized; however, it was not until they began to act like Martin Luther King, and to sit in the president's office, and to disrupt the campus, not until then, if they did it with good will, would they simultaneously eliminate the evil and create a new situation. The homosexuals of our society, in New York City, at the Stonewall Bar, did exactly what King did in the buses of Montgomery. And for the first time, the homosexuals liberated us, liberated all of us. Those who were homosexual lost their fear, and came out of the closet, and those who were beating upon homosexuals learned that that would no longer last. In other words, my friends, Dr. King's tactics were to destroy the old framework and create a new one.

Now, what we forget is that every advance that humanity makes is also a step backward. And therefore when one makes the great advances that were made in Dr. King's time, one must be very careful that the pendulum now will swing, and as a result of the great good that occurred in Martin Luther King's time, two things happened which were not the result of a destructiveness, but the result of creativity. And those two things were the decline, created by the civil rights bills, of the black entrepreneurial behavior, and the flight of the black middle classes from the black poor. White people did not do that. That was not done by evil people; it was done by the great success so that even the great prophetic voice, like Martin Luther King, ensures that the very good he does creates a new situation so that the next generation has goodness to do.

This is very hard for people to swallow, but it is true. Let me explain these two things. The only way blacks could go into business, before we got the civil rights bills, was to serve black people where black people were forced to congregate. And thus black ministers of black churches, black schoolteachers of black schools, blacks running black hairdressing parlors, blacks running black hotels, blacks running black restaurants, etc., etc. Now, Dr. King's movement destroyed segregation, making it possible for blacks now to move out into the real economy. Over night, the hotels that were black disappeared. The great black restaurants disappeared. The theaters left the black ghettos. The black teachers, the best of them, now being able to come to Harvard, Princeton, and Brown, left the black schools. The best students, now able to go to the Ivy League colleges deserted the black schools.

That is to say that every bit of progress sets up a new proposition so that this generation has a job to do. At the age of seventy-five -- and you will not believe me, having been in jail three times because I have been a person of peace, three years as a conscientious objector -- but if at the age of seventy-five I knew the secret for the elimination of the atomic bomb, I would not eliminate it. For I will not rob those of you who are of college age of that tremendous challenge which is yours to solve, and not mine. And when we discuss King, we have to see him within that kind of context, or all of the talk about a dream and how marvelous he is becomes sentimental crap.

Secondly, when Dr. King and others created a situation where blacks could move and live wherever they wanted, the second horrible thing happened to us, and that is that the black middle class, like all middle class, deserted the ghetto, leaving them filled with people who cannot now defend themselves. Now lest anybody say, "Mr. Rustin, isn't that a terrible thing that blacks ran off like that," just let me warn you that is not a black characteristic. It is a characteristic of the sociological grasshopping that makes America. The minute the Jews could get off of Allen and Hester Street, they ran. The minute the Irish could get out of Hell's Kitchen, they ran. The minute the Italians could get off of Mott Street, they ran. And what made anybody think that blacks were going to stay on 125th Street as it deteriorated?

both singular —
or both plural —

Now my reason for pointing this out is that: do not play with Dr. King's great contribution. Do not use it to fail to see your duty, and do not expect a person of Dr. King's generation to do anything other than inspire us to go on and do our duty with our heads high. I think if I shall hear another discussion of Dr. King's dream I shall want to shoot somebody.

At King's death, he had an inkling, but only an inkling, of the problem to come. He did not die trying to get something for some black person. He died in Memphis helping -- and I don't like the way people in the books are talking about the way he was helping sanitation workers -- he was helping garbage collectors get a square deal, black and white garbage collectors. Had Dr. King lived a few years longer, he would have developed a strategy and a tactic for dealing with the next step. But he did not live long enough, and he never developed a strategy and a tactic for the next step, although he perceived distantly that the next step had something to do with poverty. And he designed something called the Poor People's Campaign, which was an abysmal mishmash. Had he lived, he would have taken that mishmash and made something of it, but he didn't live. And therefore, instead of debating a dream, we need to pick up, and discover a strategy and a tactic for dealing with the new thing which he dimly perceived.

substitute "become, in"

And let me go into what it was that he could not have perceived, because it had not happened. It is that this nation is creating what will be, by the next twenty years, some ten million economic untouchables, who will never work, for whom there will be no work, and who will become less than human beings, because work is the description of man. If I say to you "Picasso," you will say "painter;" if I say "Beethoven," you will say "musician;" if I say "Spock," you will say "doctor;" if I say "Mrs. Jones on relief," you cannot describe her as a human being, because a human being can only be ultimately described by his work.

Now time is running, so I shall not be able to justify any of these points, but I shall make them. As the legal barriers to segregation and discrimination were destroyed, economic developments appeared that were far more horrifying than racism ever was, because when there was racism, at least the poor could work. In the face of these economic developments, all humanity is ripped from those who as a consequence of these developments will never work.

substitute "those" or "the uneducated"

substitute "them"

One, the decline of American industry, to be precise automobiles and steel, mean that many thousands of people who have only muscle power to sell will never work again. The technological revolution, automation, cybernation, and robots take work away from the poor and the uneducated, and those who have only muscle power to sell. And while automation, cybernation, and robots create work, they do not create work for the uneducated, and they are doomed to become economic untouchables. Labor intensive industry, on which most of your white ancestors and our black former slaves developed into middle class people, has gone overseas, never to return. We do not make shoes, which the poor can make; we do not make electronics, clothing, hats, kitchen utensils. We shall never make them again. You cannot buy a television made in the United States. Beyond all this, there are new methods, not only of producing goods, but distributing it. Hundreds and thousands of blacks and poor whites have lost their jobs on the waterfront, simply because if technological development means we are going now to distribute goods in containers, we don't need these people with their muscle power to load and unload ships, etc.

U. S. trade policy is one which does not favor ever putting the poor back to work. Foreign policy considerations are moving not in the direction of putting the poor back to work, because if the American government must make concessions (as it must) to Asia, Africa, and Latin America to keep their people at work, with their not having any hard currency, the way we keep them at work is to give them labor intensive industries, and forget the Americans from whom we have taken them.

1 - delete
2 - substitute "that"
3 - delete

Now, as I say, there is no program, no political coalition, and no will in the United States to carry the basic revolution that King foresaw, that he smelt, that he was aware that it was developing, but it had not gone far enough for him to perceive, we are capable of perceiving it. The fact of the matter is, my friends, unless we are able to deal with the new economic factors which are making of the poor useless elements, a new form of racism will develop. It will be more vicious than the old form, for the old form was based purely on prejudging erroneously. The new form will be based on the observation of sociological data, and therefore more vicious.

Secondly, the new forms of racism will never be able to be attacked frontally. You will not get at any of the new racism we hear stupidly debated in the New York Times in terms of asking people to be good or asking teachers to teach new courses on lovability. It will spring from observable facts that are not explainable to people.

And therefore, my friends, to honor King we must look forward, beyond the racial equality dream, to economic equity. I want you to bear in mind that the four major civil rights bills that we call a revolution did not cost the American public one penny. It did not cost the American people one penny to permit us to come to Harvard with equality. It did not cost the American people one penny to permit us to go into theaters and hotels. It did not cost the American people one penny that we should have the universal right to vote. But to reveal to you in one sentence the great task we have in Martin's memory and spirit to create economic equity: it will cost the American people billions and billions of dollars to devise means by which the economic untouchables will ever be able to work.

(standing ovation)

THE NEW REPUBLIC

MARCH 9, 1987

### The holiday and the future racial agenda.

# THE KING TO COME

## BY BAYARD RUSTIN

THERE WERE two Americans who attempted to forge one nation from the two societies created by the Founders' failure to resolve the problem of slavery. One was Abraham Lincoln, whom we honored only implicitly on Presidents' Day (the billing being shared with George Washington). The other was Martin Luther King Jr., for whom there is a national holiday. The reason we honor King and not Lincoln lies in the strategies and tactics that each man employed in attempting to make this a single nation. Lincoln, one of our history's most heroic figures, has not been voted a holiday of his own because of the burning of Atlanta and Sherman's scorched-earth march to the sea that left a wide swath of destruction; because of the North's mistreatment of Southern prisoners of war, including the withholding of adequate food and medical care; and because of the economic brutalization of the South for years after the war. Lincoln's legacy was a miasma of hatred and resentment that made it impossible ever after to achieve the political consensus necessary to establish a Lincoln national holiday.

At a time when racial issues have returned to the fore in America, King's contribution to the struggle for racial equality cannot be overstated. But with the killing at Howard Beach and the demonstrations at Forsyth County in mind, it is still important to recognize that it was King's struggle above and beyond the push for racial equality that was his greatest accomplishment. The King holiday is not a holiday solely for blacks; if it were, we would not have achieved it. It is a holiday to which all Americans of goodwill are committed largely because King's strategy and tactics, imbued with the spirit of nonviolence, love, and affections, finally made feasible the emergence, under law, of a single nation—the states truly united.

Beyond this, King made three major contributions to our society that are seldom mentioned. First, wherever a stratified social structure exists, inevitably those on the bottom fear those at the top. Following the Civil War, black fraternal organizations, churches, and newspapers admonished blacks to stand up against fear. W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and other black leaders carried on in

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Bayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. This article was adapted from a speech delivered at Harvard University Chapel on January 19.

the same tradition. But it was King who helped shift the psychological balance between fear and contempt, and in so doing became an enduring symbol of that shift. By leading blacks into the streets, hand-in-hand with whites, he demonstrated that fear on the bottom could be overcome simultaneously with the destruction of contempt on the top. This was truly miraculous.

Second, King used the strategy of passive resistance in a unique way. Unlike Gandhi, who used nonviolence with the support of the majority against British colonial rule, King applied it to a situation where a small minority was seeking to wrest concessions from a majority. This inversion was a remarkable achievement. With it, King brought down old bigoted institutions and helped to create new democratic ones. He understood that human conflicts—in the family, community, nation, or the world—could be reconciled only if one party was prepared to take great risks. He understood that the more enlightened had to take burdens upon themselves, and that security springs from the voluntary acceptance of insecurity. His approach demonstrated that if people of goodwill sat in together at a segregated theater, restaurant, hotel, or bus, and were prepared to persevere despite repeated arrests and violence, such institutions would be dissolved and new, more democratic ones would emerge.

Third, King's tactics came to be used by every oppressed group in the United States, and will continue to be. The Hispanics learned from him, and they went into the streets. The women's movement did the same. The students of this nation, those who demonstrated peacefully, were following his lead. Homosexuals lost their fear, came out of the closet, and marched for their rights as equal citizens. And those who were beating on homosexuals learned that they could no longer do so with impunity. In other words, King's tactics aimed to destroy the old framework of societal interactions and create a new one.

But, as the successes of the civil rights movement demonstrate, every advance that a society makes is accompanied by new problems. The legislative victories of the early 1960s resulting from King's courageous efforts had both positive and negative consequences. They gave blacks a legal basis for social and economic mobility. However, this led to a decline in black entrepreneurial activities and to the isolation of the black poor.

BEFORE THE civil rights acts, the only way black people could go into business was to serve black people where they were forced, either de jure or de facto, to live. Thus, black ministers preached to black congregations, black schoolteachers taught black children in black schools, black restaurateurs served black people in black establishments. When King's movement helped dismantle segregation, making it possible for blacks to move into the mainstream economy, the ghetto economy began to unravel. The hotels that were black disappeared. The first-class black restaurants went under. The theaters left the black ghettos. The best black teachers and educators and students, now able to go to Harvard, Princeton, and Brown, left the black schools.

A second byproduct of King's revolution was the flight of the black upper and middle classes from the ghettos, leaving behind a hard-pressed working class and a hardcore underclass. Some in the black community decry this phenomenon, implying that those who left somehow betrayed those left behind. This is nonsense. Class mobility is not an exclusively black characteristic. It is a characteristic of the sociological grasshopping that makes America. The minute Jews could get out of New York's Hester Street, they did. The minute Irish could get out of Hell's Kitchen, they did. The minute Italians could get off Mott Street, they did. Leaving inner-city tenements to own homes in the emerging suburbs was a dream shared by all upwardly mobile groups in America. It is naive to believe that all blacks were going to stay on Harlem's 125th Street as it deteriorated.

SHORTLY BEFORE he was killed, King had an inkling of the problems that would emerge partly as the result of his early successes. He sensed that the passage of civil rights legislation had shifted the focus from purely racial concerns to the broader and less tractable issues of political empowerment and economic justice. Addressing these issues was the next big step toward freedom. Had King lived a few years longer, he may have developed effective strategies to deal with the next phase of the revolution. Indeed, he had proposed what came to be known as the Poor People's Campaign, which never really got off the ground.

The difficulty with that campaign was not rooted in its perception of the problem, but in its strategy and tactics. It had been relatively easy to rally blacks to abolish, with the help of the federal judicial system, segregationist laws that subjected them daily to humiliation and intimidation. It was another thing to motivate people to march for jobs, for training, and for economic justice, none of which could be legislated by the stroke of a pen or the taking down of "Colored Only" signs. For example, trade unions needed to spend millions of dollars to organize workers to stand up for their economic interests. Unlike the struggle against segregation, the struggle for economic equity would require huge resources and a national consensus to spend billions of dollars essential to address the problems of the poor.

What King cold not have foreseen is that this nation is creating what will be, in the next 20 years, millions of economic untouchables. These are men and women who will never work, for whom there will be no work, and whom society will regard as something less than human. In Western industrial societies, one is defined largely by one's work. Mrs. Jones on welfare is a non-person in the eyes of society, and as a result she is likely to see herself as such.

Unable to find work and stripped of their humanity in relation to society at large, the underclass then faces the additional onus of latent racism rising to the surface. Ironically, this development comes at a time when the changing nature of the economy has hurt a growing segment of

Americans of all races. Under these circumstances, racial conflict is all the more tragic, since the victimizers have more in common with their victims. The unemployed white teenager in Queens and the unemployed black youth in Harlem should be natural allies, not enemies. Neither the dispossessed farmer, nor the laid-off white factory worker in Detroit, nor the idle black steelworker in Pittsburgh can improve his or her condition without recognizing that they all must join in a common struggle.

The old form of racism was based on prejudging all blacks as somehow inherently undeserving of equal treatment. What makes the new form more insidious is its basis in observed sociological data. The new racist equates the pathology of the poor with race, ignoring the fact that family dissolution, teenage pregnancy, illegitimacy, alcohol and drug abuse, street crime, and idleness are universal problems of the poor. They exist wherever there is economic dislocation and deterioration—in the cities, for example, dotting Britain's devastated industrial north. They are rampant among the white jobless in Liverpool as well as among unemployed blacks in New York. And if the American underclass seems more violent, it is only because we, as a nation, are more violent.

THE NEW forms of racism cannot be attacked frontally. Society will not combat the new racism, as has been naively suggested in the press, by asking people to be good or asking teachers to teach new courses on tolerance. Nor can it be attacked by adopting the strategy and tactics used so effectively by King in the 1960s.

To combat bigotry and injustice today requires an analysis of structural changes in the economy that have contributed to the growth of the poor underclass, and a national agenda to address the ramifications of these changes. The technological revolution, automation, cybernation, and robots have taken jobs away from the poor and uneducated. And though some of these innovations create work, they do not create work for those without skills or, worse, those unable to attain them. Labor-intensive industries, which were prime vehicles for economic advancement for generations of white immigrants and black former slaves, have gone overseas, never to return.

To honor King we must look ahead, beyond the racial equality dream, to economic equity. It must be remembered that the civil rights King struggled for did not cost the American public one penny. Nor did it cost the American people anything to permit blacks to go to universities with equality, or into theaters and hotels, or to have the right to vote. Even the much maligned Great Society programs of the Johnson era were relatively inexpensive given the robustness of the economy at the time.

By contrast, the second phase of the revolution envisioned by King will require billions of dollars. But they are not dollars that will be spent on an exclusively black agenda. Continuing black economic progress and equal opportunity are not contingent on the government providing "special treatment" to blacks. Any preferential approach postulated along racial, ethnic, religious, or sexual lines will only disrupt a multicultural society and lead to a backlash. However, special treatment can be provided to those who have been exploited or denied opportunities if solutions are predicated along class lines, precisely because all religious, ethnic, and racial groups have a depressed class who would benefit.

Black economic progress is contingent upon the national economy performing well for all Americans. That can only happen if the federal government commits billions in resources to a comprehensive program that addresses this nation's deteriorating economic position and the erosion of education and research and development. We need a national commitment to excellence in education and to federal vocational and job-training programs to help blacks and others enter an increasingly specialized and competitive job market, and to move on to new jobs when technological innovation eliminates old jobs. Those who argue that such programs would be expensive must realize that for every one million people unemployed, the cost to the United States is a staggering $24 billion annually in lost federal taxes.

There must also be a national commitment to formulate and implement a strategy for reducing poverty and easing the suffering of the underclass. We must accept the obvious fact that there are many among the poor who are psychologically unequipped to deal with the harsh realities of making it in society, but these people cannot be simply dismissed or left to wander the streets. And we must accept that the programs will be costly. In the long term, however, they will be less expensive for society than keeping people in jails, mental institutions, and drug rehabilitation centers.

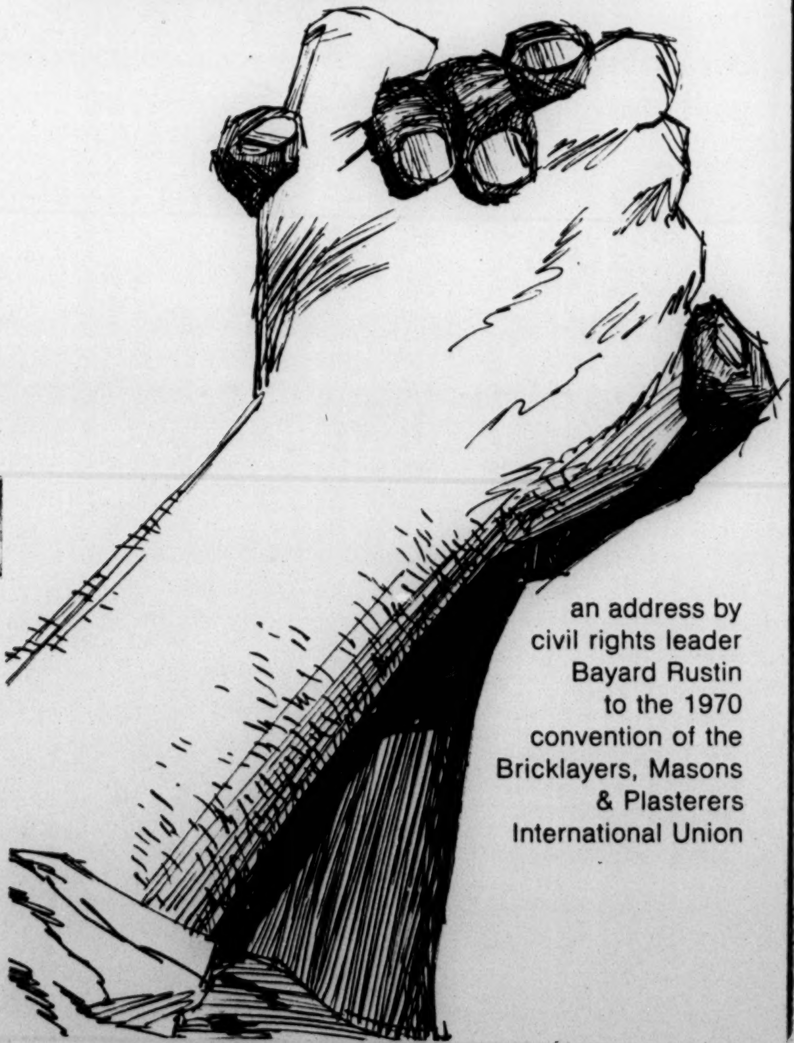
Finally, there must be a national commitment to safeguarding civil rights and anti-discrimination regulations that have been indispensable to social and economic progress for blacks, women, Hispanics, and other minorities. The Reagan administration is zealously seeking to roll back many of the gains King gave his life to achieve.

IF WE truly want to honor King, we must bear in mind the basic lessons he taught us. First, we must avoid polarization. King helped win the battle against segregation because he forged a general consensus based on the notion that its elimination was in the interest of all Americans. Today's struggle must be based on a non-racial program for economic justice that would facilitate the formation of coalitions based on mutual need. Second, King realized that the government will never bring about social change without the manifestation of a national will for change. And finally, King never lost sight of his immediate purpose: the abolition of racist laws barring blacks from normal participation in mainstream society. Even as the tactics to achieve economic equity have, by necessity, shifted from protest to politics, even as the struggle has moved out of the streets into the corporate boardrooms and national political organizations, these fundamental principles of the King legacy remain an integral part of the struggle. □

# ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

# BLACK RAGE WHITE FEAR

## the full employment answer



an address by
civil rights leader
Bayard Rustin
to the 1970
convention of the
Bricklayers, Masons
& Plasterers
International Union

On August 31, 1970, at its biennial convention in Washington, D.C., the Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers International Union bestowed its first Thomas Jefferson Award for Architecture, with an accompanying $5,000 prize, on Ulrich Franzen, FAIA. Mr. Franzen decided to donate the $5,000 prize to aid minority youths in building trade apprentice training programs. The Executive Board of the BM&PIU suggested that the executive secretary of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Civil Rights Leader Bayard Rustin, be invited to attend the convention and accept the donation for use in the Institute's "Outreach" program. Following Mr. Franzen's address to the convention, Mr. Rustin accepted the donation and then spoke to the convention delegates and guests. This booklet contains the text of Mr. Rustin's address.

Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters, Mr. Franzen:

I want to thank you very much for making this contribution to the A. Philip Randolph Institute. I think you have shown great wisdom, if I may say so, because, whether we like it or not, the building trades represent to many people in the black community, rightly or wrongly, a problem for the labor movement.

Many of us are convinced there are groups in the trade union movement that are more discriminatory than the building trades. There are groups which are more difficult in many respects. However, the average person believes that there is something very wrong in the building trades. And the A. Philip Randolph Institute is dedicated, first of all, to telling the truth about the building trades (Applause) and, secondly, to doing with the building trades what we try to do with everybody else—help them get over their problem as we would want them to help us to get over ours, which they do.

## "Outreach" Programs

The building trades have been extremely helpful in our "Outreach" programs.* We are now in 21 cities across the United States. We spend over two million dollars a year upgrading black young men and Puerto Rican young men into the building trades. Some will be delighted to know that one of the chief reasons we are able to make this progress, when other people merely stand and scream, is because we look upon the building trades as our brothers cooperating to deal with a common problem. (Applause)

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*"Outreach" programs work in cooperation with the labor unions and apprenticeship committees. They seek out and inform young minority group members of opportunities in these trades, and provide them with trade placement analysis, orientation courses, work motivation, assistance in preparing for apprentice entrance tests, and counsel and guidance during the training period. Such programs were pioneered by the A. Philip Randolph Institute beginning in 1963. The Institute also helps train counselors for "Outreach" programs throughout the country. The success of these programs is one of the principal reasons why the number of non-whites in building trades apprentice training has grown from less than three per cent in 1960 to almost nine per cent in 1969.

Our Society has a very serious problem because too many people are substituting one thing for another. If you are hungry, it does no good to pick up a phony issue. You can debate crime in the streets until you are blue in the face, but it will not get you a job. If you are living in poverty, you can debate student disorder until you are green in the face, but it will not build a house or provide you with decent food to eat.

## Labels and Analysis

We are in trouble because of irrationality, unreason, and extremism in the minds of the average citizen of the United States. The average person is actually making several substitutions.

Instead of analyzing problems, for example, he substitutes labels for analysis. In the black community, if I get up to talk and explain what is happening in the labor movement, somebody will not say to me, "Now, Mr. Rustin, tell us about this problem, about this and about that. What are the facts?" If they don't like what I am saying, they will simply call me an Uncle Tom. That is supposed to stop all debate.

The substitution of labels also applies to what the average person thinks Mr. Agnew is really doing. People will just say he is a great guy or they say he is a bastard (Laughter), none of which explains poor Mr. Agnew (Laughter) who happens to be a political person who is attempting to win the South for Mr. Nixon. Therefore, Mr. Agnew is neither a bastard nor a genius. He is a hard-working individual trying to get the South into the Republican Party. (Laughter)

He is also saying those things which he thinks confused working class people want to hear in order to win their allegiance for Nixon. Thus, while Nixon forces the working classes of this country to suffer so that he can eliminate inflation, Mr. Agnew diverts their attention from unemployment and other economic problems to black people, to rioting in the streets, and to students.

## Strengthening Unions

I do not mean to say that rioting in the streets and student misbehavior and whatever else you have are not problems which must be dealt with. They are very serious problems, but we must not permit Mr. Agnew's slogans to divert us from the simple fact that so long as there is poverty and racism, and so long as there is no response to the democratic process for young people, then they will all misbehave.

We all come to the conclusion, therefore, that it is by extending democracy, it is by redistributing the wealth, something the trade union movement has been dedicated to from its beginning, it is by strengthening trade unionism, that we stop rioting in the streets and student misbehavior. We do not stop them by diverting our attention to Agnewism. (Applause)

## Life Style and Politics

Now, the second problem we face, and we all engage in it to a certain extent, is the substitution of life style for politics. Do your own thing, we say. To hell with doing your thing. Get on the picket line or into the voting booth. Those are the only two places where you can do your thing to improve society.

How I feel in doing my thing doesn't affect the society in the least. Everybody, you know, wants to think that you solve some social problems with style. The great debate as to whether dress lengths will be mini or maxi or somewhere in between may be interesting, but that is not going to build a house or educate a youngster.

The third problem we face is the substitution of emotional satisfaction for program. I will start with the black community first just to show you I am not prejudiced. (Laughter)

All kinds of black youngsters, when I go around the country today, say, "Well, you know, we like Huey Newton and Rap Brown because they make us feel good." What does that mean? It means that when they hear someone calling white people blue-eyed devils, they feel good.

Now, I don't care whether you call white people blue-eyed devils or not. Most that I know are not. Some are. But that's besides the point. The point is that giving white people hell may give some poor soul emotional satisfaction, but it doesn't get him a job or build a house, and these are the things I am interested in.

Many young Negroes today want to run around talking about how they wear their hair, and whether they eat soul food, and whether they have black studies. All of this may be very interesting, but the fact of the matter is that if you want a house that is decent to live in it is not really related to how high you grow your wig. (Laughter) It is not really related to whether you eat soul food and chitlins and pigs feet. But it is related to the social program of the trade union movement.

I don't care if the Irish want to go on eating corned beef and cabbage. That's their business. But don't let any Irishman think that that's the way social progress is going to be made for the poor Irish. It won't work. (Laughter)

The young people today misbehave and then their parents, being profoundly ashamed of them but not knowing what to do about it, proclaim that their children's behavior—The drugs and the disorders—is "revolutionary." These are sick parents. They don't know what else to do. So they substitute illusion, which gives them internal satisfaction, for the fact that their children are in deep trouble.

## Emotion and Program

Now, in this period where people are substituting labels for analysis, life style for politics, and emotion for program, two terrible things have to happen that we had better be aware of.

Number one, black people become enraged, and white people become fearful. Blacks are enraged because the society has become more affluent, but for the most part they remain poor. Millions of them live in indecent houses, have no jobs, and send their children to inferior segregated schools. So they are enraged against white people.

But the white people who look so well off are not as well off as people in the ghettos think they are. The blue-collar worker today is in grave difficulty. Oh, sure, if you live in a ghetto and look over there and see he has got two cars, that looks great. But what you and I know is that neither of them is paid for. (Laughter)

The blue-collar worker is the only man who really has to work hard to send his kids to school. If you are very poor, you get a scholarship, and if you are rich, you go to the bank to get the money. If you are a blue-collar man, you have to save to educate your kids. Inflation hits you the hardest. The blue-collar worker has a radio for himself and one for his kids. But they are also not paid for.

He is, therefore, economically insecure, and he is increasingly fearful when he is told that the blacks are going to take his house, the blacks will take his job, the blacks are being educated at his expense. He feels that the more they misbehave, the more crime there is, the better they are treated, while he, an upstanding citizen, must behave himself and also sacrifice for their welfare.

Now, my friends, anything which attempts to deal with black rage at the expense of white fear will not work, and anything which attempts to deal with white fear at the expense of black rage will not work. We will not be able to have any peace in our society unless whatever is done reduces black rage and white fear at the same time. (Applause)

Now, when we look around for a solution, we discover that the architects do not have the answer—pardon me, Mr. Franzen (Laughter)—that the Women's Liberation does not have the answer, we discover that no university has the answer, and we discover that no civil rights group has the answer.

## Full Employment Is the Answer

The fact is that if you are going to deal simultaneously with black rage and white fear, the only group in the nation which has the answer is the organized trade union movement because it says: "There must be full employment for all who want to work." If there was full employment, blacks would not be in a rage because they do not have jobs, and whites would not be fearful that they will lose theirs. (Applause)

If there were homes being built for all the whites and all the blacks who need them, blacks need not be enraged because they do not have them and whites need not fear that the values of their properties are going to drop as blacks come in and buy them up cheaply. This is actually not the case, but they think it is.

The labor movement is the only group in this country of any size calling for the free education of all children. Who would not have wanted to give Einstein a free education?

And how many Einsteins are in these Italian, Irish, Jewish and black and Puerto Rican ghettos, and how many of your poor children, or grandchildren may not get an education because they will not have the money? Who knows but that one of them would make an even greater contribution than Einstein?

## Coalition for a Solution

Now, my friends, in the face of this need, there is only one way to bring a solution about and that is by forming a coalition of forces including the trade union movement, the minority groups, and the liberals.

Everything important that has happened since the time of Franklin Delano Roosevelt happened when the minority groups, the trade union movement and the liberals stood together. And every time we have had a failure is when that coalition has been broken.

Now, George Meany is a very bright man and when Judge Carswell was being considered for the Supreme Court, the newspapermen came to George Meany and said: "We would like to know what you think of Carswell's record in labor?"

And Meany said, "The poor man has been so inactive we can't even find a record in labor." (Laughter) Then George Meany hit the jackpot. He said, "But I can tell you one thing, my experience is that any man who is anti-black is also anti-labor and that is the reason we are opposed to him." (Applause)

Now, my friends, an alliance between blacks and trade unions is not like a marriage. A marriage is based on affection, or at least it should be. (Laughter)

## Mutual Interest

A political alliance is not based on affection and anybody who thinks otherwise is in for a rude awakening. It is based on mutual interest. I need you, you need me, and if we don't stick close to each other that other fellow who hates us both is going to get us. (Laughter and Applause)

In every state in this union where they have attemped to create a right-to-work law, the trade union movement alone was incapable of blocking that law. It had to turn to the civil rights movement and the two of them together blocked the legislation. (Applause)

At the same time, were it not for the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, were it not for the AFL-CIO lobbyists in Washington, there would not have been, under Johnson or Kennedy, a single civil rights act passed. We were not strong enough to do it alone. We had but one little guy, Clarence Mitchell, up on the Hill. The trade union movement had 50 lobbyists backing him up. Now, that is what I call an alliance based on mutual need. We need one another.

## Economics: The Bedrock

Now, Mr. Nixon is trying to break that alliance by attempting to bring into the Republican Party Southerners and blue-collar workers, But you know, I don't think that working class men, black or white, are going to fall for Nixon, precisely because you and I know that there is something more important than whether blacks and whites like each other, and that is economics. That is the bedrock of our alliance.

The Kerner Commission Report gives the impression that the real problem is racism, but this is not true. If the real problem is racism, don't build houses or create jobs, go to psychiatrists. (Laughter)

If the real problem is racism, what I ought to do, if I am white, is go to the priest and say, "Mea culpa," until I am pure. This has very little to do with jobs.

Baby don't trust anybody who tells you that the basis for social change is something you don't pay for. You don't have to pay a thing to get rid of your racism. You just have to be nice.

I would prefer that people hold onto a little bit of their racism but be prepared to spend money for houses, schools, jobs and the other things we need. Only after we have these things do I want to purify them. (Laughter)

It is not only Nixon who is trying to break up this alliance. We have all kinds of young people in the black communities screaming, "We need to separate. We need to go back to Africa. We need to get rid of this and that."

Even CORE, which used to have good sense when I was a member of it, (Laughter) now talks like this. They want separate school districts for blacks and they even went down South to meet with all of the Southern Governors, including Lester Maddox, to try to set up segregated schools. CORE has become more dangerous than Maddox because Maddox doesn't fool anybody. But CORE misleads people.

Then we have many blacks who say, "The trade union movement is our greatest enemy." We have two million blacks in the trade union movement. If you compare their salaries to those of blacks not in the trade union movement, you can see what a vast difference it is.

And there are liberals who say that labor has grown conservative, when the fact of the matter is, they don't know one thing about the American trade union movement.

You also have whites who are screaming about crime in the streets. They say that Negroes have gotten out of hand and want too much.

## Standing Together

We must root out that kind of talk and be prepared to stand together. For better or for worse, black people and white working people need each other and must stay together.

This ought not be too hard for us to do. It ought to be very easy for you to see the real desires and ambitions of Negroes and not to let some vocal but misguided fools in the black community mislead you.

I do not let white fools mislead me. I know we need the trade union movement, no matter how much these fools try to show me that the leaders of the trade union movement are my enemies.

Furthermore, my friends, do you realize that for over a hundred years the black community has had to put up with the Ku Klux Klan and the white citizens council? Now, if we have done that for a hundred years, don't you think you can stand Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown for fifteen minutes? (Laughter and Applause)

The key to our problem is the 1970 elections. In November we may well set the tone for what this nation is to be for decades. One great question before America today is whether the liberal coalition will unite to elect forward-looking men to Congress, men who will override Nixon's inevitable vetoes. Only by retaining some political control over this nation so that eventually we can send a liberal back to the White House—only in this way can we find a solution to the problems of poverty, discrimination, violence, and war. If we do not eliminate these problems, there will not be peace in our time.

*A Paper Prepared for the International Conference on the Role*
*of Cooperative and Public Economies in Democratic Societies*
*Tel-Aviv, Israel, May 22-25, 1973*

"Ideological and Human Factors in the Development of Cooperative and
Public Economies," by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip
Randolph Institute, United States.

In this paper I would like to put forward some of my thoughts on the cooperative movement among poor people in the southern states of the United States. Since I have spent most of my life in the civil rights movement, and a great deal of time among poor people in the South, this is the aspect of the cooperative movement with which I am most familiar.

There has never been an extensive cooperative movement among poor blacks in the United States. In fact, liberals, social democrats and others who seek fundamental social change have never considered the establishment of a cooperative economic system as a major priority, given the situation of the poor in our country. In a sense, the United States is at once an over-developed yet an economically backward nation. We have social planning for General Motors and General Electric; we have unadulterated free enterprise for the poor.

The economic program of the labor and civil rights movements have sought to change this situation. Although it may come as a surprise to some of you, one of the more difficult tasks we faced was to convince blacks that the labor movement represents an important vehicle for social change. Even today we see the Nixon Administration basing its programs for racial progress on black ownership of small businesses--it's called black capitalism --at a time of impending doom for small businesses.

Perhaps the most "revolutionary" proposal advanced in the past several decades was the Freedom Budget, introduced in 1966 by A. Philip Randolph, for years the leading black trade unionist in the United States. The Freedom Budget was endorsed by the mainstream of the labor, liberal and civil rights arenas. It is a program for basic economic change--full employment, an adequate minimum income, decent housing for every family, good quality medical care all can afford and equal educational opportunities. In an earlier era, W.E.B. DuBois, the founder of the NAACP, the only mass based organization that represents blacks in the United States, urged that the Negroes form cooperatives as a basic strategy for economic advancement. The Freedom Budget, however, makes no mention of cooperatives, not for any ideological reasons but because, considering the desperate plight of the rural black poor, the limitations in the cooperative movement, and past failures of cooperative ventures, cooperatives were not seen as a strategy that would enhance the standards of the great mass of poor and working class Negroes.

The extent of poverty among rural blacks is staggering in a nation supposedly as affluent as the United States. Rather than quote statistics, I prefer to give this description--taken from a report by a team of doctors who visited the Mississippi delta and quoted in "Cooperatives and Rural Poverty in the South," by Marshall and Godwin--as an illustration of the effects of rural impoverishment:

> We saw children who are hungry and who are sick-children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. We do not want to quibble over words, but "malnutrition" is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry-weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened; they are, in fact, visibly and predictably losing their health, their energy, and their spirits. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them-which is exactly what "starvation" means.

There is also, of course, serious, widespread poverty in the cities. But the living conditions--housing, income, type of jobs--available--have steadily, sometimes dramatically, improved for families who have left the South, while for the rural southern poor the struggle for mere survival is as difficult as ever.

One of the reasons for this situation is that government policy, even under the most liberal Presidents, has never been directed to the difficult problem of uplifting the rural poor. The New Deal, under Franklin Roosevelt, gave critically needed support to working people. But although he had excellent opportunities to carry out basic agricultural reforms, Roosevelt failed to give adequate protection to tenant farmers and sharecroppers. The programs of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were basically directed at alleviating the conditions of the urban poor-they being, of course, black families who had earlier fled the southern deltas and hills.

On the other hand, government programs formulated specifically to deal with agricultural problems have been a good example of "socialism for the rich; free enterprise for the poor." Those who need help the least benefit the most, while sharecroppers and tenant farmers are left to their own devices. We even find that, increasingly, farm policy is influenced by massive corporate conglomerates--businesses that have supplanted the family farmer.

But beyond these political realities, it is necessary to understand the unique situation of American Negroes in order to understand why the cooperative movement has been so limited. The poor have lacked the resources--the cash, the management ability; government policy has been dictated by conservative interests; and liberals have pursued strategies that would produce the most immediate benefits for the vast majority of poor that is, the non-rural poor.

During the 1960s there has sprung up in the South, mostly among Negroes, a poor people's cooperative movement. Over 100 cooperatives have been formed, most of which are engaged in agriculture. There are also, however, cooperatives for fishing enterprises, credit unions, and associations to purchase land. These cooperatives offer a real hope to the poor farmers who have joined together to form them. They offer the chance to escape to oppression of the tenant farm system and they offer, for those who prefer it, the opportunity to make a living from the land.

Above all, they provide black people with an organizational base that will give them a voice in dealing with government agencies and the public. This is important since, particularly in the rural South, prejudice and discrimination are still deeply embedded attitudes. Blacks found during the period of the civil rights protest movement that collective organization was the only alternative to the boycotts, blacklists and other forms of economic discrimination practiced by an intransigent white majority.

Despite the fact that it is not extensive in the United States, the cooperative movement is important in that it gives poor people a sense of community, a feeling of pride in shared ownership and responsibility. This is an important aspect of cooperatives, particularly when you consider the history of collectives in the Soviet Union, Communist China, and other totalitarian nations.

A cooperative, an economic structure, any form of government or social system is successful to the degree that it adheres to the traditional values of a culture. The agricultural cooperatives in the American south have been successful because of their adherence to democracy. Those who enter the cooperative do so of their free will knowing that they will have a voice in determining the policies of the venture. The cooperative movement in Israel has been successful for much the same reason. Thus the kibbutz is a revolutionary agent since it actively works to spread democracy, just as the civil rights movement, by enhancing the democratic rights of black people, effected revolutionary change.

The history of Communism has demonstrated that something done in the name of the people can be just as oppressive as unbridled capitalism if it does not flow from democratic values. It is my belief that the cooperative movement's most fundamental effect on society lies in its extending democracy.

Business & Society Review

Article Recd

## Rustin Article

-April, 1974

One need not have an apocalyptical view of society to recognize that capitalism is in serious trouble. The very fact that its future is being debated on these pages indicates that many people, including some who number themselves among the supporters of capitalist economic structures, are growing increasingly skeptical of capitalism's ability to provide a humane, just and stable society.

For the first time in decades nationalization of a basic industry is under serious discussion, and not just by conscious socialists. Legislation providing for a system of national health insurance has been introduced in Congress, with broad support from liberals and the labor movement. And a coalition of liberals, labor, and civil rights forces is demanding that government assume much more responsibility in the planning of the economy and the delivery of services; their demands, moreover, would require at the very least minimal changes in the present economic order.

More important, however, is that these demands have won the support of the majority. I attribute this only partially to the energy crisis, for there are other areas of the economy--housing and health care are two prominent examples--where problems are approaching the crisis level.

This is not to underestimate the impact of the energy crisis. The shortages of gasoline, the economic disruption, the spiraling prices and the uncertainty of the job market--together dramatized, as no other recent event has, how an economic system which has as a priority the reinforcement of the role of business can fail to meet the needs of daily life, not simply for the poor, but for most working Americans.

It is not even necessary to explore the question of whether the fuel shortages were engineered by the oil industry in ordertto increase profit margins. The most basic issue, which was made clear during the recent hearings conducted by Sen. Henry Jackson, is that government policies, built up and solidified over a period of decades, gave the oil industry what amounted to monopoly control over the exploration, extraction, distribution and pricing of fuel. Import quotas which kept consumer prices artificially high, the lack of adequate refining capacity, uncertainty over whether a shortage existed--these were the consequences of a policy which equated the well-being of corporations with the national good.

As noted before, the energy crisis is only the most apparent example of the failure of current government attitudes towards the role of business. There are other "crises" which have been minimized only insofar as they have been overshadowed by fuel shortages. And the reason they exist to so intense a degree is that government has either ignored social problems or, when it did attempt to effect a solution, was too often guided by the proposition that business can function as an effective force for social change.

The experience of the Great Society taught us that there are some social problems which simply cannot be solved, or even significantly ameliorated, by a strategy which relies on expansion of the market economy.

Consider the problem of providing decent housing for low-income families. This is the nation's most serious housing problem in terms of the toll the urban slums exact from the lives of the poor, And yet the low-income housing program has been the most significant failure of the housing efforts of the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Administrations. The reasons for their failures are complex, but can in large measure be traced to a basic, and mistaken assumption. That assumption is that policies which encourage the expansion of suburban housing and the redevelopment of declining central business areas will ultimately enhance housing opportunities in the ghetto. As we have seen, the problems of ghetto housing have intensified in the past decade--the "trickle down" theory has proved an abysmal failure. It has failed because it is unprofitable for private developers to build new, low-rent housing in the cities and nothing that government does can change that situation. Thus the only alternative with a reasonable potential for success is for government itself to build housing for the poor on a scale well above the profoundly inadequate levels of the recent past.

Nor will we succeed in bringing minorities into a regular place in the economy without challenging some of capitalism's basic precepts. To achieve a full employment economy, for instance, requires the direct intervention of the federal government in the job market, and not tax credits to businesses which agree to hire a few minority workers. And if the job of upgrading minority workers--of ~~bringing~~ elevating blacks from poverty into the working and middle classes--is to be completed, the current half-hearted efforts at manpower development will have to be significantly expanded.

The failure to develop a comprehensive manpower and jobs strategy in which government assumes responsibility for whatever private enterprise cannot accomplish will have serious consequences. Social justice for millions of blacks will be further deferred. Racial division will be perpetuated. And there will be a growing demand from blacks and their allies for the imposition of solutions, such as hiring quotas, which are in opposition to the basic values of democracy.

Quota hiring and other forms of preferential treatment, it should be stressed, do not represent a particulary radical answer to racial inequity. They are, rather, an extended and dangerous form of tokenism and represent the failure of government policy. Requiring a corporation to employ a specified percentage of blacks may inconvenience personnel managers, but it does nothing substantive to resolve the inability of the economy to provide full employment. Should there be a recession, the unemployment rate for blacks would still be inordinately high. In this respect, quotas merely reflect the worst failures of capitalism; they do not challenge them.

The quota issue leads to another question, that of economic growth. It has become almost an article of liberal faith that economic growth is leading totthe inevitable destruction of society. All manner of evil--physical, environmental, and spiritual--is laid at the doorstep of unbridled technology and "growth for growth's sake."

It is easy enough to criticize industrialization and growth for the very real environmental problems we now face. But to attack growth without at the same time acknowledging the pressing need to resolve the unequal distribution of wealth among the peoples of the world is not simply short-sighted, it is morally and politically unacceptable. The crisis of the developing nations is every bit as real as the environmental crisis. And the natioos of Africa, Asia and Latin America have no intention of tolerating a permanent condition of dependence.

This is why we must reject a simple-minded reaction to ecological plight. If the yawning gap between the world's haves and have-nots is to be closed, there must be a continuation of economic growth in all nations. It goes without saying that this growth must be carefully directed and managed; that it contribute to social progress; and that there be strong safeguards to protect the environment and careful planning so as not to use up essential natural resources. But calling for regulated and planned growth is a far cry from current demands for retrenchment and sacrifice.

A final word should be said about the future of social change in America. During the 1960s the civil rights movement placed before the American people an agenda for basic change. But there was little thought devoted to how social change would come about and how social programs would be implemented. This is why so many of the Great Society initiatives were confused and misdirected.

The Great Society programs, however, shared a common characteristic: they were predicated on the notion that social transformation could be achieved through a consensus approach. According to the Great Society vision, all social forces, including those with contradictory objectives, would unite around a broad program for social betterment. Implicit in the consensus approach was the proposition that these various forces--business, labor, minorities, the middle-class--would not only contribute to social and racial progress, but would themselves benefit from this effort.

Given the limitations of consensus politics, the successes of the Great Society were striking. This is particularly true when measured by the amount of progress for Negroes, unprecedented in Americanhhistory.

But the Great Society was left incomplete, just as before it the New Deal was unfinished, because of an unwillingness to challenge the economic order when it stood in the way of social progress.

Capitalism must be challenged if change is to be achieved within the framework of democracy. I cannot here spell out the details of the ideal social system, but in all liklihood it would include some capitalistic mechanisms, semi-capitalist structures like cooperatives, semi-public agencies to regulate basic resources, and some outright nationalization. The structure of the economy would ultimately be determined by the needs of the people.

I cannot envision the alternatives to socialism with any optimism. For they would likely result either in the perpetuation of intolerable inequalities, injustices, and divisions, or in government policies which are in contradiction with democratic principles. A kind of state capitalism, wherein government ensures the dominance of the most powerful of the corporate elite, is not inconceivable, given the current direction of the Nixon Administration.

The question, then, is not whether government will play a larger role in the functioning of the economy. That this will happen is foreordained. The question is whether in assuming a larger role in economic planning and regulation government will extend economic and social justice to those so long denied it, while safeguarding individual rights and liberties. The achievement of such a society will comprise the framework of the liberal agenda for the foreseeable future.

The simple conclusion is that unless labor and its allies on the Left find the common sense and courage to carry on the struggle against Soviet communism for their own good reasons, to push governments to pursue policies helpful to this cause, and to block policies harmful to it, the task will fail, for no one else can be relied upon to pursue it.

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# A Mandate for Socialism

**By Bayard Rustin**

One need not have an apocalyptic view of society to recognize that capitalism is in serious trouble. Many people, including some who number themselves among the supporters of capitalist economic structures, are growing increasingly sceptical of capitalism's ability to provide a humane, just, and stable society.

For the first time in decades, nationalization of a basic industry is under serious discussion, and not just by conscious socialists. Legislation providing for a system of national health insurance has been introduced in Congress, with broad support from liberals and the labor movement. And a coalition of liberals, labor, and civil rights forces is demanding that government assume much more responsibility in the planning of the economy and the delivery of services; their demands, moreover, would require at the very least minimal changes in the present economic order.

More important, however, is that these demands have won the support of the majority. I attribute this partially to the energy crisis, for there are other areas of the economy—housing and health care are two prominent examples—where problems are approaching the crisis level.

### The Energy Crisis

This is not to underestimate the impact of the energy crisis. The shortages of gasoline, the spiraling prices, and the uncertainty of the job market together dramatized, as no other recent event has, how an economic system which has as a priority the reinforcement of the role of business can fail to meet the needs of daily life, not simply for the poor, but for most working Americans.

It is not even necessary to explore the question of whether the fuel shortages were engineered by the oil industry in order to increase profit margins. The most basic issue, which was made clear during the recent hearings conducted by Senator Henry Jackson, is that government policies, built up and solidified over a period of decades, gave the oil industry what amounted to monopoly control over the exploration, extraction, distribution, and pricing of fuel. Import quotas which kept consumer prices artificially high, the lack of adequate refining capacity, uncertainty over whether a shortage existed—these were the consequences of a policy which equated the well-being of corporations with the national good.

As noted before, the energy crisis is only the most apparent example of the failure of current government attitudes toward the role of business. There are other "crises" which have been minimized only insofar as they have been overshadowed by fuel shortages. And the reason they exist to so intense a degree is that government has either ignored social problems or, when it did attempt to effect a solution, was too often guided by the proposition that business can function as an effective force for social change.

The experience of the Great Society taught us that there are some social problems which simply cannot be solved, or even significantly ameliorated, by a strategy which relies on expansion of the market economy.

### Housing Failure

Consider the problem of providing decent housing for low-income families. This is the nation's most serious housing problem in terms of the toll the urban slums exact from the lives of the poor. And yet the low-income housing program has been the most significant failure of the housing efforts of the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon Administrations. The reasons for their failures are complex, but can in large measure be traced to a basic, and mistaken, assumption. That assumption is that policies which encourage the expansion of suburban housing and the redevelopment of declining central business areas will ultimately enhance housing opportunities in the ghetto. As we have seen, the problems of ghetto housing have intensified in the past decade—the "trickle down" theory has proved an abysmal failure. It has failed because it is unprofitable for private developers to build new, low-rent housing in the cities, and nothing that government does can change that situation. Thus the only alternative with a reasonable potential for success is for government itself to build housing for the poor on a scale well above the profoundly inadequate levels of the recent past.

Nor will we succeed in bringing minorities into a regular place in the economy without challenging some of capitalism's basic precepts. To achieve a full-employment economy, for instance, requires the *direct* intervention of the federal government in the job market, and not tax

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*Bayard Rustin is National Chairman of the Social Democrats, U.S.A.*

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credits to businesses which agree to hire a few minority workers. And if the job of upgrading minority workers—of elevating blacks from poverty into the working and middle classes—is to be completed, the current half-hearted efforts at manpower development will have to be significantly expanded.

The failure to develop a comprehensive manpower and jobs strategy in which government assumes responsibility for whatever private enterprise cannot accomplish will have serious consequences. Social justice for millions of blacks will be further deferred. Racial division will be perpetuated. And there will be a growing demand from blacks and their allies for the imposition of solutions such as hiring quotas which are in opposition to the basic values of democracy.

### Quotes and Tokens

Quota hiring and other forms of preferential treatment, it should be stressed, do not represent a particularly radical answer to racial inequity. They are, rather, an extended and dangerous form of tokenism and represent the failure of government policy. Requiring a corporation to employ a specified percentage of blacks may inconvenience personnel managers, but it does nothing substantive to resolve the inability of the economy to provide full employment. Should there be a recession, the unemployment rate for blacks would still be inordinately high. In this respect, quotas merely reflect the worst failures of capitalism; they do not challenge them.

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It is easy to criticize industrialization and growth for the very real environmental problems we now face. But to attack growth without at the same time acknowledging the pressing need to resolve the unequal distribution of wealth among the peoples of the world is not simply shorted-sighted, it is morally and politically unacceptable. The crisis of the developing nations is every bit as real as the environmental crisis. And the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America have no intention of tolerating a permanent condition of dependence.

This is why we must reject a simple-minded reaction to ecological plight. If the yawning gap between the world's haves and have-nots is to be closed, there must be a continuation of economic growth in all nations. It goes without saying that this growth must be carefully directed and managed; that it contribute to social progress; and that there be strong safeguards to protect the environment and careful planning so as not to use up essential natural resources. But calling for regulated and planned growth is a far cry from current demands for retrenchment and sacrifice.

A final word should be said about the future of social change in America. During the 1960's the civil rights movement placed before the American people an agenda for basic change. But there was little thought devoted to how social change would come about and how social programs would be implemented. This is why so many of the Great Society initiatives were confused and misdirected.

The Great Society programs, however, shared a common characteristic: they were predicated on the notion that social transformation could be achieved through a consensus approach. According to the Great Society vision, all social forces, including those with contradictory objectives, would unite around a broad program for social betterment. Implicit in the consensus approach was the proposition that these various forces—business, labor, minorities, the middle class—would not only contribute to social and racial progress, but would themselves benefit from this effort.

Given the limitations of consensus politics, the successes of the Great Society were striking. This is particularly true when measured by the amount of progress for Negroes, unprecedented in American history.

But the Great Society was left uncompleted, just as the New Deal before it was unfinished, because of an unwillingness to challenge the economic order when it stood in the way of social progress.

Capitalism must be challenged if change is to be achieved within the framework of democracy. I cannot here spell out the details of the ideal social system, but in all likelihood it would include some capitalistic mechanisms, semi-capitalist structures like cooperatives, semi-public agencies to regulate basic resources, and some outright nationalization. The structure of the economy would ultimately be determined by the needs of the people.

### Why We Need Socialism

I cannot envision the alternatives to socialism with any optimism. For they would likely result either in the perpetuation of intolerable inequalities, injustices, and divisions, or in government policies which were in contradiction to democratic principles. A kind of state capitalism, wherein government ensures the dominance of the most powerful of the corporate elite, is not inconceivable, given the current direction of the Nixon-Ford Administration.

The question, then, is not whether government will play a larger role in the functioning of the economy. That this will happen is foreordained. The question is whether in assuming a larger role in economic planning and regulation, government will extend economic and social justice to those so long denied it, while safeguarding individual rights and liberties. The achievement of such a society will comprise the framework of the liberal agenda for the foreseeable future.

N-71

**71—COMMENTARY (Sept. 1976) FL 6391**
71—Symposium

**Bayard Rustin:** What we have witnessed is not so much the redefinition of terms like liberal and conservative as a subtle process whereby the concepts themselves have been manipulated and mutilated so thoroughly as to have lost all relevant meaning for many, perhaps for most, Americans. Liberalsim and conservatism are not, of course, the only politically significant labels to have been stripped of their meaning. The word racism, too, no longer conveys a precise meaning or communicates an important concept. Properly used, racism refers to a conscious ideology of race superiority on cultural, physical, or intellectual grounds, and it justifies the exclusion of a particular race from normal participation in society. But for many, racism has now lost that specific meaning; it has become nothing more than a demagogic epithet to be applied at will. Thus Daniel P. Moynihan, who has devoted much of his career as academic and government official to devising strategies for the abolition of racial inequality, and James Coleman, integrationist scholar, have been called racists in the same breath with Strom Thurmond and George Wallace.

This distortion of the language of politics is not only demagogic, however. It reveals attitudes that are irrational and dangerous. The refusal to acknowledge as valid any ideas that conflict with currently accepted dogma; the lack of honesty in dealing with racial issues; the reluctance to argue legitimate opposing views on their merits, preferring instead a rhetorical rebuttal—all have contributed to a prolongation of many of our severest racial problems.

In some cases the distortion of words like racist results from the passions of the hour. Oftentimes, however, the distortion is done with the deliberate intent of placing one's opponents on the moral defensive.

Liberalism has been similarly distorted, both in word and concept, although for different reasons and in a different historical context.

For some, the redefinition of liberalism became a question of class interest. Among the "reform" wing of the Democratic party, the so-called New Left, for instance, we saw a basic shift away from the traditional liberal commitments. It all began when the New Left insisted that economic problems—always at the forefront of the liberal agenda—be made secondary to such contemporary concerns as "life-style," ecology, psychological liberation, and national moral purification. According to this revision, further gains for working people, requiring as they would a greater expansion of the nation's wealth and productive capacity, were not only unnecessary but might even be undersirable. As for the blacks, the "reformers" argued that their poverty could be alleviated through schemes of community control, participatory democracy, economic "self-determination," or, alternatively, through quota systems. When they were warned that such attitudes might drive the Democratic party's traditional constituency—the working men and women—to the ranks of the conservatives, they responded that they could mold a new and more enlightened coalition—with themselves, of course, at the helm, replacing labor and the political representatives of working people as the dominant force. Thus, it is clear that there were elements of both class interest and of class bias in the propagation of this new agenda for liberalism.

Another element at work was that many of the younger liberal activists had had their initial political experiences in movements and causes having little connestion with the needs and aspirations of ordinary people—the anti-war movement, ecology, women's liberation, political reform. Indeed, at times their objectives clashed openly with those of workers, as, for example, when ecologists sought the closing of a factory despite the fact that closing would result in massive unemployment. In such cases, there was integrationist scholar, have been called racists in the same breath with Strom Thurmond and George Wallace.

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It will be argued that many liberals did not subscribe to this new notion of politics which placed a low priority on the needs of the ordinary American. This is true enough, and is certainly the case today, when full employment is the first item on every liberal's program. The fact is, however, that many traditional Democrats were alienated by this movement which *appeared* to be forging a new and, for many, a disturbing direction. Moreover, large numbers of people took this new movement as evidence that even the traditional liberals had lost their vision and no longer had a coherent idea of the kind of society and world order they wished to create.

Thus the question confronting us now must be how to resolve the confusion and defeatism that have infected American society. The experience of the past year strongly suggests that the new shibboleths determining who is a liberal have little significance. What is important, however, is significance. What is important, however, is whether we can build a truly liberal movement that is prepared to take on the crucial issues of the day.

Such a movement would deal strongly with the recent objections to government activism in domestic affairs. (Here is as good an example as any of how the blurring and distrorting of liberalism's principles have contributed to a situation in which leading Democrats feel compelled to describe themselves as progressives or centrists because of the low esteem to which liberalism has

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a forthright, intelligent politics of hope and ~~prog~~ about the limits of government—as an increasing number of liberals have done—and then expect to present the voters with ambitious proposals for national health insurance, government-funded jobs for the unemployed, the federlization of welfare, and programs to rebuild the cities without further alienating an electorate already embittered by the manifest deceits of the immediate past administration.

In racial affairs, this movement would reestablish government support for integration and the full participation of minorities in all aspects of society. In would emphasize the central role of economics and full employment in the achievement of a racially equal society, while recognizing the limitations of social engineering. It would also choose manpower policies, special training programs, and other similar approaches over the imposition of quotas and other undemocratic devices.

I believe that the prospects for the success of such a strategy are excellent. Certainly the favorable response to Daniel P. Moynihan's vigorous reassertion of American ideals in the United Nations indicates that many people are eager for a forthright, intelligent politics of hope and proress. The are also elements of the Carter candidacy which are encouraging. His call for reconciliation and advancement at home and defense of democracy abroad, as well as his appeal to the ideals and aspirations of ordinary Americans, stands out in marked contrast to the politics of the recent past. In 1968 Eugene McCarthy appealed openly to a narrow, middle-class elite, and boasted of having won the support of the better-educated. Four years later, George McGovern, appealing to the same constituency, asked Americans to repent for their collective guilt. Meanwhile, at the opposite extreme, Nixon and Wallace pandered to fears they had helped generate. The liberal ideal of a strong, compassionate, and forward-looking America—an America unashamed of its support for democratic principles—has been buffeted from within and without. But the traditional values and goals of liberals remain valid—even if they are no longer called liberal. These are, moreover, distinctly American values and goals. At least this is what I believe Americans have been trying to say in this confused and yet ultimately hopeful year.

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**Bayard Rustin**, ~~*executive director*~~ *of the A. Philip Randolph Institute ,is the author of, most recently,* Strategies for Freedom: The Changing Pattern of Black Protest.

president

Los Angeles Times SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1977

# Blacks Confront Unemployment

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

As the August unemployment statistics reveal, the black employment situation is bad and getting worse.

While unemployment, as officially measured, increased to more than 7%, that increase consisted almost entirely of black workers. Black joblessness jumped to 14.5%, matching the post-World War II high of September, 1975. Black unemployment is currently running considerably higher than its historic ratio of twice that of white unemployment.

It is not the statistics by themselves which are important. They assume a political importance because the Carter Administration is under intense political pressure from the black community. More important, the black leadership is united in the belief that it is the economy more than any other factor which is frustrating the black struggle for equality.

The official government unemployment statistics do not accurately measure the true extent of joblessness for white or black workers. Those statistics simply ignore both those workers who have become so discouraged that they have given up searching for work and part-time workers who need and want full-time jobs but are unable to find them. Blacks are particularly likely to be among the hidden unemployed. Almost 30% of the discouraged workers are black. as are about one-fifth of the part-time workers who want full-time jobs. If discouraged workers and half of the involuntary part-time workers are counted as unemployed, the real rate of unemployment is close to 10% and well above 20% for black workers.

*Bayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City.*

To make matters worse, unemployment is a greater hardship for black workers. Not only do black workers usually receive lower unemployment benefits because of their lower incomes, but they are also more likely to work in industries, such as domestic work, agriculture and government, that are not covered by unemployment compensation.

The most important immediate cause of high black unemployment is the stagnant, recession-prone and low growth economy of recent years. Tight labor markets are an essential requirement in lessening racial discrimination and black economic inequality. Eight years of vigorous economic growth, antidiscrimination efforts and innovative social legislation during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations reduced black unemployment from a level of above 12% at the beginning of the decade to a fraction above 6% by 1969. The planned unemployment of the Nixon and Ford administrations not only proved ineffective in reducing inflation, it returned black joblessness to double-digit levels.

Black workers have not recovered from the 1974 recession which created proportionately more uemployment among them than among whites. Black men, who make up less that 6% of the work force, accounted for more than 10% of the increase in unemployment between 1973 and 1975. The inadequate and uncertain recovery from the depths of the recession has done little to reduce black joblessness. In the summer of 1976, there were 20% fewer white adults unemployed than a year earlier, but only 5% fewer black adults were unemployed.

Unemployment cuts across every category in the black community. In every occupation, black unemployment is considerably greater than that of whites, although both the unemployment gap and the absolute level of unemployment are lower for the black occupational elite. For black men, 20 years old and over, the unemployment rate is 11.7%. while the rate for black women is 12.2%. There were more than 1 million unemployed black adults slightly more than a year ago, a figure more than 50% higher than the number of jobless black adults in 1974.

Between 1974 and 1976, the number of unemployed married black men jumped by more than 75,000 to 225,000. raising the unemployment level from 4.3% to 6.5%. As bad as unemployment is among black men, is is even worse among black women. In 1976, 13% of black women household heads were unemployed.

The most visible and most tragically affected of the black unemployed are black teen-agers. According to the unemployment figures released in early September. over 40% of black teen-agers are unemployed This figure, however, embraces only those who are in the labor force. As unemployment among teenagers frequently takes the form of low levels of participation in the labor market, the real level of black teen-age unemployment could easily be higher than 60%. Thousands of black youth are growing up without that job experience vital for successful careers as adults. While there is a growing recognition of the problem of teen-age unemployment, there is less appreciation that employment problems during the teen-age years carry over into later years. Unemployment among young black adults is nearly as severe as that of black teen-agers.

The proposal for a subminimum wage for teen-agers would only lead to further demoralization and the reinforcement of antiwork attitudes. If we are serious about attacking the problem of black youth unemployment, decent jobs with a future should be our goal. This insight compelled the Congressional Black Caucus to oppose the youth subminimum wage. The subminimum wage concept, as well as opposition to a decent minimum wage, is advanced primarily by people who have an economic interest in maintaining a pool of low-wage workers.

Even after adjusting for differences in social background and education, there continues to be a wide income gap between black and white Americans. Overt discrimination, where employers refuse to hire blacks, has lessened, but pervasive forms of institutionalized discrimination remain.

Because it is deeply rooted, the economic inequality of black Americans cannot be easily erased by gimmicks or instant remedies. Although this does not mean we are powerless to reduce discrimination, it does mean that there must be a long and sustained drive to root out economic and social inequities.

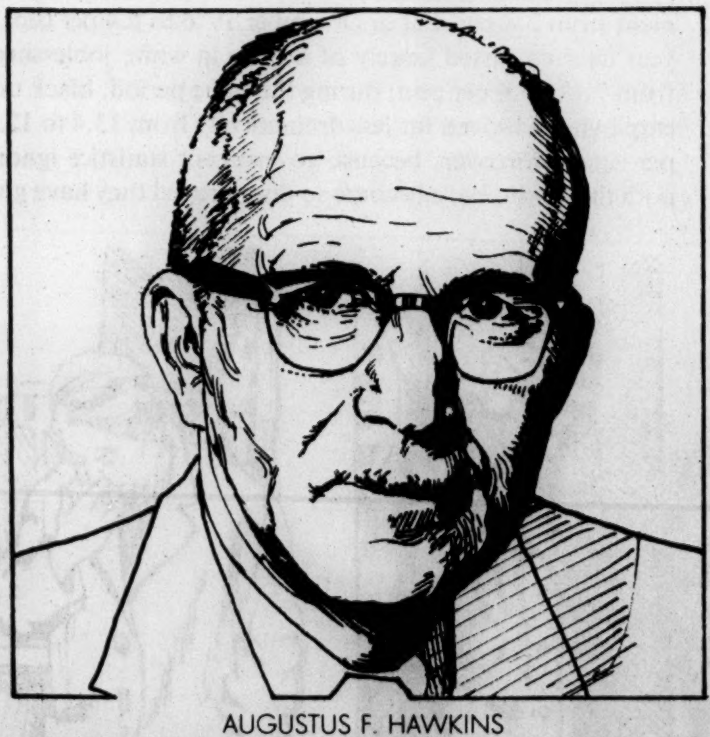
At a minimum, the Carter Administration needs to take new initiatives to meet its economic goals. But this will do little more than avert a more disastrous situation. The President should reevaluate his extremely modest goals for the economy and adopt a more farsighted and bolder approach. Several steps would be particularly encouraging. First, the Administration should fight for an acceptable version of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill. We need, in other words, a genuine national commitment to full employment. Second, the Administration should abandon its illusory notion that the way to stimulate the economy is to revive business confidence by making a balanced budget the overwhelming economy objective.

General economic and social policies are needed to create a favorable environment to reduce the economic inequality of black Americans, but specific, targeted programs are needed to resolve those problems which particularly affect the black community. Such programs as the Recruitment and Training Program and the Urban League's LEAP have achieved an impressive record for placing black youth in nontraditional occupations, primarily in the building trades, even during a period of high unemployment. But these and similar programs will serve *only* as Band-Aids so long as the economy is functioning well below the level at which it should be operating.

## Thinking Aloud

# UNDERESTIMATING HUMPHREY-HAWKINS

### BY BAYARD RUSTIN



AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

THE HUMPHREY-HAWKINS Full Employment and Balanced Growth Bill has been treated to remarkably diverse and conflicting interpretations. It has been lauded as the answer to eliminating unemployment, condemned as an inflationary boondoggle, even damned with faint praise. And its true import is being further obscured by the widespread belief that it is now a "watered-down" compromise, little more than a symbolic gesture.

The nearly complete opposition of businessmen and conservatives to the bill (as well as to the idea that full employment should be the overriding goal of national economic policy) is, of course, not surprising—although a strong case can be made that particularly for these interests resistance is shortsighted. The paradox is that while business hostility has not declined with the supposed weakening of the legislation, enthusiasm in the liberal community seems to be inversely related to the prospects for passage. Given the persistence of intolerable levels of unemployment, the consequent suffering in black, poor and urban communities, and the substantial merits of the bill, this attitude is puzzling. It could prove tremendously costly, too, not only by diminishing the chances of adoption, but also by undercutting the momentum for social justice that the bill promises to engender. In short, I believe an unwarranted and exaggerated skepticism about Humphrey-Hawkins could prove self-fulfilling.

One cause of much of the erosion of support may be the notion, widely promulgated in the press, that since the latest version of Humphrey-Hawkins is the product of give-and-take between the Carter Administration and the two chief sponsors—the late Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.) and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins (D.-Cal.)—the original objectives have been surrendered. In addition to faulty journalism, two aspects of the present political landscape would appear to help explain the waning warmth for Humphrey-Hawkins.

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**BAYARD RUSTIN**, *a frequent* **NEW LEADER** *contributor, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

First, disappointment with the Carter Administration has spilled over into disillusionment with the bill. Many liberals, blacks and trade unionists have never really felt at home with Jimmy Carter, and his initial year in office has not overcome their uneasiness. The fear is that the White House's backing of Humphrey-Hawkins is a *pro forma* offering, designed to placate labor and the black community and permit the continuation of an approach based on the misguided conviction that economic recovery depends on the restoration of business "confidence" and a balanced budget. This suspicion is not without justification—as was made clear by the President's decidedly middle-of-the-road economic report to the Congress, with its definition of full employment as 4.9 per cent unemployment. Ultimately, however, neither the Administration's motivations in endorsing the Humphrey-Hawkins bill nor finding fault with its current form can detract from the significance of Jimmy Carter's approval: It has placed the issue of unemployment squarely at the center of national discussion for years to come.

The second, more troublesome factor contributing to the diminishing ardor for Humphrey-Hawkins is a weakening of the liberal community's traditional concerns. With economic stagnation feeding political inertia, environmental protection and other quality-of-life issues have tended to supplant ending poverty and more equitable income distribution as the most important liberal priorities. As a result, the progressive commitment to economic growth as a prerequisite for equalizing and expanding the opportunities of the country's underprivileged has become uncertain and confused.

FUNDAMENTALLY, the case for Humphrey-Hawkins is the alternative it offers to the economics of contrived scarcity that has dominated post-World War II policy-making. In the 32 years following passage of the Employment Act of 1946, the United States has not come close to achieving, much less sustaining, full employment and production. During the '50s, many economists pointed to the frictional unemployment considered inevitable in a complex industrialized economy and advocated accepting a 3 per cent rate of joblessness as the equivalent of full employment. Under the New Economics of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, despite higher levels of activity, the goal was raised to 4 per cent. Unfortunately, even that has never been reached: Since 1960, this country has averaged 5.2 per cent joblessness, and the latest recovery has been exceedingly slow and incomplete. A sustained 5 per cent rate of real growth—itself a virtually unprecedented and highly doubtful feat—would not push unemployment below 5 per cent until about 1981, and not to 4 per cent until 1983.

Another imperative addressed by Humphrey-Hawkins is the need to halt the slide toward a dual economy. During Jimmy Carter's first year in office, unemployment among whites went down dramatically, but among blacks the improvement was marginal: The decline in overall unemployment from 7.8 per cent in December 1976 to 6.4 per cent a year later consisted largely of a drop in white joblessness from 7.1 to 5.6 per cent; during the same period, black unemployment moved far less dramatically from 13.4 to 12.5 per cent. Moreover, because government statistics ignore both those who have become so discouraged they have giv-

en up looking for work (30 per cent of whom are black), and part-time workers who need and want full-time positions but are unable to find them (20 per cent of whom are black), the true extent of black joblessness is greatly understated. In the case of black teenagers (and the situation is practically as bad among blacks in their 20s), a low level of previous participation in the labor market adds to the distortion; thus the official black teenage unemployment rate is 40 per cent, and the actual rate is closer to 60 per cent. That is an especially tragic statistic, for it means thousands of young blacks are growing up without the job experience that is vital for a successful adult working career—yet there is scant appreciation that employment problems while young carry over into later life.

High unemployment also is the biggest single factor frustrating the black struggle for equality. As economist Lester Thurow has noted, with each year of high unemployment "the structure of unemployment becomes more unequal, the distribution of skills becomes more unequal, and economic integration becomes more and more remote." But we cannot expect the economy to improve either in its own terms or in the resolution of pressing social problems without a basic change in the way we approach it.

Humphrey-Hawkins would help initiate the process. It would not by itself insure a healthy, productive and just economy, yet it would prompt significant steps in that direction. The bill counteracts the tendency to accept ever-rising levels of joblessness as full employment, for example, by declaring a national commitment "to translate into practical reality the right of all Americans who are able, willing, and seeking to work to full opportunity for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation." Its real innovation, however, is the establishment of concrete goals for full employment: It would instruct the President and the Congress to exert every available effort to reduce adult (20 years or over) unemployment to 3 per cent and total unemployment (16 years and over) to 4 per cent—a level of employment that has only sporadically been achieved in the United States.

The goals may seem unduly high. They would allow almost 4 million people to be out of work, a disproportionate percentage of them being blacks, other minorities and youths. It is important, though, to place the matter in perspective. Republican economists like Herbert Stein and Arthur Burns argue that 7 per cent unemployment should be considered the natural full-employment rate; Brookings Institution liberals accept 5 per cent. Compared to prevailing standards, therefore, Humphrey-Hawkins' goals are ambitious; and they are merely interim targets that are to be followed by efforts to reach full employment "as soon as possible."

The addition of a flexibility clause to Humphrey-Hawkins has contributed most to the impression of its having been drastically, if not fatally, weakened. This would allow the President to propose modifications of the employment goals in the third year and subsequently, but his recommendations would have to be approved by Congress. If the President had not used the last-resort jobs provision of the bill or taken other specified measures to stimulate employment, he would probably find it politically difficult to seek any modification in the prescribed timetables. The burden of proof is therefore placed on the President and the Congress should they want to justify elongating the attainment period.

HUMPHREY-HAWKINS has similarly been misinterpreted as permitting the perpetuation of existing policy, to be followed after two years—if the President deems it necessary—by a massive public works program. In actuality, it would mandate that in his annual economic report to Congress the President must address areas of national concern—health, energy, food policy, the environment, etc.—as ends in themselves and means of fighting unemployment. It is equally inaccurate to describe the last-resort job provisions as discretionary. The bill calls for their use after the first year if they are needed to meet the schedule for reducing unemployment; neglecting them would violate the clear intent of the law.

Some liberals have expressed concern that by incorporating anti-inflation objectives, Humphrey-Hawkins may permit employment to be held hostage to price-restraint efforts. It would surely be a bitter hoax if the major legislative commitment to full employment sanctioned the very trade-off notion that is largely responsible for our prolonged experience of high unemployment. In fact, the anti-inflation "objective" of "preventing a rise in the annual rate of consumer and other prices above such rates on the date of enactment" has been dropped in the compromise version. Instead, the bill states that mutually reinforcing programs shall be used to the "extent practicable" in choosing the means to achieve both unemployment reduction and reasonable price stability. The clear emphasis is on providing jobs.

A final reason for confusion about Humphrey-Hawkins is a misapprehension about the nature and purpose of the bill. It is not an emergency or temporary job-creation program. Rather it is an attempt to forge a coordinated government response to the fundamental problems of economic instability by fusing a framework for more effective policies with a statement of measurable goals. At the same time, Humphrey-Hawkins does contain a broad outline of appropriate programs: measures to insure sufficient demand and economic growth—such as tax cuts, public spending, and monetary policy—and to reduce structural unemployment—such as youth employment and manpower training programs.

The supporters of Humphrey-Hawkins have no illusions that it will solve all our problems. But we do believe that its enactment would so shift economic and social policy-making at the national level as to create an exciting new opportunity for movement toward social justice and real economic progress.

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Article by Bayard Rustin

For "Breakthrough", published by Recruitment and Training Program

The progress brought about by the civil rights movement during the 1960s has resulted in a profound transformation of the social and economic status of black Americans. The majority of blacks are no longer shunted aside from the economic mainstream, consigned to the status of economic underclass. Whereas in 1960 ~~most~~ over half of all blacks subsisted on poverty wages, today most have become part of the broad working class.

The significance of this progress is in its implications for the future of the Negro movement. If we have made some gains, but still have a long distance to travel, the question is where do we go from here? What do we want; how do we get it; and with whom do we ally ourselves?

The most significant change, I believe, is that symbolic breakthroughs and token concessions are no longer sufficient. We must measure change not in terms of "firsts," but ~~in~~ by whether blacks are participating in and exerting an influence on society's mass institutions. We must also consider whether these institutions respond to the impulse of racial change in a way that hastens our participation, or whether our participation is impeded.

Of ~~the~~ major institutions, the response of the labor movement has been the most thoroughgoing. Organized labor is, in fact, the most integrated institution in society.

We find, for instance, that a higher proportion of black workers are unionized than are white workers. In some industries, the difference is marked: among durable goods workers, for instance, nearly 47 per cent of all black workers ~~were~~ are in unions compared with 36 per cent of white workers.

Critics of the labor movement often point to the historic, and, it is asserted, continued discriminatory record of the building and construction trades unions. Here again, however, the record is one of impressive gains that have come in the face of a distinctly unfavorable economic and political climate.

The most recent statistics released by the Department of Labor show that the number of minority apprentices in the building trades has climbed from 6,603 in the beginning of 1969 to 16,534 in the beginning of 1973. During the same period, the percentage of minority participation in the apprenticeship programs has risen from 7.2 to 15.1. And of those who entered apprenticeship programs during 1972, over 20 per cent were black, Spanish-speaking, or members of other minority groups.

This represents a pattern of steady advancement during a period of instability in the building industry. At various times during the past four years the building industry found itself in a state of recession, making the job of integration that much more difficult. Another testimony to the commitment of the labor movement was the fact that this progress came during an Administration which has demonstrated little real interest in furthering the cause of racial equality.

~~There is a historical dimension to the integrated nature of labor. When the CIO was founded in the 1930s, and industrial unionism spread throughout the nation, both black and white workers were organized. For the first time in American history blacks and whites found themselves together in an organizational framework.~~

There is a historical dimension to the integrated nature of the labor movement. During the 1930s the spread of industrial unionism, and the insistence of ~~blacks and white~~ many labor leaders that blacks and whites be organized together, gave labor a biracial composition ~~which~~ to a degree no ~~all~~ other segment of American society enjoyed.

Since that time blacks have found that labor, because it is rooted in democratic principles, has offered ~~significant~~ ~~an~~ substantial opportunit~~y~~ies for the exercise of leadership skills. Moreover, the fact that blacks hold more leadership positions within labor than in ~~other~~ other institutions is made more meaningful since that leadership was conferred democratically, and ~~[illegible]~~ is not imposed by a quota system.

# THE ECONOMICS OF BLACK PROGRESS

by Bayard Rustin

A decade ago, speaking before the Fourth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, Martin Luther King offered a description of the economic condition of black Americans that remains equally true today. "Negroes are almost entirely a working people," he said. "There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers." It goes without saying that we would all like to see more black millionaires and employers, but Negroes are today, as they were in 1961 when Dr. King spoke, overwhelmingly a working people. Any proposed solution to the economic problems of blacks must take into account this basic reality.

Stated very simply, we need jobs. Good jobs that have security, pay high wages, and offer generous health benefits and pensions. We can talk from now until the second centennial of the Civil War about our heritage and identity--without doubt, important matters--but without jobs the large majority of our people whall remain poor and exploited.

In the area of employment we need a two-fold strategy. One objective must be to eliminate employment discrimination wherever it exists. We have witnessed significant changes in this field over the last decade. I speak primarily of the trade union movement with which I am most familiar. Over two and a half million blacks are now members of the unions, and their numbers are increasing rapidly with the organization of hospital workers, paraprofessionals, sanitation workers and farm workers. We should also not ignore the progress that has been made in the skilled trades. As a result of Outreach programs run by such organizations as the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, the Workers Defense League, and the Urban League in cooperation with the building trades unions and the Department of Labor, there has been a rapid increase in employment opportunities for blacks in the construction industry. We can expect steady progress in this area during the 1970's.

The second objective is not specifically racial, but its achievement will greatly improve the economic sitution of millions of blacks. I speak here of the need to participate in the struggle to achieve national economic goals. The most important goal is a full employment economy--not an economy that tolerates 4,5,6, or 7% unemployment, but one that employs everybody who can and wants to work. Needless to say, the government would have to be the employer of last resort which offers meaningful employment to all those who cannot find work in the private sector. We should also fight for legislation that will increase the minimum wage and strengthen the economic situation of workers generally, especially those who are at the bottom of the wage scale.

In the past the civil rights movement has focused its attention primarily on racial issues, as it had to. But we are coming increasingly to see that the problems of automation, Cybernation, and urban decay are rooted in the economic structure and institutions of the society and require solutions that are national in scope. If we set our sights on the right goals, and gear our actions to the right strategies, we can hope to provide dignified work for those who are now struggling against poverty and despair.

# THE CRISIS OF BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT

by Bayard Rustin
for the Los Angeles Times

The August unemployment statistics, released early this month, have reinforced the growing recognition that the neglect of blacks and the poor has once again become deeply entrenched in American society. The black employment situation is bad and getting worse. While unemployment, as officially measured, increased to above seven percent, the increase consisted almost entirely of black workers. Black joblessness jumped to 14.5 percent, matching the post-World War II high of September 1975. Black unemployment is currently running considerably higher than its historic ratio of twice white unemployment.

It is not the statistics by themselves which are important. They assume a political importance because the Carter administration is under intense political pressure from the black community. More importantly, the black leadership is united in the belief that it is the economy more than any other factor which is frustrating the black struggle for equality.

The official government unemployment statistics do not accurately measure the true extent of joblessness for white or black workers. Those statistics simply ignore workers who have become so discouraged that they have given up searching for work and part-time workers who need and want full-time jobs but are unable to find them. Blacks are particularly likely to be among the hidden unemployed. Almost thirty percent of discouraged workers are black, as are about one-fifth of the part-time workers who want full-time jobs. If discouraged workers and half of involuntary part-time workers are counted as unemployed, the real rate of unemployment is close to ten percent and well above twenty percent for black workers.

To make matters worse, unemployment is a greater hardship for black workers. Not only do black workers usually receive lower unemployment benefits because of their lower incomes, but they are also more likely to work in industries, such as domestic work, agriculture, and government, that are not covered by unemployment compensation.

The most important immediate cause of high black unemployment is the stagnant, recessionary-prone, and low growth economy of recent years. Tight labor markets are an essential requirement for the reduction of racial discrimination and black economic inequality. Eight years of vigorous economic growth, anti-discrimination efforts, and innovative social legislation during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations reduced black unemployment from a level above twelve percent at the beginning of the decade to a fraction above six percent by 1969. The planned unemployment of the Nixon and Ford administrations not only proved ineffective in reducing inflation, it returned black joblessness to double-digit levels.

Black workers have not recovered from the 1974 recession which created proportionately more unemployment among blacks than among whites. Black men, who make up less than six percent of the work force, accounted for over ten percent of the increase in unemployment between 1973 and 1975. The inadequate and uncertain recovery from the depths of the recession has done little to reduce black joblessness. In the summer of 1976, there were twenty percent fewer white adults unemployed than a year earlier, but only five percent fewer black adults were unemployed.

The recent rise in black unemployment comes, not surprisingly, at a time of growing concern about the health of the economy. We face a slowdown in the rate of economic growth, a probable rise in unemployment, and a significant possibility of another outright downturn. Even before the rise of black unemployment over the summer, the Carter administration's projections for their economic policies offered little hope for a rapid and significant reduction in black unemployment.

Unemployment cuts across every category in the black community. In every occupation, black unemployment is considerably greater than that of whites, although both the unemployment gap and the absolute level of unemployment are lower for the black occupational elite. For black men, twenty years old and over, the unemployment rate is 11.7 percent, while the rate for black women is 12.2 percent. There were over one million unemployed black adults slightly more than a year ago, a figure more than fifty percent higher than the number of jobless black adults in 1974. Between 1974 and 1976, the number of unemployed married black men jumped by over 75,000 to 225,000, raising the unemployment level from 4.3 percent to 6.5 percent. As bad as unemployment is among black men, it is even worse among black women. In 1976, thirteen percent of black women household heads were unemployed. This statistic is of particular social significance because one of every three black families is headed by a woman.

The most visible and most tragically affected of the black unemployed are black teenagers. According to the unemployment figures released in early September, over 40 percent of black teenagers are unemployed. However, this figure counts only those who are in the labor force. As unemployment among teenagers frequently takes the form of low levels of participation in the labor market, the real level of black teenage unemployment could easily be above sixty percent. Thousands of black youth are growing up without the job experience that is vital for successful careers as adults and when they do find work, they are stuck in dead-end, low-paying, and frequently temporary jobs. While there is a growing recognition of the problem of teenage unemployment, there is less appreciation that employment problems during the teenage years carry over into later years. Unemployment among young black adults is nearly as severe as that of black teenagers.

There is a tremendous desire among black youth for jobs. When summer jobs have been announced by city governments, employment offices have literally been swamped by youngsters looking for jobs. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the same complex of factors that cause high unemployment among teenagers seeking jobs also tend to create anti-work attitudes. When people have been cut out of the workforce and when they can see no realistic possibility of getting a job with decent pay and a decent future, demoralization results. The proposal for a subminimum wage for teenagers would only lead to further demoralization and the re-inforcement of anti-work attitudes. If we are serious about attacking the problem of black youth unemployment, decent jobs with a future should be our goal. This insight was one important reason that the Congressional Black Caucus opposed the youth subminimum wage. The subminimum wage concept, as well as opposition to a decent minimum wage, is advanced primarily by people who have an economic interest in maintaining a pool of low-wage workers.

The causes of the continuing economic gap between black and white Americans are complex and deeply rooted. The effects of past discrimination were not erased by the passage of civil rights legislation; black workers continue to be permanently disadvantaged by discrimination in education and training. Economic discrimination against blacks remains a pervasive reality after more than a decade of civil rights legislation and affirmative action efforts. Even after adjusting for differences in social background and education, there continues to be a wide income gap between black and white Americans. Overt discrimination, where employers refuse to hire blacks, has become less important, but more important and pervasive forms of insitutionalized discrimination remain very important. The law can deal effectively with overt discrimination, but it is incapable of eradicating institutionalized discrimination.

Institutionalized discrimination encompasses the wide variety of factors that effectively structure blacks out of the economic mainstream. Some important examples are discrimination in education and training, residential segregation, mass transportation and highway systems that make it difficult for inner city blacks to reach jobs in the suburbs, and restrictive zoning regulations that prevent blue collar workers from living near suburban jobs. The barriers of institutionalized discrimination harm black workers whether or not individual employers are prejudiced against blacks.

There are important structural developments in the American economy which, if not counteracted, will tend to perpetuate or exacerbate the economic inequality of black Americans. After having been forced off the land by the technological revolution in agriculture, blacks now find jobs leaving the cities. Industry is moving out of older cities and nto just to the suburbs, but also to entirely new regions and frequently out of the country entirely. A variety of factors, as we have seen, make it difficult for blacks to follow the jobs. The buoyant economy of the 1960s tended to mask the growing problem of urban job displacement. Even during those years, the job market for semi-skilled workers was shrinking in many cities, while the number of workers needing such jobs was rising. On the whole, Great Society programs saw the problem of urban unemployment primarily as one of skill development, neglecting the need for economic development and job creation. During the last recession, the problem of declining urban employment reached critical proportions. Over that period, employment grew by about two percent outside of poverty areas, but declined by slightly more than eleven percent in metropolitan poverty areas.

The black working class concentrated in unionized manufacturing has suffered severe setbacks in recent years. This sector suffered tremendous employment losses during the recession, and has never really fully recovered. Moreover, employment in manufacturing continues to face serious problems of low demand, competition from imports, environmental controls, and technological unemployment. Another important source of black jobs, government service, has suffered cutbacks during the recession, while high unemployment in the construction industry has restricted black entry into this nontraditional field.

The economic inequality of black Americans is deeply rooted in our social and economic structure and cannot be easily erased by gimmicks or instant remedies. This does not mean that we are powerless to reduce discrimination. It does mean that there must be a long and sustained drive to root out ecomomic and social inequities. But such a drive will not get off the ground unless attention and energies are focused on the crucial problems rather than those of symbolic or secondary importance. To think, for example, that black progress requires quotas would be to delude ourselves and make it more difficult to develop strategies and programs which can make significant contributions to overcoming economic inequality. Indeed, it is important that we recognize that a major problem is the widening income gap within the black community between those have college educations and those who do not. Thus, while affirmative action is an important and necessary component of a strategy to combat discrimination, it should be recognized that affirmative action does not create jobs and does not help those people who are the major victims of the economy and discrimination.

Now that the August unemployment figures have refocused attention upon the problem of black unemployment, the question is whether the concern expressed by President Carter and others will be more than a fleeting political reassurance. At a minimum, the administration needs to take new initiatives to meet its economic goals. But this will do little more than avert a more disastrous situation. I would hope that the President will re-evaluate his extremely modest goals for the economy and adopt a more farsighted and bold approach. Several steps would be particularly encouraging. The first would be for the administration to support and fight for an acceptable version of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill. By acceptable, I mean something far different than the usual equation of acceptable with watered-down. We need a genuine national commitment to full employment. Second, the administration should abandon the illusory notion that the way to stimulate the economy is to revive business confidence by making a balanced budget the overwhelming economic objective. Finally, the Carter administration should follow the advice of Labor Secretary Ray Marshall that additional economic stimulus is needed immediately.

General economic and social policies are needed to create a favorable environment in which it will be possible to reduce the economic inequality of black Americans, but specific, targeted programs are needed to resolve those problems which particularly affect the black community. Such programs as the Recruitment and Training Program and the Urban League's LEAP have an impressive record in placing black youth in nontraditional occupations, primarily in the building trades, even during a period of high unemployment. But these and similar programs, let me make clear, make only a small dent so long as the economy is functioning well below the level at which it should be operating.

As we move toward full employment, we will need to have an extensive public employment and training program. Any serious effort to deal with our troubled economy must recognize that blacks are not likely to be quickly absorbed into jobs in the private sector. These need not be dead-end, make-work jobs. They can provide essential services and contribute to the productivity of the entire economy by, among other things, helping workers to maintain existing or develop new skills. In addition, we need a national manpower policy that will help enable workers in labor surplus areas to relocate in labor short regions. As an essential element of manpower policy, the restructuring, rationalization, and stablization of employment in the low-wage sectors of the economy should be encouraged.

The importance of job training programs to black economic progress cannot be over emphasized. The jobs programs of the Great Society have received an undeserved bad rap. For the most part, those programs were not designed to reduce overall unemployment and, moreover, they rarely received enough funding to provide real training to more than a fraction of those who needed it. Despite these limitations, job training programs have already made significant contributions towards black upward mobility. They should be greatly expanded. We have to face the fact that unskilled and semiskilled jobs are disappearing and that we must train people for the jobs requiring more skills and knowledge that will be developing in the future. In the short run, this will be an expensive policy, but in the long run it will yield rich dividends in improved lives and a more productive and abundant economy.

The necessity for decisive action on the economy cannot be stressed too strongly. As long as national policies continue to tolerate high unemployment, there will be no significant reduction in black joblessness. The most important lesson that should be drawn from the recent and dramatic increases in black unemployment is that today, full employment is the essential requirement if our national commitment to racial equality is to be translated into reality. Whether we have the will and intelligence to act upon that lesson may well be the most crucial domestic issue confronting American society.

File

or
TILTON BRINKLEY

**SPECIAL: HERALD TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, 9/5**

In the year 1619, Captain John Smith said to a group of Virginia colonists, "If you don't work, you don't eat." In that society where muscle power was essential to the production of food, clothing and shelter, Smith's admonition to healthy men was morally, economically and socially sound.

However, in a society like ours, witnessing a technological revolution which increasingly excludes from the productive process men and women willing and able to work, it is economically, socially and morally irresponsible to attempt to apply a seventeenth century social philosophy. It is, on the other hand, equally irrevelant to rail against a profound revolution that finally makes possible a material abundance of which men in past ages have scarcely dared dream.

What we need to do is recognize that more and more people are excluded from work by automation and cybernation through no fault of their own. The technological revolution makes necessary a revolution in social thinking and economic behavior. Unless we are to create a society composed of creative workers at the top and economic and social outcasts at the bottom, we must see that the public sector of the economy takes on responsibilities that the private sector is either unwilling or unable to perform.

In this connection, one idea that is under serious discussion by social critics is the annual guaranteed income. I believe that this is one approach (among many) that is worthy of full exploration. Yet, such a partial solution must not be abstracted from more fundamental social and economic changes that are required.

For example, a guaranteed income alone can easily become a mere extension of relief, which is ultimately demoralizing to those who receive it, and blinding to those who give it; thus, the idea of a guaranteed income is progressive only when coupled with the redefinition of work. For creative work, that is, work on which society places some real value, is the basis for social dignity. If one receives

(more)

money but feels or is made to feel that he makes no contribution to the productive or service functions of the society, he will not have respect for himself nor will he be given any.

In facing up to the challenge of the technological revolution, we must seek to find two things:

(a) those areas of expanding work opportunities where cybernation and automation cannot become a major challenge;

(b) those areas where it is possible to use the unskilled and undereducated quickly (or with limited training) with real value to society.

I believe we find the answer to these criteria through expanding human services to humans. And such work can immediately be assigned to people displaced by machines. In fact, many of the so-called unskilled poor are (although poorly educated) often higly skilled in their ability to be of service to other human beings. For example, many poor and unemployed men and women have a special affection for children; that is, A SKILL HANDLING THEM. INcreatively. With little training, these people could be taken from relief rolls and placed in ghetto schools (on salaries commensurate with their needs) as assistants to teachers to take care of lunch rooms, toilets, recreation periods (and even help with problems of dicipline) thus, freeing thousands of over-worked, harrassed teachers to give full attention to reading, writing and arithmetic and the arts they are now reluctantly forced to neglect.

Furthermore, we ~~should~~ must come to see that the work, ~~that is~~, the social contributions of young people, is to study. An enlightened society would not resist redefining study as work and decide in society's interest not only to pay for books and tuition but to pay young people to go to school, thus lifting from the heads of poor families a responsibility they cannot bear.

To conclude, a guaranteed income is a reasonable approach in an abundant society. Yet it is no substitute for basic social and economic reform. There is even the danger that single-minded agitation for it can divert attention from the struggle for full employment, a goal which can be attained if our vast human and material resources are reallocated toward meeting our crying social needs. We need to remember that pverty is more than a problem of absolute income; it has to do with the maldistribution of political, social and economic power in our country. No purely technical solution which leaves this maldistribution intact is ultimately effective.

Bayard Rustin

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=BAYARD RUSTIN
=340 WEST 28 ST NYK =

Files

IN OUR SUNDAY EDITION OF SEPTEMBER 5TH THE NEWYORK HERALD =TRIBUNE WILL EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF A GUARANTEED MINIMUM =ANNUAL INCOME. WE WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO HEAR FROM YOU UP =TO 500 WORDS ON THIS QUESTION: =

="TAKING INTO ACCOUNT BOTH THE POLITICAL CLIMATE AND THE =STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY, WOULD IT BE FEASIBLE OR =DESIRABLE IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO PROVIDE BY LEGISLATION A =GUARANTEED MINIMUM ANNUAL INCOME FOR ALL HEADS OF

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION
## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1965 AUG 31 PM 3 58

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

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HOUSEHOLDS?" = = WE WOULD NEED TO HAVE THE COPY IN OUR OFFICE BY THURSDAY =EVENING. MAY WE HEAR FROM YOU? = SINCERELY. =

=RICHARD C WALD ,ASSOCIATE EDITOR =
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
230 WEST 41ST ST NEWYORK.

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SENDER WAITING!
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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

# AUTOMATION AND THE NEGRO

Bayard Rustin

The United States is the world's most affluent society, and yet two-fifths of this nation lives in poverty and deprivation. We pride ourselves on our youthful vitality. But in no other advanced western nation will you find three successive generations on relief, as you will find in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and many other cities. We pride ourselves on our heritage. We are egalitarian, we say; but it is interesting to note that we have made not a single stride toward the establishment of an equitable redistribution of wealth in the United States in 20 years.

Michael Harrington, who has written one of the most important books of our time, The Other America, says that the great liberal reforms of the Thirties and the Forties were in the exclusive interest of the American middle classes. We now stand on the threshold of abundance, yet we conclude that we are helpless as we are cursed. Each week automation and technological change displace tens of thousands of workers, separating them not only from their jobs, but separating them also from society.

Today the unskilled and semiskilled worker is the victim, but cybernation invades the strongholds of the

American middle class as once-proud whitecollar workers begin sinking into the alienated world of the American underclass. And as the new poor meets the old poor, we find out that automation is a curse. But it is not the only curse. The chief problem is not automation, but social injustice itself.

In the course of their descendance to deprivation, the newly dispossessed meet with the Negro. It is at this point that the full meaning of the civil rights revolution becomes clear. For the fact is, we are in a revolt--and the civil rights movement is but a part of that revolt. The civil rights revolution is not merely an assault upon segregation and discrimination. To see the Negro revolt in purely Negro terms is to misread the nature of our crisis. The Negro revolt is a harbinger of revolt by Americans against contradictions in our society.

One is misled precisely because the masses of white people who are profoundly affected by these contradictions are not in motion. It is the Negro who is in motion. And the success of the Negro movement will increasingly force the Negro movement into a major attack upon the assumptions and institutions of the American way of life.

Now let me explain: The Negro revolt began when Mrs. Rosa Parks in 1955 sat down in a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, and refused to move. Fifty thousand people rose up, went into the streets. This is where basic social change in this country gets its start. When women wanted the right to vote in this country, they went into the streets. They tied themselves to the White House gates; they entered the White House on visiting days and lay down. When the trade union movement in this country was trying to be born, men and women went into the streets. They paraded. They sat down in the great sit-down strikes. They took over factories. In fact, this nation was born in the streets. It was not in someone's living room that our Bostonian forefathers dumped tea. They went out into the streets and raised hell. They made visible the nature of their revolt.

The Negro revolt first of all dealt with the right to ride in a bus in one's home town of Montgomery, Alabama. No sooner had that great struggle burst upon us than the students in 1960 went into the streets about public accommodations again. They started to fight for the right to eat in their home town. This was followed by a third wave --the freedom rides which again urged the right to eat and to ride with dignity, not only in one's own home town, but across state lines.

Until Birmingham, the Negro revolt was exclusively about public accommodations. And although many people were hurt, and millions of dollars were spent, churches were bombed, that revolt was the easiest element to tackle. Because when tackling public accommodations, one is merely tackling fundamental prejudice and discrimination. In fact, our argument was that if the white man would only permit us to eat in the restaurants and go to the hotels, business as usual would be better. The white businessman would make more money, and would discover that white people would still patronize him. Instead of basically challenging the status quo, the Negroes were saying to them, "You can make more money if you accept us."

Then Dr. King came out with a package deal--an over-all approach--saying, we want the schools integrated, we want the slums destroyed, and we want jobs for the people on the streets. At that time, a very new element came into the total civil rights movement. No longer was the Negro merely fighting segregation and discrimination. He was also fighting against the nature of American society itself. For there is no way to put Negroes back to work unless all are put back to work. There is no way to have integrated schools unless we are prepared to revolutionize the school system. There is no way for Negroes to improve the slums, or to get out of the slums, unless there is a master plan for the destruction of slums.

In other words, having confronted these fundamental problems, the Negro finds he does not possess the social and political weight to take on society alone. He needs allies who can move with him. In addition, the Negro revolt has come at a time of technological revolution. Let us consider the impact of automation on the Negro, and what conclusions we can reach therefrom.

Automation is having a devastating effect on the Negro community. Economists may continue their debate as to whether our general economic ills are structural, or whether they arise from an insufficient consumer demand. As far as the Negro is concerned, there can be no debate. His unemployment, his poverty, are overwhelmingly structural. For example, studies by Oscar Ornati have shown that Negroes who receive $3,000 a year of income are almost completely insensitive to any fluctuations in the business cycle. The unskilled and semiskilled jobs, obliterated by automation, are precisely the jobs in which Negroes have been disproportionately concentrated.

The movement of Negroes into jobs in mining, manufacturing and construction during World War II and the following years was viewed as a great stride forward. Indeed, for many Negroes who had left the farms in the South this was progress. The fact was, however, that within the factories, Negroes remained at the bottom of the ladder. And today, at a time when our work force is becoming increasingly white collar, we find that Negroes are still being concentrated in blue collar jobs. Negroes make up a growing proportion of laborers and low paid, often under-employed service workers. True, more Negroes are also in white collar jobs today. But they are clerical jobs which are highly vulnerable to cybernatic obliteration.

The American economy is setting the Negro up for the devastation that is automation. It is as if he were designed for it. In fact, the devastation has of course begun. If you examine the occupational distribution of Negroes and then examine the unemployment rate that prevails in each of the occupational categories, you will come up with a conclusion which is well worth examining. If the color of every Negro skin was changed overnight, but his occupational distribution remained unchanged, the rate of unemployment among Negroes would remain substantially the same. This is an extraordinary example of the degree to which we have moved beyond the question of segregation and discrimination into an examination of the nature of our society.

As cybernation revolutionizes the structure of the labor force and places even higher premiums on education, the future of the Negro grows increasingly more bleak. Daniel Bell tells us that the youth who have failed to finish high school have already lost out in the coming society. There is no place for them. The dismal facts are that the average educational attainment of the Negro today is 8.2 years, and the high school dropout rate among young Negroes is 57%, as against something like 26% among whites.

Now if we project these correlations in the future, only one conclusion is possible. Precisely as our society is taking down the "White Only" sign, it is threatening the mass of Negroes and other minorities with the most profound form of segregation yet devised: Separation from the economic life of a country, separation from social utility--which spells despair, and in which dignity, self-respect and community are not likely to survive.

Is it any wonder that anger and frustration seethe in the ghetto, giving rise to extremism? There are more segregated schools now than in 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in schools. More Negroes are out of work now than in 1954. Housing conditions for Negroes in the ghetto are worse than in 1954.

The fundamental reason for the growth of Malcolm X-ism, of black nationalism, of despair, and of so-called unrealistic tactics is that a man cannot be pushed into the corner where there is nothing but desperation. He cannot be told _not_ to behave desperately. He _will_ behave desperately.

I would like to caution those of you who are second- or third-generation immigrants against the facile analogy with ethnic groups who overcame initial economic disadvantage by "the sweat of their brow." The technological revolution has trapped the Negro. His position is qualitatively different from that of predecessor groups in the United States who were not faced with today's problems. It is simply no longer possible for an unskilled person to start at the bottom in industry, and to work his way up, acquiring new skills along the way. Not only will the unskilled laborer never rise to a management level, he will be lucky if he is able to hold onto a job at all. This society will get nowhere until it recognizes once and for all that Horatio Alger is dead.

Because of automation we face the nightmare of rigid class stratification along color lines. I believe that the tendency towards this new color society is already evident in the fact that the relative economic progress of the Negro has leveled off since 1954. In fact, it is getting increasingly worse. (Ironically, 1954 was the year of the great Supreme Court decision.)

In discussing the impact of automation upon Negro unemployment and poverty, I am not denying the effect of segregation and discrimination. Rather I would say that racism, having put the Negro in his economic place, now is stepping aside to watch technology destroy even that place. I am saying that ~~the~~ racism's historical evolution within our economic institutions poses problems for the Negro which cannot be solved within the context of the civil rights movement alone. Our economic institutions must be changed if the Negro's demands are to be accommodated.

Hope lies in the fact that although only the Negro seems now to be in motion, other segments of society are also seriously challenged by the economic revolution. Even today, the trade unions are unable to keep employed those people now on their rolls. The labor movement will decline in the next decade if it does not mobilize mass action on behalf of full employment. It must take to the streets for jobs, as Negroes have taken to the streets for freedom. And Negroes will then go into the streets with them for jobs, as we have been in the streets in the past.

Sections of the middle class are similarly threatened.

Unexpectedly dispossessed, they ~~people--unemployed and underpaid--will~~ may turn to reactionary pseudo-solutions ~~particularly the white~~ unless the Negro ~~movement~~ and the labor movements in particular can provide a strong and dynamic leadership to the American revolution. I expect that such leadership will come forth precisely out of the confusion, the irrationality, and the experimentation of this transition period. I do not expect it to come forth naturally, but with a conscious effort based on a true analysis of the problem. The civil rights leadership has got to come up with a program and a strategy geared to long-term perspectives--not merely to the next project or the next march.

The leadership must not hesitate to speak out against groups and tactics which undermine that perspective. There is need for unity in the movement, but there is also need for something more important than unity. There is also the need for honest debate as to where the civil rights movement is going, and how it is to get there.

The same need prevails in the liberal and labor communities. While I have personally not hesitated to criticize the stall-ins and similar tactics born of frustration, I want to make it clear that I am nonetheless equally irritated by some white liberals who urge Negroes to "go all out" against such tactics. What right have they to do this--while these liberals are themselves not willing to go all out against the conservative forces? Specifically, I do not believe that ~~an~~ the attack on the stall-ins from--let us say--Congressional leaders, was particularly helpful. They would have done better to have devoted their all-out energies to the task of breaking the opposition in their own party to the Civil Rights bill and to the filibuster. The extremist tactics of the Negro spring from his isolation, and from the lack of allies. They will continue until something is done. We do need and we must have allies. The Negro does not possess the political and economic power to move alone; fundamental problems like automation and cybernation cannot be solved without some kind of political movement; and if a movement does not appear, we shall have nothing in the Negro movement but frustration, confused leadership and irritating tactics.

What we desperately need is a political movement which advances a comprehensive, nationwide program for social and economic reconstruction. It must transcend the Negro freedom movement but be unswervingly committed to it. It must agitate for its program at the grass roots level of our society; and it must be a polotical movement that consciously, systematically, directly and indirectly seeks political power, without which ~~for~~ no basic reform program can be implemented ~~without political power.~~

What do I mean by political power in this context? The civil rights movement can integrate thousands of lunch counters ~~without the help of a single white person~~ on its own. The freedom rides even did the government's job of enforcing the 1946 Supreme Court decision barring segregation in interstate travel. ~~could have succeeded with the help of a single white person, for they merely enforced the 1946 Irene~~ Morgan ~~decision in relation to interstate travel~~. But the Negro movement, even in concert with the labor movement, cannot secure full employment, end poverty, abolish slums, and achieved integrated quality education. Unless these fundamental needs of the Negro community are satisfied, I can assure you that the fires of discontent will spread and spread and spread.

If you want jobs for Negroes, it is not enough to climb a crane at the World's Fair, or to lie down in front of a construction site. Now don't misunderstand me. I shall do these things, and I shall encourage others to do them. But why? For the simple reason that we are saying symbolically and dramatically to the nation, "I am on top of this crane. I am lying in front of this truck. I may get crushed to death. Or I may fall off. And I may go to jail. I proclaim to you that a problem exists and there must be an answer to it."

But none of this is a political program. To get such action requires more than a majority consensus, as the incredible performance of Congress at this moment makes clear. The consensus must be translated into decisive political power, not frustrated by gerrymandering, seniority systems, filibusters and the like.

It should also be clear that I do not speak of political power in any Machiavellian sense. The political movement I am talking about is a popular democratic movement around whose program a majority consensus can be crystallized in programmatical day-to-day action. When I say a democratic movement I do not mean only that its program is for and in the interest of the people, but that the people should actively participate in it. We have no need for an elite that despairs of the capacity of the masses and thinks it can deliver freedom from above—either by virtue of special technical skills or through individual acts of extremist grandeur.

I have refrained from discussing the specific form that the proposed political movement would take. I am at this point interested in its content, because its content will determine its form. It seems to me clear that the movement will finally have to win effective control of one of the existing political ~~units~~ parties. Neither of the parties as presently constituted generally represents the interest of the Negro or the labor movement, or sincere liberals, or the poor. Most of these groups are of course committed to the Democratic Party. But there they are frustrated by the Dixiecrat wing, and their frustration is in fact the nation's frustration.

I do not believe that the forces of social progress will get very far until they break their traditional ties with the racist politician--not because Negroes are in trouble, but because that coalition would not give Kennedy --or Johnson--medical aid to the aged; it will not increase teachers' salaries; and it will not give federal money for education. In addition, that coalition is not only anti-Negro; it is also anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-labor.

The political movement I speak of must make it clear that the ancient political arrangements ~~arguments~~ violate the fundamental principles of responsible party government and engender political stalemates. They make a mockery of democratic choice. Indeed, in the midst of the civil rights revolution, it is an affront to social morality that this nation should be debating the fate of 22,000,000 black people, and that their fate is being decided by 100 white men in the Senate. This is the result of the present political coalition.

A movement that backs up this critique with mass action may give us a political realignment which liberates all from entrenched minority rule, black and white. What would the program of this movement be?

First, it must include recognition that the private sector of this economy is either incapable of meeting, or has lost the will to meet, the needs of the American people. Some 30,000,000 jobs must be found in the next decade to offset technological displacement and absorb 26,000,000 young people who will enter the labor market. Yet the private economy only generates a half-million jobs per year. (Even the tax cut will not improve matters.) The aim of private industry, after all, is to make profits, not to create jobs. The responsibility to secure full employment, therefore, rests squarely with the federal government. If the private sector cannot do it, then the public sector must.

Second, it must include the demand for a massive public works program financed and administered by the federal government. Only such a program can provide work for the unskilled and the semiskilled. This feature is of critical importance to the civil rights movement. It has been estimated that $1 billion in public works outlay would generate 150,000 new jobs 25% of which would be filled by unskilled and semiskilled workers. This percentage could be doubled by cutting the work week of such workers to 20 hours, and using the remaining 20 hours to upgrade their skills through training and educational programs. Thus, a properly administered and financed public works program could meet the immediate need for jobs and simultaneously provide the context for meeting the long-range need of improving the quality of the labor force. These two efforts, in my view, must be intertwined. There is no point in training workers in the absence of job opportunities. An effective public works program could cost between $30 billion and $50 billion. We do not shrink in horror from these figures when they appear in the defense budget. But to propose a $50 billion program to satisfy our unmet social needs seems to many people Utopian. Why? Precisely because we live in a society where we place property values and so-called defense beyond human rights and beyond the interest of the poor. The fact is that we are short 1,000,000 hospital beds and 2500 rehabilitation centers. Current government housing programs, when completed, will provide shelter for only one out of 80 slum dwellers. But I do not have to enumerate the nation's crying social needs before this audience. I need only say that we would have to meet these needs even if there were no unemployment and that ~~must meet these needs~~, ~~and~~ to meet them will require tens of billions of dollars. This implies a reallocation of national resources, and is therefore a political decision and cannot finally be decided merely in terms of direct action in the streets.

I suggest that a public works program could provide the context for solving the school crisis which bedevils ~~all~~ the central cities. It has become clear that genuine integration and quality education cannot be achieved apart from massive urban renewal. Let us recognize that education will be the primary human activity of the future society. Let us accordingly make our schools the center of our communities. Let us literally build our communities around educational and ~~centers,~~ cultural centers, ~~and educational parks.~~ I would therefore propose that the first public works project be the construction of vast educational parts in ghettos, that these parks be surrounded by mixed-income public and co-operative housing; and that the government subsidize low-income families in middle- and upper-income housing. Then we need no longer talk about bussing.

Without economic integration, racial integration cannot be achieved in housing. Let the unemployed Negroes and Puerto Ricans work at tearing down the slums and building modern communities of the future. Let them do it at decent pay, and let them do it while being trained for work. While laying the physical foundation for satisfying our social needs, public works projects open new jobs in the human care of human beings.

I need hardly add that all of these programs imply a level of social and economic planning which our society has so far considered a plague. Private corporations which plan extensively have not been so squeamish. The purpose of their planning is to maximize profits. The planning for which I am calling is for jobs, for dignity and for social justice.

The alternative to this bold approach at social reconstruction is continued frustration and violence in the Negro community inevitably--but not only in the Negro community. In their degradation, whites and blacks may turn upon each other, to win the few opportunities left. The result would be destruction of our civil liberties and, ultimately, of our political democracy. There is the danger of totalitarianism in not doing what we should do.

I should like to say this makes the alliance a group which must maintain an allegiance to non-violence, not because the Negro has any moral responsibility to remain non-violent, but because to act otherwise is to make it certain that the American society, for black and white, will move in a reactionary direction. Violence would suppress any possibility of creative conflict, and would call for the use of police troops and the United States Army to maintain the status quo.

You will say to me: "What about the police and the federal troops who were sent into the school situation in Little Rock and in Oxford, Mississippi?" I need only answer that the troops in Mississippi did not go in there to defend Negroes, or to extend their rights, or to get Meredith into school. The troops went in because the United States government will not permit a state to revolt. That is a very different thing from using a predominant police for maintenance of the status quo.

The emergence of massive violence would destroy not the worst but the best of American institutions. The Negro people do not make a childish moral argument about the nature of violence in social change. We make a profound analysis as to whether that violence would move our society in a creative direction, not merely for Negroes, but for all of our society.

There will be, my friends, violence in New York this summer unless the parties deeply concerned for controlling violence move. There will be violence unless the Mayor of New York City and Governor of New York State call the contending parties on the school integration struggle into continuous negotiations until they come up with a plan for integrating to the maximum.

When there was a newspaper strike, the Mayor said that it was so dangerous to the people of New York that he would call both sides and tell them to sit down until they came up with an agreement. It is interesting that President Johnson said to the people in the rail strike, "Come to the White House. Sit down, stay in continuous session, until something happens. It's a danger to the state that you should not agree." It is interesting that wherever white peoples' interests are concerned the state takes a very high and mighty view of how there is danger to the community.

Let me conclude, my friends, by saying that if we are not prepared for a great revolution to toil in--the American Revolution--that I am fairly convinced that the civil rights revolution may be sidetracked. And I would like to add this: While the Negro revolt has helped the Negro with a sense of dignity and pride, it has brought concrete and overwhelming social and political contributions to white people as well. Let me give you a few examples.

Following World War II and the Korean War, the situation on American campuses was one of political death. Nobody dared to talk about political problems lest he be called a Communist. But when in 1960 the Negro students in North Carolina began the sit-ins, it was their movement that swept McCarthyism off the campus, freeing many white students again to state their beliefs. That was a contribution made by black men to the nation.

Pope John called for an ecumenical movement. But we blacks in this nation have already created in America the strongest ecumenical movement in the world. Catholics, Protestants and Jews have come together because our movement has forced them.

Everybody is now talking about the need for quality education, but only because Negroes began a move for integrated education.

Everybody is now talking about the war on poverty. Michael Harrington wrote a book which stirred this country. Where did Michael Harrington get his experience? Working in the civil rights movement. Thus the Negro movement forces the nation to look at its poor without regard to color or race or creed.

And finally, my friends, it is the Negroes who are being shot like Medgar Evers in Mississippi, beaten up like Robert Moses in Mississippi. Negro churches are being bombed in Mississippi. The struggle is not merely for the

Negro right to vote, but the Negro right to vote will relieve this nation of the shame of a one-party totalitarian system in the South.

This is the nature of man's humanity--if I do that which is right in the right spirit for myself, I automatically do greater good for others. And therefore, my friends, the great choice before this nation is this: Shall we have democracy, and a socialization of it to meet the new trends, or shall we not? Will we move, or will we leave the Negro in such isolation that we invite violence and the disintegration of this society?

# 'Program of Economic Hope...

### By BAYARD RUSTIN

Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

**WE ARE FACING IN THIS NATION A CRISIS** such as we have not experienced since the Civil War. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders told part of the story, but not all. It said that the conflicts in this nation are such that we could divide it into two nations, one black and one white. And that is a grievous situation.

Since the time of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, all progress in this nation depended on whether the trade union movement, the minority groups, the Catholics, the Protestants, the Jews, the students, and the intellectuals, could in fact form, over and above a party, a political movement dedicated to economic and social change. Whether this nation will go forth with democracy or will be split, depends on whether that coalition can now exist.

That coalition is under great strain. And there are so many aspects of that strain that I would like to deal with three. One is Negro frustration, one is white fear and backlash and the third is liberal confusion.

* * *

**LET ME BEGIN WITH LIBERAL CONFUSION.** We can no longer depend upon the liberal community in which some say the trade union movement is the most reactionary force. They pick up the limited degrees of discrimination which exist in some trade unions and blow it up to denounce the entire trade union movement.

In fact ,the most important single contribution to the Negro people, from which all other contributions have sprung, has come from the trade union movement which has lifted almost two million Negroes out of the economic under-class into the working class.

The liberals are also confused in attempting to create a single-issue election: peace in Vietnam. We are all for peace in Vietnam; many of you may have children there. But we must not permit this election to be an election around one single issue as it was in 1952.

In 1952, Ike made a single-issue election. He said nothing about labor's rights, nothing about the poor, nothing about Puerto Ricans, the unemployed, nothing about people in ghettos. He said he would go to Korea and bring back peace. And oh, what a plurality he got! And because we had not made him face up to other issues, he sat and did nothing for labor, or anything else.

* * *

**I DO NOT WANT TO STAND BEFORE YOU DIS**cussing the frustrations in the Negro community, and what it can lead to in an election year. It is understandable that people who now face an unemployment rate twice as high as in 1954, whose ghettos are bigger, with more rats and roaches in them—it is understandable that these things lead to frustration and to tactics which can drive us farther apart.

There are many young Negroes today who have taken all the abuse of the Ku Klux Klan that they are going to take. The Ku Klux Klan used to say we were niggers; now some of these Negroes want to call these people honkies, which means white nigger. The Ku Klux Klan used to say we don't want you black people teaching our white children; now some of these Negroes are saying we don't want you white people teaching our black children.

* * *

**NOW, IN THIS ELECTION, WE'RE GOING TO** have to watch these things. We're going to have to fight vigorously against those young Negroes who say, "All the candidates are white, and therefore, what difference does it make?" We're going to have to fight against these youngsters intimidating intelligent people from speaking out honestly on issues.

These elements have got to be fought just as much as we fight the confusion and backlash in the white communities. There are in the unions many people who are afraid. They are afraid of crime in the streets, which to them means Negroes. Frankly, I don't know what they've got to be afraid of because 98 per cent of all crime by Negroes in this country is directed towards Negroes, tragic as that may be.

Bayard Rustin made honorary delegate.

* * *

**WHAT THEY ARE REALLY AFRAID OF IS THAT** in a society where there are not jobs for everybody, that the Negro may get a job before they do. In a society where there is not housing for everybody, a Negro may get a house before they do. Where the educational system is not up to par, they are afraid that if Negroes come in, they will break down standards.

What I am trying to say now is that the responsibility of the trade union movement is to insist that there be injected into this election so clear an economic and social program that it will simultaneously deal with white fear, Negro frustration and backlash.

* * *

**I WOULD LIKE TO OUTLINE THAT PROGRAM.** There must be a $2 minimum wage injected into this campaign!

I believe that there are aged, young, mothers with too many children, who ought not in fact to work, but who ought not be left to starve, and therefore, I am for guaranteed income for those who are too old, too young or too crippled to work.

I am for billions going into education, but I also know that the rich go to school, and the poor don't. And the only way to reverse that is not to wait until that family has become rich, but to pay for their tuition and their books and give them a salary to go to school.

I am for employers in the public sector hiring all the young Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and Negroes that they can. The government must become for the working proletariat, the outcast, hardcore poor, the employer of first and last resort if the business community will not do it.

* * *

**MANY THINGS ARE HAPPENING WHICH ARE** frightening. There is rioting, which I am against and have fought against and walked the streets to try to stop. There is verbal abuse in the Negro community on the part of a limited few and I beg trade unionists to see the political reality and not permit themselves to get confused. No matter how many phonies appear in the Negro community, 98 percent of the Negro people stand firm for the maintenance of an alliance for political progress and reject these phonies.

# ENVIRONMENTALISM and NO-GROWTH POLICIES

NYT - 7/24/75

# No Growth or No Waste?

A column that recently appeared in the pages of this newspaper as a paid advertisement deserves attention both for the importance of the subject and the prestige of its author, Bayard Rustin. Unfortunately, it deserves rather less admiration.

Dr. Rustin, who is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a social analyst of note, inveighs in the column against "certain liberals" who are opposed to economic growth; who fail to see that a no-growth economy that may protect the environment "will most certainly result in untold misery for thousands of ordinary people," many of them black and poor. What he himself fails to see—or at least to note—is that most environmentalists do not argue for no growth; what they want is no waste—especially an end to a waste of energy that is now so great that its elimination could by itself close the country's fuel gap by 1985.

They want, further, an environmental program calling for a change in national priorities which, far from spelling "misery for thousands," would provide jobs for hundreds of thousands. Dr. Russell W. Peterson, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, recently estimated the costs of effective environmental protection for the next decade at $195-*billion*—to be spent on machinery and equipment, materials and metals, wages to labor, and industrial plants.

The money pumped into these activities obviously would not stop with environmental improvements. It would go into the general economy via the pockets of those who produced these goods and services. An investment of such magnitude, making jobs and raising the general living standard, would be an enormous impetus toward economic recovery, to the advantage of the poor about whom Dr. Rustin is rightly and genuinely concerned.

The best of such an approach is that the upsurge would not come at the expense of a livable world—as it would from a program, say, of building more needless highways and dams, more gadgetry with built-in obsolescence and more cars of the sort that burn energy far beyond what is really required to transport their purchasers. To slow the growth of energy-wasting products is neither to slow the economy itself nor to freeze the disparity between rich and poor. Quite the reverse.

These are the concerns of environmentalists—as they are, no doubt, of Dr. Rustin. It is regrettable that he did not address himself to them instead of to strawmen—those "élitist" enemies of economic growth "no matter how liberal or radical they pretend to be." There is more to worry about from those who would waste our declining resources—energy included—to the point where the country is forced to an economy of scarcity. Such an economy, by the very costs it would impose, would truly favor the "élite."

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1975*

# *Letters to the Editor*

## Environmentalists vs. Economic Justice

To the Editor:

The Times charges (in its July 24 editorial, "No Growth or No Waste?") that I have created a straw man in criticizing some "liberals" who would sacrifice economic growth on the altar of environmentalism. In The Times' view, the environmentalists have drawn a sharp distinction between growth (which they support) and waste (which they oppose).

It is an elegant but false distinction, since nobody but a straw man would be for waste. The real issue is whether the environmental lobby has carefully assessed the economic consequences of the legislation it has backed, and whether leading environmentalists have shown a careless, even reckless, attitude toward the whole problem of economic growth.

Many in the environmental lobby, in a hysterical effort to reverse the effects of the industrial revolution in a few years, have supported sweeping and uninformed legislation which has had unnecessarily harmful economic consequences. The Clean Air Act is but one example. It has resulted in the closing down of hundreds of plants, from drop forges to specialty organic chemical plants. The environmental damage of the plants forced to close had been minimal and could have been easily corrected. The economic damage of the legislation has been severe.

I did not create a straw man in criticizing élitist enemies of growth. Anti-growth economists, right and left, like Profs. Edward E. Mishan and John Kenneth Galbraith are among those most respected by many environmentalists. Mishan has advocated towns where only horses and horse-drawn vehicles would be admitted. Further, he has proposed a ban on all international air travel. I did not create Mishan, and, given the respect he enjoys in many quarters, he can scarcely be considered a straw man. Beyond this, the speeches and fund appeals of Democratic Presidential hopeful Morris Udall are a good example of the distorted priorities I had in mind.

The poor black in the ghetto or the unemployed white worker would not find very much with which to identify in Udall's semi-revivalist call that we must no longer "overindulge ourselves" or seek "to satisfy unlimited greed and desire for luxury." They would agree that "we must change our way of life," but they would take this to mean rather more luxury than they have been accustomed to in the past. The good and sweeping intentions of many environmentalists are now an obstacle blocking those less-fortunate Americans who desire economic justice. BAYARD RUSTIN

Pres., A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York, Aug. 1, 1975

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 20, 1975

# Where We Stand

A Weekly Column of Comment on Public Education

by Albert Shanker President, United Federation of Teachers

**Hear Albert Shanker at 12:00 noon today on "Newsmakers", WCBS/TV, Channel 2.**

*[Mr. Shanker's guest columnist today, a nationally-known leader in the civil rights movement, is President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.]*

## Those "Liberal" Enemies of Growth

By Bayard Rustin

It has become commonplace for certain liberals to dismiss the concept of economic growth as a regressive, even destructive force in society. The affluence generated by an expanding economy, we are told, has led to the despoilment of the environment, brought deprivation to hundreds of millions in underdeveloped nations, and in general made America and the rest of the world an unpleasant place to live.

One must be charitable when discussing growth's critics. For they are, by and large, individuals who support in the abstract the objectives of social progress and racial equality.

But somehow they have missed the fundamental—and obvious—contradiction in the notion that the condition of those at the bottom can be raised when society itself is standing still. No doubt they have failed to consider the implications of their creed: that while a no-growth economy may protect the fields and streams (which in itself is a dubious claim) it will most certainly result in untold misery for thousands of ordinary people, many of whom are the black poor of America and the poverty-stricken masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Those who doubt that this is so need only examine the most recent unemployment statistics published by the federal government. In a year of economic stagnation — with growth significantly curtailed—unemployment among blacks is at its worst level since before the civil rights era. For the future, it is quite likely that the continuation of economic retrenchment over the next several decades would triple or quadruple the unemployment lines, with the most shattering effect on minorities.

The goals of growth's critics are commendable. But the elimination of air and water pollution and the safeguarding of the wilderness can and is being accomplished through stronger government regulation.

As for the problems of the underdeveloped world, they will not be resolved by the weakening of the American economy. On the contrary, realization of a no-growth economy would exacerbate the suffering of the peoples of India, the sub-Saharan countries, and other areas in desperate need. The fact is that America is not going to play a more humanitarian role in the world by diminishing its capacity; it can be much more convincingly argued that America's productive capacity should be increased, while government policy is transformed so that it will assist and encourage the development of the poorest nations.

A few years ago the term "elitist" was often attached to those liberals who had seemingly lost touch with the values and aspirations of working people. Clearly growth's critics are guilty of defining social problems from an elitist point of view. As intellectuals and middle class professionals, they have as yet to feel the consequences of recession, and no doubt believe themselves immune to the brutalization of an inequitable economic structure.

But the attack on growth is far more than just elitist: it is conservative, even reactionary to its very heart, and should be recognized as such. Within the context of a rigid, stagnant economy, social equality could only be achieved by an across-the-board *lowering* of living standards; what is much more likely is that class divisions would harden, with the poor and working people locked forever in their unequal states..

It will be said, of course, that society can be remade by "reordering priorities," taking money from defense spending and allocating it to human needs.

We heard this argument before, in 1965 to be precise, when A. Philip Randolph proposed the Freedom Budget for All Americans—a ten year program of massive social and economic change. At that time a number of liberals refused to endorse the Freedom Budget because, they said, all that was needed to solve racial inequality was the end of the Vietnam War.

The war drew to an end, and no "peace dividend" ever materialized. It never materialized because it never existed, except as a diversion from much more complex and difficult challenges.

Those who argue today that society can advance without economic growth are the same people who preached the doctrine of the peace dividend ten years ago. And they are just as wrong now as they were then. If America is to take up anew the challenge posed by the civil rights movement, it must be prepared to address the basic inequities that are woven into the fabric of our economic system. The goal, however, is not to cripple our economy, but rather to transform it along humanitarian lines. In this task we will be struggling against those with a vested interest in the status quo—the rich and privileged. And, should they persist, we shall also find ourselves struggling against the enemies of economic growth—no matter how liberal or radical they pretend to be.

# ECONOMIC GROWTH: A PRESCRIPTION FOR BLACK PROGRESS

LAST WEEK WE COMMEMORATED THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DEATH. AS EXPECTED, THE OCCASION EVOKED A GREAT DEAL OF SOUL-SEARCHING, AND A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONING OF THE STATUS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TODAY. ALTHOUGH THE APPRAISALS RANGED FROM CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC TO DISMALLY PESSIMISTIC (EVEN DEFEATIST) THERE SEEMED TO BE AT LEAST ONE AREA OF ALMOST UNIVERSAL AGREEMENT. EVERYONE, FROM THE MOST MILITANT SEPARATIST TO THE MOST CONSERVATIVE BLACK BUSINESSMAN AGREED THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF BLACK AMERICA ARE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

SUCH AN ANALYSIS IS HARDLY NEW OR ORIGINAL. PEOPLE LIKE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, BAYARD RUSTIN, AND BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS HAVE ARGUED FOR YEARS THAT CIVIL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL RIGHTS MUST BE SUPPORTED AND REINFORCED BY THE ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE. INDEED, BY WINNING THE RIGHT TO VOTE, BLACKS RECEIVED A NEW AND INDISPENSABLE WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY AND EQUALITY.

IT WAS NO MERE COINCIDENCE THAT DR. KING'S LAST DAYS WERE SPENT ORGANIZING SUPPORT FOR HUNDREDS OF STRIKING SANITATION WORKERS IN MEMPHIS. HE, TOO, WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO RECOGNIZE THAT A CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT WITHOUT AN ECONOMIC AGENDA WOULD BE DOOMED TO CERTAIN FAILURE.

TODAY, THE MOST PRESSING AND DIFFICULT CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES ARE NOT ISSUES INVOLVING SEGREGATED LUNCH COUNTERS OR JIM CROW BEACHES AND HOTELS. INSTEAD, WE ARE CONFRONTED BY THE FAR MORE COMPLEX AND POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ISSUES WHICH INVOLVE ECONOMICS. BLACK ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND ALL ALONG THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM HAVE SHOWN AN INCREASING INTEREST IN ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC ISSUES LIKE INTERNATIONAL

TRADE, TAX STRUCTURES, INFLATION CONTROL, REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND ENERGY POLICY. INEVITABLY, BLACK AMERICANS HAVE ALSO JOINED THE IMPORTANT DEBATE ON ECONOMIC GROWTH, THE SUBJECT OF OUR DISCUSSION TODAY.

THE ECONOMIC GROWTH ISSUE HAS BEEN DEBATED FOR DECADES, HOWEVER, IN RECENT YEARS THE TONE OF THE DEBATE HAS CHANGED CONSIDERABLY. AS LATE AS 1969, LEADING DEMOCRATIC ECONOMISTS LIKE ARTHUR OKUN PROUDLY COMPLIMENTED THEMSELVES ON WHAT OKUN CALLED "105 MONTHS OF UNPARALLELED, UNPRECEDENTED, AND UNINTERRUPTED ECONOMIC EXPANSION." SUCH SELF-CONGRATULATION, ALTHOUGH CERTAINLY JUSTIFIED, WAS SHORT-LIVED.

BY THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT DECADE, AMERICANS BEGAN HEARING -- AND IN MANY CASES LISTENING TO -- OTHER VOICES, LESS JOYFUL AND MUCH LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN ECONOMISTS LIKE ARTHUR OKUN, WALTER HELLER, PAUL SAMUELSON AND THE OTHER ACADEMIC STARS OF THE NEW FRONTIER AND GREAT SOCIETY.

IN 1973, A BRITISH ECONOMIST NAMED E.F. SCHUMACHER PUBLISHED A WIDELY-DISCUSSED BOOK WHICH SOON BECAME THE BIBLE OF THE "NO GROWTH" MOVEMENT. HE CALLED THE BOOK SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL. THAT CLEVER TITLE HAS, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, BECOME THE BATTLE CRY OF THE ANTI-GROWTH MOVEMENT.

WHILE SCHUMACHER AND HIS ALLIES IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL AND NEO-AGRARIAN MOVEMENTS SET OUT TO WIN CONVERTS TO "NON-MATERIALISTIC" LIFESTYLES AND WHAT THEY CALLED "NEW HUMAN VALUES," CONSERVATIVE ECONOMISTS -- MANY OF THEM ASSOCIATED WITH THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS OF NIXON AND FORD -- WERE ALSO PRESCRIBING THE "NO GROWTH" PILL AS AN ANTIDOTE TO THE FEVERISH INFLATION WHICH TORMENTED THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

If one listened to our more extreme environmentalist friends, we might believe that the American economy has grown by leaps and bounds, gorging itself on raw materials and energy resources before other nations could even consume a few crumbs. Our conservative friends, on the other hand, warned us that post-war growth rates had been so high that the economy simply overheated and needed a "cooling off period." In other words, they advocated a few good, old-fashioned recessions.

Proponents of "low growth" and "no growth" policies -- on both the left and right -- have eagerly swallowed the mistaken notion that all Americans greedily partake in what John Kenneth Galbraith called the "affluent society." Both the conservatives and reformers now seek to liberate us from what they see as a "corrupting materialism" which threatens to undermine basic human values and deplete the earth's resources.

A look at economic data, however, reveals some interesting facts and trends which conflict with the dogmatic notions of the anti-growth forces.

American growth rates -- despite impressions created by some environmentalists and conservatives -- have been exceedingly modest. In fact, if the truth be known, the rates have been disappointingly low.

Compared to other major industrialized countries (specifically Japan, West Germany, Italy, France, Great Britian, and Canada) AMERICA'S RECORD OF GROWT has been quite poor. During the period 1955 to 1970, the American Gross National Product (in real terms) had an average yearly growth rate of only 3.4%. By contrast, Japan's GNP grew nearly three times as fast, and Germany and Italy had growth rates double that of the United States. Only

Great Britain, which has a long tradition of slow economic expansion, had a lower growth than the United States.

To make matters worse -- or better in the eyes of some -- America's long-term growth rate seems to be declining at a dangerous rate. During the period 1870-1964, the average yearly increase in the GNP was 3.7%. During the period 1955 to 1970, the increase dropped to 3.4%. And during the Nixon-Ford years, the growth rate plummeted to 2.6%, and that average includes the exceptionally good performance in 1976 when the GNP grew by 6.1%.

This disturbingly low level of economic growth has had devastating effects on the black community. During the sustained economic expansion of the 1960's, blacks made significant advances in the area of income parity with white families. But during the last eight years, the trend has been gradually reversed. After steady gains, the median income of black families fell back to 59.5% of the white family's median income. In 1969, the figure was 61%. And the employment situation in the black community is well known. Although the present unemployment rate stands at 6.2% (a fairly good improvement over the 7% inherited by President Carter) many groups of black workers, such as teenagers and young adults entering the labor market, have unemployment rates above 20 and 30 per cent. Even worse, the economic failures of the 1970's have led many black workers to abandon all hope of ever "making it" in the United States. The labor force participation rate for black men of prime working age is now only 88.5%. In 1958, the rate was 96.0%. This statistic means that during the last twenty years, an ever increasing number of black workers have simply given up in the struggle for economic advancement.

The links between overall economic growth and continued black economic progress are indisputable. A recent report issued by the National Urban League warned: "Any further reduction in the rate of economic expansion will be harmful to the economy at large, and will greatly worsen the prospects for improving the relative economic position of minorities."

Low economic growth rates have also contributed to growing bitterness and disenchantment in the area of affirmative action programs. There is, I believe, a direct relationship between the economic setbacks of the last eight years and the growing unpopularity of affirmative action programs among Americans. It seems painfully obvious that an affirmative action program cannot achieve its objectives peacefully and democratically if it must function within the context of high unemployment and keen competition for jobs, even jobs which a few years ago would have been shunned by many status-conscious workers. It is simply impossible to elevate significant numbers of blacks or women into better-paying, higher-skilled and more satisfying jobs if those jobs don't exist, or if those jobs are rapidly disappearing.

Two fields in particular illustrate the almost certain failure of affirmative action programs in a stagnant or contracting economy. For years, the civil rights movement has fought vigorously for full integration in the construction and education fields. But the number of good-paying and full-time jobs in construction and universities has been shrinking with each passing year. The movement toward full racial integration in these two fields has been halted not by racism and discriminatory hiring practices, but by the lack of sufficient growth in those two industries. When there are fewer jobs for everyone, there

WILL BE MORE RESISTANCE TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

THIS SAME SENSE OF FRUSTRATION HAS INFECTED OUR INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN INDUSTRIES WHICH EMPLOY LARGE NUMBERS OF BLACK WORKERS REPRESENTED BY TRADE UNIONS. DYING INDUSTRIES SUCH AS CLOTHING, TEXTILES, AND NOW EVEN STEEL PRODUCTION, HAVE ADOPTED, IN MANY CASES, HARD-LINE ANTI-LABOR STANDS IN DEALING WITH THEIR EMPLOYEES. EVEN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, AT ALL LEVELS, HAS CLAMPED DOWN TIGHTLY ON TRADE UNIONS. ONE NEED ONLY LOOK AT THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK WHERE THE TRANSPORT WORKERS, TEACHERS AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS HAVE BEEN CONFRONTED BY LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC MAYOR WITH UNPRECEDENTED DEMANDS FOR SO-CALLED GIVEBACKS. IN SHORT, PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYERS ARE DEMANDING A ROLL-BACK IN THE LIVING STANDARDS OF ORGANIZED PUBLIC EMPLOYEES, MANY OF THEM BLACKS, ~~WHO~~ WHO, THROUGH THE EXPANSION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, OBTAINED THEIR FIRST WELL-PAYING AND RELATIVELY SECURE JOBS.

"NO GROWTH" POLICIES ALSO SERIOUSLY IMPEDE THE MOVEMENT TOWARD GENERAL SOCIAL EQUALITY. SOME ADVOCATES OF ZERO ECONOMIC GROWTH POPULARIZED THE SLOGAN "LESS IS MORE." BUT FOR THOSE AT THE LOWER AND MIDDLE RUNGS OF THE INCOME LADDER, LESS IS SIMPLY LESS -- IN MANY CASES MUCH LESS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE FOR MIDDLE-INCOME WORKERS WHO, IN A STAGNATE ECONOMY, WILL UNDERSTANDABLY RESIST EVERY ATTEMPT TO PROMOTE INCREASED ECONOMIC EQUALITY BY REDISTRIBUTING THEIR OWN HARD-EARNED INCOME.

ANTHONY CROSLAND, ONE OF THE MOST CREATIVE THEORISTS IN THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY, UNDERSTOOD THIS PROBLEM COMPLETELY. IN A LECTURE DELIVERED SEVERAL YEARS AGO, CROSLAND POINTED OUT THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE CONFINES OF NO GROWTH ECONOMY. "IN A DEMOCRACY," HE SAID, "LOW OR ZERO GROWTH WHOLLY EXCLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF INCOME REDISTRIBUTION. FOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL TRANSFER THEN INVOLVES NOT MERELY A RELATIVE BUT AN ABSOLUTE DECLINE IN REAL INCOMES OF THE BETTER OFF HALF OF THE POPULATION (WHICH INCIDENTLY INCLUDES LARGE NUMBERS OF WORKING CLASS VOTERS); AND THIS THEY WILL FRUSTRATE. THEY WILL PROTECT THEIR REAL INCOMES INITIALLY BY ENFORCING COMPENSATING CLAIMS FOR HIGHER MONEY INCOMES AND SO CREATING A VIOLENT WAGE INFLATION, AND ULTIMATELY BY USING THE BALLOT BOX TO ELECT A DIFFERENT AND MORE LENIENT GOVERNMENT."

BASED ON CROSLAND'S ANALYSIS, WE CAN, SAFELY CONCLUDE THAT RAPID AND SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH IS AN ABSOLUTE PREREQUISITE FOR ANY MOVEMENT TOWARD SOCIAL AND RACIAL EQUALITY. WITHOUT GROWTH, WE FACE THE EQUALLY DISTASTEFUL PROSPECTS OF CONTINUED INEQUALITY OR AN INCREASINGLY UGLY STRUGGLE BETWEEN RICH AND POOR FOR THE EVER FEWER AND FEWER SCRAPS ON THE KITCHEN FLOOR.

ON THE SURGACE, THE ANTI-GROWTH MOVEMENT APPEARS AS A POLITICALLY NEUTRAL MOVEMENT, OR TO USE THE NEW TERMINOLOGY, A "PUBLIC INTEREST" MOVEMENT. TO HEAR SOME OF THE MORE EXTREME ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND ECONOMIC CONSERVATIVES TELL IT, THEY ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN PROTECTING ORDINARY, VOICELESS CITIZENS FROM PRICE-GOUGING CORPORATIONS, AND UNSATIABLE "BIG GOVERNMENT." BUT THERE IS MUCH MORE TO IT: THE ANTI-GROWTH MOVEMENT IS MORE THAN OLD-FASHIONED CONSERVATION CAMPAIGN, IT IS, INSTEAD, A MOVEMENT WITH IMPORTANT POLITICAL PURPOSES AND IMPLICATIONS.

THE CRITICS OF GROWTH DO NOT REPRESENT A CROSS SECTION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. ENVIRONMENTALISTS ARE, FOR THE MOST PART, DISENCHANTED WITH THE COMPLEXITY AND SUPPOSED OPPRESSIVENESS OF MODERN SUBURBAN AFFLUENCE.

I CAN FIND NO BETTER EXAMPLE OF THIS ATTITUDE THAN AN ARTICLE BY THE MUCH PUBLICIZED HAZEL HENDERSON ENTITLED "THE END OF ECONOMICS." IN THE ARTICLE, MS. HENDERSON BOLDLY PROCLAIMS: "THE MOST AWARE AND SENSITIVE AMONG US ARE ALREADY SWEPT BY SUCH PERSONAL DOUBTS, OR IDENTITY LOSS, FEELINGS OF MEANINGLESSNESS IN THEIR CAREERS AND EVEN A SENSE OF MORAL SCHIZOPHRENIA AS THEY BECOME AWARE OF THE SOCIAL COSTS THEIR INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES ENGENDER." THE OFFSPRING OF THE AFFLUENT, SUCH AS MS. HENDERSON, WOULD NOT ONLY ADOPT SIMPLER AND "MORE MEANINGFUL LIFESTYLES FOR THEMSELVES. THEY WOULD ALSO IMPOSE SCARCITY ON THE POOR AND WORKING PEOPLE WHO ARE DISENCHANTED INDEED, ENRAGED -- BY THE ABSENCE OF AFFLUENCE.

SOME ANTI-GROWTH PROPONENTS HAVE COME TO RECOGNIZE THE BIASED NATURE OF THEIR MORE EXTREME ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA. THEY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO REACH OUT TO BROADER CONSTITUENCIES, AND TO GENERATE DIALOGUE WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT ( GROUP CALLED ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT IS AN IMPORTANT EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND). MANY OF THESE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE PERFORMED COMMENDABLE WORK IN RAISING ISSUES RELATED TO OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH. BUT THE ANTI-GROWTH FORCES -- EVEN THOSE WHO CLAIM A COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC AND RACIAL EQUALITY -- HAVE FAILED TO COME TO POLITICAL TERMS WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR "NO GROWTH" AND "SLOW GROWTH" ECONOMIC PROGRAMS.

ECONOMIC GROWTH, EVEN AT HIGH LEVELS, IS CERTAINLY NO CURE-ALL FOR THE PROBLEMS OF BLACK AMERICANS. WE DO NOT PROPOSE THE "TRICKLE-DOWN" THEORY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. NOR DO WE PLACE OUR HOPE IN THE RANDOM FORCES OF THE EVER CONFUSED "MARKET PLACE." INSTEAD, WE PROPOSE A TWO-PRONGED STARTEGY FOR BLACK ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT: 1.) A STRENGTHENED TRADE UNION/BLACK ALLIANCE; AND 2.) THE CONTINUED

ADVOCACY STRONG GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS IN THE FIELDS OF MANPOWER POLICY, HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION, AND A WHOLE ARRAY OF SOCIAL SERVICES.

ECONOMIC GROWTH, IN THE ABSENCE OF A WELL-ORGANIZED WORK FORCE, AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO COMPENSATE FOR THE UNEVEN -- AND SOMETIMES DESTRUCTIVE -- PATTERNS OF GROWTH, IS MEANINGLESS. AND EVEN POSSIBLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS ARE CORRECT WHEN THEY ARGUE THAT GROWTH SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS AN END IN ITSELF. INSTEAD, ECONOMIC GROWTH IS AN INDISPENSABLE MEANS FOR ACHIEVING THE LONG-TERM GOALS OF RACIAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

# The Realization of Rising Expectations

## Outline of an Address to the Edison Electric Institute

by Bayard Rustin

Rising expectations are rather unfashionable these days. One rarely hears of the "revolution of rising expectations." Instead, we are confronted with a counter-revolution of lower expectations, a politics of limited horizons, and an advocacy of no growth. This comes at a time when there is mass unemployment, a sizeable and expanding black underclass of persons whose lives were barely touched by the civil rights revolution , and declining standard of living for millions of working people. Yet in this situation, many who profess concern about unemployment and poverty actively support the concept of limiting economic growth in order to protect the environment.

The no growth advocates fail to recognize that the adoption of their policy positions would significantly worsen the plight of the impoverished and disadvantaged.

There is no meaningful sense in which we face an apocalyptic shortage of resources. Nonetheless, although the scientific rationale that underlies the no-growth movement is far from being proven, the limits-to-growth thesis has won wide-spread acceptance. One suspects that there is a fundamental class disdain at work in the anguished cries about materialism, affluence, and overabundance. What many of the critics of growth are upset about is the loss of status that the privileged suffer with the enlargement of the middle classes. Whether consciously or subcounciously, the elite realizes that it has more to lose than gain from the rising living standards of the masses of Americans. Because of our democratic and egalitarian value system, resentment against loss of privilege and status is expressed as a generalized ~~disaffection with mater~~

diaffection with materialist values, a concern for the environement, and an opposition to economic growth. Disenchanted with the complexity and ennui of suburban affluence, the children of the affluent not only would adopt simpler life styles, but they would also impose scarcity on the poor who are disenchanted with the absence of affluence. At root, the movement to redefine values is essentially an effort to impose certain values on the less fortunate members of society.

The growing concern with the quality of life is real, but it is not a result of lowered expectations. Rather, it is the opposite. It is a reflection of the fact that working people and middle-income earners are increasingly demanding the standards of environmental quality that were once the exclusive preserve of the rich and well-to-do. Their rising expectations can be met only if there is economic growth.

The first luxury to be dispensed with in a no-growth society would, in all likelihood, be the pursuit of social justice. The proponents of a zero-growth or low-growth economy are deliberately vague about how within the context of a no-growth economy, justice can be won for the poor and down-trodden. In a no-growth economy only an unprecedented transfer of wealth and income would offer any prospect of justice for the poor and down-trodden. But the chances of such a development are remote. Even a partial redistribution of wealth and income in a stationary economy would doubtless engender heightened class conflict, racial and ethnic antagonisms, or even social anarchy. What we are talking about is not merely the curtailment of a handful of swollen incomes, although that would be difficult enough. At stake are the incomes of the middle and working classes. People who are confronted by scarcity and a declining standard of living are unlikely to support policies that seek to lift the living standards of only the very poor. Redistribution will be infinitely more difficult ~~in~~ under a no growth regime than with properly regulated economic growth.

Even with a lowered birth rate the American population will grow by 60 million or thirty percent in the next thirty years. An end to economic growth would mean a lowering of living standards.

~~Rapid~~ Economic growth is an essential precondition for the creation of a more equal society. Only during periods of high growth has America made forward thrusts against mass poverty and unemployment. During the rapid growth and relatively high ~~un~~employment of the 1960s blacks and the poor made substantial progress on all fronts. Only if the economy is lifted to much higher levels of performance will there be a real chance for blacks to close the economic gap that separates them ~~from~~ from whites.

America is not an affluent society--seven million Americans are unemployed according to ~~f~~ official statistics and the real number is much higher. Twenty-five million live in poverty. In addition, those who work ~~t~~ in jobs that pay too little in wages or salary, even on a full time basis, to provide ~~an~~ adequate support for their families certainly need economic growth. Every person should be able to earn an income sufficient to be entirely self-supporting. The goals of the women's movement will be unattainable without economic growth.

With ~~a~~ near static national economy there is simply no way that even the most well-intentioned President and Congress could find the sums of money that are so desperately needed to end poverty, improve education, provide health care to all, and to construct ~~t~~ efficient mass transporation systems.

The no-growth approach is absurd even in terms of the environment.

~~[illegible]~~

The greater part of the environmental problem is a backlog problem. Even if we stopped all further growth tomorrow we would still need to spend huge additional sums on coping with pollution.

To those who insist that we no longer need or can no longer tolerate economic growth, my response is simply that we cannot afford to do without it.

In recent years it has become part of the conventional wisdom of certain segments of the intelligentsia that economic growth must be significantly reduced or halted altogether by the wealthier industrial countries. Not surprisingly, the advocates of the zero growth philosophy more often than not are passionate supporters of a more equitable social order, particularly for racial minorities here and for the darker-skinned peoples of the underdeveloped world.

That there is a glaring contradiction between their opposition to growth, on the one hand, and their avowed support for a more equal society on the other, seems not to have dawned on many of these people. In their naive idealism (and, in some cases, scarcely camouflaged elitism), they would deprive society of a key means for ending poverty and misery at the very moment that the most deprived groups are demanding a rightful share of the fruits of the modern industrial, technological economic order.

However, not all anti-growth proponents are well-intentioned, but simplistic-minded foes of development and technology. Nor are they necessarily eccentric adherents of the environmental movement. There is, in fact, a growing intellectual movement comprised largely of scientists and economists who are actively engaged in the formulation of "alternative" models of economic and social life. They are drawing up a blueprint for a future society which would rely much less than the present one on technology, traditional sources of energy, and economic growth. And since the architects of these alternative societies look upon themselves as liberal, or even radical in political outlook, their schemes almost always contain formulas for creating a more egalitarian economic order.

Invariably, the authors of these plans for the future assure us that unless society mends its ways and begins seeing our social problems from a new and elevated level of consciousness, the world and its people are doomed to environmental chaos and social and racial conflict on a heretofore unimagined scale. In a sense, they are correct, since bold action will in fact be required to resolve the smoldering difficulties confronting the world. Unfortunately, the prescription of the zero growthers would be worse than the disease.

Take, for example, the currently fashionable proposals for the development of labor intensive, as opposed to highly technologized, energy intensive industries. There is a certain seductive quality to such proposals, promising as they do a simpler, less hectic, and more family and community oriented way of life. But when the advocates of this new way of life are asked to elaborate on the kinds of jobs that would be the basis for this pastoral economy of the future, we are presented with vague and rather exotic concepts like "craft industry," "low specialization," "common units," "local bartering," "village emphasis."

Not surprisingly, the economists of the counterculture have been able to enlist few, if indeed any, blacks to their line of thinking. That is because blacks have had ample experience with labor intensive, small-scale economics, and found the concept to be far removed from the "small is beautiful" paradise that its current proponents believe it to be. Negroes know better than anyone else that labor intensive industries, such as small agricultural units, are more likely to demean the human spirit than to elevate it. For the southern rural black, the advent of industrial society meant a measure of economic emancipation, just as today the newer technologies are making possible increased opportunities for escape from the less-pleasant aspects of heavy industry.

The no-growth philosophy also has disturbing implications for future relations between the developed Western nations and the less developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The development of policies and problems which assist the less developed nations in their economic objectives will be a major concern of the United States for the foreseeable future. Whether or not one believes that America must take the lead in the establishment of a "new world economic order," the events of the past decade have made clear America's vital interest in advancing the economic development of the Third World.

However, if the zero growth advocates had their way, the possibility for any positive American role in Third World development would simply evaporate. According to the opponents of growth, economic development in the western world is gained at the expense of the underdeveloped nations, and further economic growth in the western nations will only exacerbate the division between the rich and poor nations. In fact, the economic development of the Third World is inextricably tied to continued high rates of growth by the western nations, the United States most particularly. Indeed, although many Third World spokesmen publicly gloat over the troubles of the U.S., in private they express deep concern about the slow pace of economic recovery and look forward to the return of Western economic health. Unlike the anti-growth proponents, they still adhere to John F. Kennedy's dictum that "a rising tide lifts all the boats."

The adversaries of growth also have a view of their doctrine's impact on democracy that can charitably be called disingenuous. One hears a great deal of talk about a future in which economic structures, and thus political structures as well, will be decentralized and made more responsive to the individual. The stoppage or slowdown of growth, they insist, will usher in an era of more citizen participation and increased control of individuals "over the decisions which most fundamentally affect their lives." In fact, precisely the opposite is more likely to result. Democracy and personal freedom has in fact been enhanced by industrial civilization. The struggle of minority groups for genuine equality was made possible by such development as modern telecommunications and transportation networks. Beyond this, technology and growth have opened the doors to a real democratic sharing of opportunities that were traditionally restricted to the affluent and highly-educated. Blacks are primary among those groups who now, for the first time, have the opportunity to travel, to pursue career alternatives, to fulfill needs for self-realization through artistic creation, education, community work. In fact, it is the increased opportunities for education and leisure which have opened the way for millions of Americans of all races and classes to participate in the political system, not simply by voting, but by actively campaigning for various candidates or causes. I am not suggesting that modern society is a utopia; a visit to any inner city will dispell any sense of complacency we might have about the need to continue the struggle for reform and change.

But the most essential social changes that are necessary to bring about social equity and racial advancement are not in the direction of a pastoral or communal fantasy world. We are going to need jobs, and not merely jobs in low-paying, labor intensive fields. We are never going to solve our youth unemployment problems by supplying make-work, menial, deadend occupations for a generation of young people who have come to expect jobs that offer a decent standard of living and opportunities for advancement.

Nor are we going to provide decent housing for present and future generations without the development of new technologies and expansion of the energy supply.

It is going to take economic growth, and lots of it, if we are to realize the ideals of equality, cooperation, and economic justice which fired the American struggle for racial change. This will demand that we remove the current roadblocks which stand in the way of energy development. Of course there is a need for research and development into new sources of energy. But the imperative of social equity cannot wait for the time when solar energy is available on a mass scale. To build housing, provide more and more pleasant jobs, and to make our society run efficiently for the masses of people, we must also expand the development of electrical energy and other traditional energy sources.

The opponents of growth and energy development have at times made some telling criticisms of the way our society operates. But their remedies contain the seed for economic stagnation and social and racial turmoil. This society was built on growth, and its greatest accomplishments, such as bringing a decent standard of living to millions of working people, could not have occurred without growth. If we are going to meet the very severe challenges of the future, we cannot turn our backs on the very reason for our past success.

# GROWTH, JOBS, AND RACIAL PROGRESS
by Bayard Rustin
for the New York Times Magazine
March, 1976

There is an immense contradiction at the heart of the political attitudes of many Americans, particularly those for whom the abolition of poverty and racial inequality on the one hand, and environmental protection on the other, rank together as the highest social priorities of the immediate future. The vast majority would agree that the country is now facing a historic national crisis: there is mass unemployment; a sizable and expanding black underclass comprised of persons whose lives were scarcely touched by the civil rights revolution; and a declining standard of living for million of working people. Yet many of these same people--individuals who by dint of education, position, and motivation exercise a political influence far greater than their collective presence in the population--earnestly support a set of ideas which if translated into conscious government policy would measurably worsen the nation's--and the world's--economic plight. In so doing, they would bear the responsibility for having shattered the hopes of those groups who have never had a normal role in the world economy, among whom the darker skinned people of the world rank most prominently.

The ideas I am referring to grow out of an exaggerated and misplaced disillusionment with economic growth based on the premise that America has achieved an unparalleled state of prosperity such that economic needs and insecurities are no longer the principal concern of its people, and therefore should no longer evoke the paramount attention of its government. With an official (and understated) unemployment rate hovering around eight percent, and with key sectors of the economy engulfed by Depression-era stagnation, one hears less today about America as the "affluent society" than in the not-too-remote past. Full employment, massively underwritten by the federal government if necessary, heads every liberal's program for recovery. Yet that most unfortunate phrase--"affluent society"--and all that it connotes has left a permanent imprint by providing the rationale for a whole series of attitudes, movements, and policies which vary in their specific objectives, but nonetheless share a crucial assumption about American society: that the material standards of the majority have reached a level of affluence so substantial as to render the further expansion of production and wealth unnecessary and undesirable. Furthermore, these modern disciples of Thomas Malthus are convinced that the very concept of growth may be at the core of the world's economic, ecological and spiritual crises.

Such attitudes are hardly unique. It has long been an article of faith for conservative economists that accelerated rates of growth are a chief cause of inflation. When conservatives have held the presidency, their advisers have often encouraged fiscal and monetary policies aimed at slowing growth and increasing the jobless rate as a means of reducing the pace of inflation. This was the case during both the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations--and it is now the case for the administration of Gerald Ford.

Other conservatives oppose growth, not from an intentional identification with the business class, but out of a patrician revulsion at modern society and an elitist contempt for democracy, particularly economic democracy. Theirs is a tradition that is enshrined in classical conservative ideology: a yearning for a simpler, privilege-conscious, and authoritarian social structure.

What is different about the current upsurge in anti-growth sentiment is that the bulk of its intellectual and political advocates characterize themselves as liberal, or even radical, in the sense that they maintain, in the abstract, a conviction that it is the government's obligation to assure a condition of equality for all people, and to actively intervene on behalf of the poor and minority groups. Another difference is that today's neo-Malthusians have achieved a respectability, and their ideas a mass following, because of the close relationship between their ideology and the objectives and prejudices of the environmental movement. Indeed, many environmentalists believe that their long range vision of a better society can be fulfilled only by severely restricting or preventing altogether further economic expansion. E. J. Mishan, a professor of Economics at the London School of Economics, has compared the further pursuit of growth to a "joyless voyage, fraught with increasing risk, and bound for an unattractive destination." While Mishan is usually described as a "conservative," the fact is that his crusade against technological society--including proposals for creation of communities where only horses and horse-drawn vehicles would be permitted and a ban on international air travel--has touched a responsive chord among many American ecologists.

That many environmentalists have swallowed whole the anti-growth argument is unfortunate, since the environmental movement has made a significant contribution to the struggle for a more humane social order by forcing society to take a new look at many previously accepted patterns of economic and cultural behavior. In its most praiseworthy campaigns, the environmental movement has sought changes which are of great importance to working people. It can take credit for having reawakened society to the need for more stringent job safety regulations. By pointing out how it is the neighborhoods of the poor and working classes which receive the worst affects of pollution from nearby plants, it has added an important class dimension to the struggle for a cleaner environment. Environmentalists can also take credit for having questioned the usefulness of the urban renewal schemes, highways, and developments which so often require the destruction of healthy working class neighborhoods.

As the above examples indicate, issues of class and racial bias lie at the heart of the struggle for a cleaner environment. The problem is that many of those in the vanguard of the environmental movement, themselves members largely of the upper classes, have often sought policies which are clearly detrimental, and in some cases--the growth controversy being the most significant example--destructive to the needs of those less better off.

The disenchantment with growth is not an isolated phenomenon, and extreme environmentalists are not the only people to question growth's validity as a policy for social change. The discontent with growth rather reflects a disenchantment with the whole direction of New Deal and Great Society policies. However flawed and limited these policies may have been, they did pursue--with a good deal of success--a profoundly important goal: the creation of an economic climate that encouraged the mobility of poor people into the working class, and working people into the middle class. In other words, the spread of economic democracy.

Prior to the publication of the Club of Rome report, Limits to Growth, in 1972, the critics of American "affluence" would have summed up their differences with those liberals and trade unionists for whom the expansion of the economic pie was still a prime objective by asserting that economic issues no longer mattered to the great majority of Americans. Since the relevance of economic policy has been vividly driven home in the past two years, these critics have adjusted their views to correspond to new political realities, insisting that the old formula of elevating the poor by creating more wealth has failed in the past, and will most certainly fail in the future.

And instead of berating ordinary Americans for their over-materialism, an~~d~~ attitude which had left them open to charges of elitism and snobbery--they now preach~~ed~~es the virtues of the no-growth, steady state future, a more righteous and positive outlook, and one which was supported by a number of articulate and influential scientists, economists, and journalists (such as, for example, Rene Duclos of the Rockefeller University, John Knowles of the Rockefeller Foundation, and, in a somewhat different vein, John Kenneth Galbraith).

The anti-growth movement has already made its impact felt in the debate over economic recovery that occupies a central role in the presidential campaign. The attitudes of many liberal Democrats is strikingly different from that of John F. Kennedy, who made the cautious, slow-growth policies of the Eisenhower Administration a decisive issue in 1960. For Kennedy, the first order of business was a new set of policies designed to stimulate production and growth as a means of reducing an unemployment rate then running at five percent. Confronted by an economic crisis far more severe than the problems facing Kennedy, many liberal Democrats prefer the motto "less is more" to Kennedy's ringing assertion that "a rising tide lifts all the boats."

Let me make it clear that I am in general sympathy with the two basic elements of what is shaping up as a new liberal agenda for economic transformation. The first element, publicly financed jobs, is desperately needed not only as a means of reducing unemployment, but also in order that the federal government may begin to carry out the vital programs of urban reconstruction that business and the states and cities will not, or cannot, carry out. The second feature, the dismantling of the largest corporations through vigorous anti-trust enforcement, can be a useful mechanism for reducing the inordinate influence of corporate giants and conglomerates. But we are only deluding ourselves if we look on trust-busting as a means of putting people back to work. There is, in fact, the strong possibility that a truly massive anti-trust offensive of the scale proposed by politicians like Fred Harris would exacerbate, rather than ease, the economic problems of working people. What critics of "bigness" seem to forget is that the competitive capitalism of the past bred a degree of worker exploitation that is unimaginable today.

Public jobs will certainly--and anti-trust action may possibly--play important roles in an overall strategy to transform the economy along more egalitarian lines. But they are not, by themselves, a sufficient response to high, long-term unemployment or to the problem of the hard-core, structurally unemployed. Sustained, high economic growth is also a procondition for the creation of a more equal society. For as economist Leon Keyserling points out, it has been only during periods of high growth that America has made a forward thrust against mass poverty and unemployment. In a direct response to the critics of growth, Keyserling writes:

> The record is clear beyond question that there is a high positive correlation between the rate of real economic growth and the rate of reduction of poverty. This is mainly because the high unemployment attendant upon low growth is the main single cause of poverty. A second reason is that the improved income distribution and the larger emphasis upon the great domestic priority programs, which in part derive from high growth and in part are essential to it, are also indispensable to the liquidation of poverty, (emphasis added).

The point about the correlation between growth and the effectiveness of social programs is crucial. For in the opinion of many critics, economic expansion, while raising the standards of the working class, has totally failed to reduce poverty, particularly among blacks. Yet the record shows that this is simply not the case. Between 1959 and 1969--a period of transition from policies of slow growth to those of relatively high growth--the percentage of white families earning under the federal low-income level shrunk from 18.1 to 9.5 percent, a not insignificant amount. For blacks, the change was even more dramatic: the proportion of blacks living in poverty declined from 55.1 percent to 32.2 percent. In other words, whereas at the beginning of the decade over one-half of all blacks lived in poverty, by the end of the decade that number had been reduced to less than one-third.

A good deal of black progress was due to the Johnson Administration's anti-discrimination legislation and its moral support for civil rights. Much was also due to the determination and perseverance of individual blacks. Another factor was the manpower training programs that were perhaps the most important element of the war on poverty. But without an economic environment that offered both jobs and the opportunity for mobility, all these other factors combined would have been unable to advance the status of Negroes.

I do not wish to appear here to be giving comfort to the conservative forces in society. I do not believe that any sensible person, whatever his ideology, favors "growth for growth's sake." But business conservatives are nonetheless altogether prepared to grasp at any defense of growth as a justification for economic policies whose overriding objective is geared to the narrow goals of corporations. The question we should be asking is not whether we favor growth, but how and for whom the economy is to be structured and directed, how growth is to be harnessed to serve social needs.

Thus if growth by itself is an insufficient answer to the plight of the ghetto poor, it is nevertheless an essential part of a renewed anti-poverty offensive. Indeed, a healthy rate of economic expansion is a precondition for the success of manpower and service programs which are directed to the special needs of the poor. Without substantial growth, we simply will not have enough jobs for those individuals who have undertaken training programs as a means of overcoming the effects of poor educational opportunity. Nor will government have the resources to build the housing, and supply the medical services, and upgrade the schools in the inner cities.

Perhaps even more important would be the psychological and political effects of restricting or stopping growth. The sons and daughters of the privileged may have concluded that "less is more," but that is not a view that is shared by working people or, to an even ~~greater~~ lesser extent, the poor. They have learned that whe~~m~~n people possessing greater wealth, education and influence preach the virtues of having less, it is their way of kicking the ladder down behind them. At the same time, people who are confronted by scarcity and a declining standard of living are unlikely to lend support to policies which seek, within that framework of scarcity, to lift the standards of only the very poor. Hard times do not evoke a national consensus for massive reform; the cycle of recession/inflation/stagnation engineered by successive Republican administrations has hardened, not lessened, the politics of envy and selfishness. It is, in fact, the worldwide economic slump which has been most responsible for the upsurge of tribalistic and nationalistic rivalries. From the point of view of the privileged, pitting have-littles against the have-nots over a dwindling share of wealth is an effective strategy to maintain the status quo; for liberals, it represents the surest path to political immobilization.

In addition to its impact on domestic politics, the abandonment of growth would have an incalculable effect on our foreign relations. The role that America plays in the coming struggle to free the underdeveloped world from its pervasive and oppressive cycle of economic bondage poses one of the great challenges of the future. But here again, as in the struggle against domestic poverty, economic growth will be a pivotal factor in our ability to work together with the impoverished nations of Asia, and Latin America. Without growth, we could never mobilize domestic political support for policies that offer new hope to the emerging nations. But even more important, economic growth, combined with a rational and humantarian foreign policy, represents the only means of providing the economic strength to significantly assist the poorer lands. As Thomas Balogh, an economist and adviser to the British Labor Party, has noted:

> There is little doubt that the rate of economic expansion in relation to productive capacity in the rich industrial part of the world has been, and will remain, the main determinant of the outlook for products of primary-producing countries. A slowing down of growth represents the greatest danger to the poor areas.

It should be noted that almost every serious Third World leader would agree with this statement, including the most fervent proponents of a "new economic order" more favorable to resource-rich underdeveloped lands. None would accept the proposition that their own economies would benefit from an unilateral growth curb by the West, most particularly the United States.

Nevertheless, in the face of overwhelming evidence that the end of growth would result in an incalculable setback for poor and darker-skinned peoples of America and the world, the anti-growth proponents stubbornly insist that the perpetuation of current rates of economic expansion can only hasten the destruction of humankind. And they do so despite the fact that some of the most fundamental tenets of the neo-Malthusians--such as the notion that much of the earth's natural resources face extinction by the end of the century--have been sharply criticized by scientists and economists who believe that the earth can sustain growth rates sufficient to make possible the abolition of poverty in even the most wretchedly destitute African or Asian nation. Given the fact that the scientific rationale which underlies the anti-growth movement is by no means proven, the question then is why the limits-to-growth thesis has won such widespread acceptance?

One suspects that there is a certain class disdain at work in the anguished cries over materialism and overabundance and that what many critics of growth are really upset about is the loss of status which the privileged suffer with the enlargement of the middle classes. Such attitudes, it should be noted, are by no means limited to the oppostion of segments of the elite to economic democracy. Class interests are no longer defined exclusively by economics--although, of course, economic issues are also involved. Such intangibles as status and the imperative for authority are also tied in to the attitudes and priorities of those fortunate enough to have escaped the struggle for daily existence. Thus the factional struggles within the Democratic Party are at the core the striving of an educated, middle class elite for domination over organized labor and the working class. Lacking a truly mass constituency, the elite has fallen back on an exquisitely honed sense of self-righteousness and moral sensitivity--it has, in other words, claimed authority on the grounds that it is comprised of the better, more enlightened class--in order to place its adversaries on the defensive. And although it would complain bitterly if accused of harboring prejudices against working people, the class biases of an elite will eventually intrude, as it has in the oppostion to growth. Anthony Crosland, the brilliant social democratic theorist who is currently Minister for Environment in the British Labor government, has written a biting rejoinder to such attitudes, in which he says:

> My working class constituents have their own version of the environment, which is equally valid and which calls for economic growth. They want lower housing densities and better schools and hospitals. They want washing machines and refrigerators to relieve domestic drudgery. They want cars, and the freedom they give on weekends and holidays. And they want package tour holidays to Majorca, even if this means more noise of night flights and eating fish and chips on previously secluded beaches--why should they too not enjoy the sun. And they want these things not...because their minds have been brainwashed and their tastes contrived by advertising, but because the things are desirable in themselves.

Crosland here does not even get into what is perhaps a more fundamental prejudice held by the anti-growth intelligentsia--the contempt for the very occupations that would be most threaten~~d~~ed by a reduction in growth or by the imposition of extreme environmental restrictions. The jobs that would be lost would be almost exclusively blue-collar fields--jobs which can be repetitious and deadening to the spirit, but which can also offer a challenge to the ingenuity and skills of a worker, as is the case with construction work. Environmentalists can talk glibly about creating opportunities for the "retraining" of workers displaced by anti-pollution regulations, but the response of the worker is likely to echo the Oregon trade unionist who observed that he had "never met an unemployed environmentalist." There will be times, of course, when the environmentally-conscious will be thoroughly justified in calling for the closure of a plant which spews dangerous chemicals into the water or in preventing the destruction of a natural wilderness to make way for a ski resort. What is intolerable is the assumption by environmentalists that the issue of economics does not even exist, that workers' jobs are irrelevant when compared to the beauty of the redwoods. For in fact the elimination of a job is not merely the loss of a worker's means of livlihood; it very often amounts to a great human tragedy, entailing the loss of pensions, hospital and medical insurance, perhaps the loss of a home.

I do not here wish to exaggerate the impact of environmental legislation on the jobs of working Americans. According to estimates of the Environmental Protection Agency, some 12,000 jobs have been lost due to plant closings and the like mandated by stiffer pollution standards. Environmentalists are quite right to point out that many more jobs have been created by anti-pollution projects--such as sewage treatment facilities--than have been lost because of the failure of a firm to comply with government anti-pollution laws. Nor do I wish to appear sympathetic to those anti-environmentalists within the business community who regularly issue sweeping and unfounded declarations of how business is being "strangled" over-regulation. Businessmen have resisted the imposition of anti-pollution standards for the very same reasons that they have resisted civil rights laws and labor legislation--a class-rooted antipathy to government intervention in business affairs--and not because of an inability to comply with needed changes.

But environmentalists are also quilty of obscuring the affects of their agenda. For it is not merely the loss of jobs due to plant closings which has pitted environmental forces against workers, but also the loss of potential jobs due to the stoppage of construction projects, industrial enterprises, and agricultural ventures because of the opposition of the environmental lobby. This problem is of particular importance to poor blacks in the rural South, and there have been several lawsuits involving southern civil rights forces and environmentalists over the question of rural development. Furthermore, a report prepared for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare on the economic implications of air-quality legislation suggests that the long term effects of stringent anti-pollution laws could have serious long range effects on the development of the rural, black South. That report notes:

> While non-deterioration regulations risk imposing substantial net costs on the nation as a whole, a disproportionate share of these costs might be borne by persons of limited economic means and residential mobility. These persons would benefit relatively little from the preservation of air quality in rural areas, while they would disproprotionately bear any burdens of curtailed economic growth, altered urban and rural development trends, constrained national capacity to absorb anticipated population increases, and higher consumer prices and manufactured goods. These impacts could compound the difficulties faced by all levels of government in responding to the needs of the poor, the

elderly, racial minorities, and persons otherwise disadvantaged.

The report also notes:

> ...Whatever national growth might be possible under non-deterioration regulations might be distorted by industries' difficulties in tapping new labor supplies and by low income persons' lack of access to new job opportunities. The greatest economic growth would be likely to occur in the wealthiest communities, and growth trends in the South and other developing areas might be halted. Existing geographic disparities in income could widen, with the losers on the margin predominantly the poor.

The implications of this report, at the very least, suggest that harmonizing environmental objectives with the need for economic development is a far more complex challenge than many have supposed. It is thus no wonder that the advocates of a zero-growth, "stable state" future are so purposively vague about how, within this context of diminishing opportunity, justice can be won for the very poor. Some, of course, do have a program:

massive redistribution of income and wealth achieved largely through the thoroughgoing change of tax policies. Tax reform is, of course, a goal which is important for reasons of equity and fairness, as well as for the benefits it might provide for the poor. But recent history has demonstrated clearly the limitations of the politics of redistributionism. For those who harbor illusions about the potentialities of income redistribution within a slow or no-growth society, I would recommend a careful examination of the experience of the British government during the past few years. Although it would be unfair to equate Britain's manifold problems with those of others western nations, there is still an important lesson to be learned: policies which seek to transfer wealth from the affluent and middle classes to the poor and working classes--if carried out under conditions of stagnation--cannot prevent, and may in fact contribute to the declining standards of all the people--rich and poor alike. In contrast, countries like West Germany and Sweden, with forward-thinking social democratic governments, have elevated the standards of their citizens, kept unemployment to a minimum, and largely abolished poverty precisely because they have chosen to emphasize production and growth while at the same time using the fruits of growth to provide more and more efficient services to their people.

While the United States has had no experienc with the politics of redistributionism similar to that attempted in Britain, we *have* witnessed the affect of the kinds of policies which seek the advancement exclusively of social groups suffering from past or present discrimination; policies, moreover, which represent an attempt at redistribution through an artificial form of what has become known as "social engineering." The most controversial of these policies is the imposition of racial quotas in the hiring programs of businesses, construction trades unions, universities, and the like. For the individual who no longer believes economic growth to be an enlightened or feasible approach to the problem of income inequality quota systems represent an obvious solution. And, indeed, were a zero or slow-growth economy to obtain, we would no doubt confront increasing demands for some form or another of quota hiring in order to ration the pieces of a shrinking pie on a more racially and sexually equal basis.

There are any number of reasons to oppose the employment of quota systems, including the persuasive argument that they simply don't work. A more fundamental objection, however, is that quotas really solve nothing; indeed, they create many more problems than they might be expected to resolve. If jobs are scarce, apportioning them to one group on the basis of racial or biological characteristics means denying employment to other individuals because of their racial or biological characteristics. For some people, such a procedure is entirely acceptable, since they are convinced that whites or males have won their jobs, not out of ability, or intelligence, but because they are members of a "privileged" class. Of course, they are correct to point out that white men have a disproportionate share of good jobs because of practices and prejudices that have long been rooted in our culture. But the answer to this problem is not that two wrongs make a right, as the quota proponents seem to believe. Aside from passing and enforcing anti-discrimination laws, our objective must be to create a society which offers more opportunites for individual fulfillment, opportunities that can only be created through an expansion of the economy. Opportunity is in fact what has made America a dynamic society, and those who criticize, often justifiably, the destructiveness of unregulated growth might do well to ask themselves how pleasant would be the future no-growth society, where opportunity was forestalled and, in the name of justice, a form of discrimination was institutionalized as social policy.

More to the point, what sort of a society does the future promise should we surrender the single most effective means of dealing with the problems of the slum proletariat, and underclass either having no relationship to the production of goods and services, or trapped in marginal, dead-end occupations. This underclass is composed of individuals who have been shunted aside because their lack of skills and education renders them unsuited for participation in an increasingly technologized and knowledge oriented economy. It is a class, moreover, which is expanding daily, due largely to our currently slow-growth economy. We may, in fact, be witnessing the emergence of a class of "economic untouchables", an entire generation largely-black youth who have been deprived of the opportunity to enter the workforce in a meaningful way and who, in despair, may simply abandon the hope of ever taking part in the economy. Neither quota systems nor the community participation ventures so popular in the sixties will offer hope to these desperate youths; what will work are jobs and the opportunities for better jobs somewhere down the line.

To some, the current attack on growth is simply the latest of intellectual fashions. I disagree. Far from being a passing fad, the willingness to abandon growth at once symbolizes and contributes to the weakening of liberal will and liberal vision in the West. Above all else, liberals have fought for a society which offered the ever increasing possibility for the fulfillment of individual potential within the context of a just legal and economic order. The failures to have achieved perfect justice and perfect opportunity should in no way obscure the very real progress that has been made toward these ideals. Not the least of these achievements in the perpetuation of a democratic form of government which, whatever its flaws, has permitted ordinary people to have a voice in, and sometimes dominate the political system. It is, furthermore, a system which has reduced the influence of privilege without coercion or purges. Now we are told that the bywords of the future are to be retrenchment and the prospect of having less, even though, we are assured, a future with less will be superior to the present. Better for whom? Not, certainly, for those who now have little. Not for the citizens of the Third World nations, who alternate between despondancy and desperation. There is still a challenging agenda of worldwide economic advancement ahead, and it is an agenda on which the future of humankind rests just as surely as our future depends on the protection of the air and water. To those who insist that we can no longer tolerate economic growth, my response is simply that we cannot afford its absence.

4

# The Realization of Rising Expectations

Outline of an Address to the Edison Electric Institute

by Bayard Rustin

Rising expectations are rather unfashionable these days. One rarely hears of the "revolution of rising expectations." Instead, we are confronted with a counter-revolution of lower expectations, a politics of limited horizons, and an advocacy of no growth. This comes at a time when there is mass unemployment, a sizeable and expanding black underclass of persons whose lives were barely touched by the civil rights revolution , and declining standard of living for millions of working people. Yet in this situation, many who profess concern about unemployment and poverty actively support the concept of limiting economic growth in order to protect the environment.

The no growth advocates fail to recognize that the adoption of their policy positions would significantly worsen the plight of the impoverished and disadvantaged.

There is no meaningful sense in which we face an apocalyptic shortage of resources. Nonetheless, although the scientific rationale that underlies the no-growth movement is far from being proven, the limits-to-growth thesis has won wide-spread acceptance. One suspects that there is a fundamental class disdain at work in the anguished cries about materialism, affluence, and overabundance. What many of the critics of growth are upset about is the loss of status that the privileged suffer with the enlargement of the middle classes. Whether consciously or subcounciously, the elite realizes that it has more to lose than gain from the rising living standards of the masses of Americans. Because of our democratic and egalitarian value system, resentment against loss of privilege and status is expressed as a generalized

~~disaffection with mater-~~

diaffection with materialist values, a concern for the environement, and an opposition to economic growth. Disenchanted with the complexity and ennui of suburban affluence, the children of the affluent not only would adopt simpler life styles, but they would also impose scarcity on the poor who are disenchanted with the absence of affluence. At root, the movement to redefine values is essentially an effort to impose certain values on the less fortunate members of society.

The growing concern with the quality of life is real, but it is not a result of lowered expectations. Rather, it is the opposite. It is a reflection of the fact that working people and middle-income earners are increasingly demanding the standards of environmental quality that were once the exclusive preserve of the rich and well-to-do. Their rising expectations can be met only if there is economic growth.

The first luxury to be dispensed with in a no-growth society would, in all likelihood, be the pursuit of social justice. The proponents of a zero-growth or low-growth economy are deliberately vague about how within the context of a no-growth economy, justice can be won for the poor and down-trodden. In a no-growth economy only an unprecedented transfer of wealth and income would offer any prospect of justice for the poor and down-trodden. But the chances of such a development are remote. Even a partial redistribution of wealth and income in a stationary economy would doubtless engender heightened class conflict, racial and ethnic antagonisms, or even social anarch. What we are talking about is not merely the curtailment of a handful of swollen incomes, although that would be difficult enough. At stake are the incomes of the middle and working classes. People who are confronted by scarcity and a declining standard of living are unlikely to support policies that seek to lift the living standards of only the very poor. Redistribution will be infinitely more difficult under a no growth regime than with properly regulated economic growth.

Even with a lowered birth rate the American population will grow by 60 million or thirty percent in the next thirty years. An end to economic growth would mean a lowering of living standards.

~~Rapid~~ Economic growth is an essential precondition for the creation of a more equal society. Only during periods of high growth has America made forward thrusts against mass poverty and unemployment. During the rapid growth and relatively high employment of the 1960s blacks and the poor made substantial progress on all fronts. Only if the is lifted to much higher levels of performance will there be a real chance for blacks to close the economic gap that separates them from whites.

America is not an affluent society--seven million Americans are unemployed according to official statistics and the real number is much higher. Twenty-five million live in poverty. In addition, those who work in jobs that pay too little in wages or salary, even on a full time basis, to provide adequate support for their families certainly need economic growth. Every person should be able to earn an income sufficient to be entirely self-supporting. The goals of the women's movement will be unattainable without economic growth.

With near static national economy there is simply no way that even the most well-intentioned President and Congress could find the sums of money that are so desperately needed to end poverty, improve education, provide health care to all, and to construct efficient mass transporation systems.

The no-growth approach is absurd even in terms of the environment.

The greater part of the environmental problem is a backlog problem. Even if we stopped all further growth tomorrow we would still need to spend huge additional sums on coping with pollution.

To those who insist that we no longer need or can no longer tolerate economic growth, my response is simply that we cannot afford to do without it.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

broader power centers, either federal or confederal. . . . The very absence of overall regional federation appears to stimulate localism and to revive quarrels." Paradoxically, it is exactly this kind of broad confederation that narrow subdivisions would produce.

Each new entity on the redrawn map would be coherent and viable—but none would be large enough in population or area to dominate the others. The simple fact of having, say, 100 different regions insures that cooperation of some kind is essential. Yes, Biafra would be independent, and strong enough in its homogeneity to withstand encroachment from anyone else—but it would also know the advantage of economic association with the Cameroon Highlands next door, and the futility of trying to overrun such a state.

Virtually every economist who has looked at Africa has advocated greater regionalism, a rational cooperation between now-contending national areas. It is obvious and natural, and yet the existing states have been so shaky in their newfound independence and so nervous about creating new national allegiances that they have been at each other's throats rather than each other's conference tables. Take away these exacerbating tensions, and some genuine cooperation might arise.

Certainly greater regional cooperation would become not only possible, but in certain instances absolutely necessary. Beyond that, there is the even more attractive prospect of c tinental unity, or at least a contin tal-wide association of some ki In such a scheme, the cultural grou would have nothing to lose a much to gain if they were to ope ate somewhat like American stat (though each with greater—an richer—independence), giving ov to a broad federal system certain ec nomic—and perhaps—eventually p litical and military powers.

It is only by becoming ration by being established on the realiti of Africa as it is rather than on Eu pean notions of how it should b that the separate peoples of Afri can hope to submerge their diffe ences in a wider federation. A r drawing of the map is the mea to that end.

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# HOW BLACK AMERICANS SEE BLACK AFRICANS—AND VICE VERSA

**The common struggle against racism unites American Negroes and black Africans, says this noted civil rights leader, but their strategies in seeking justice must differ since the former are a minority, the latter a majority.**

**BY BAYARD RUSTIN**

The relationship between Africans and Afro-Americans is one of ambivalence. It is an ambivalence that derives from a great tension between, on the one hand, a shared ancient heritage and racial identification, and on the other, profound differences in the historical, cultural and political circumstances of the two peoples which make them almost incomprehensible to each other. This tension has produced in the Negro a poignant desire to reach backward to Africa in search of his roots, and the forward-looking need to achieve full economic and social equality on his native soil—which is America.

The central experience that binds Africans and Negroes together is their common understanding of the brutality of racism. The difference here, however, is that while the African knowledge of racism has grown out of its experience with imperialism and colonialism, Afro-Americans have been concerned with it in the context of slavery, segregation, and social inequality. As a result, they both have found it necessary to develop political strategies of opposition appropriate to the different circumstances surrounding the development of racism in their respective lands. The fact that they have had to employ different strategies in order to destroy the same evil has led to much confusion.

### Conditions for Revolution

Africans, we must never forget, are the majority in societies which until very recently were dominated by a white minority. (In South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola, the anachronistic injustice of white domination still persists.) Their fundamental concern, therefore, was to seize national power through violent or non-violent revolutionary action. The African political context of imperialism, in other words, provided the conditions for a genui revolution.

Many American Negroes ha tried to use the independence mov ments in colonial territories as t model for their own political actio Consequently, we have had bla nationalist movements for "self-d termination" and "Black Power which some people have called an imperialist and revolutionary. T revolutionary rhetoric is misplace however, and these movements ha inevitably failed to achieve th goals for two simple reasons: N groes can have no geographical foc for nationalist sentiment and th do not constitute a majority of t population. They constitute but percent of the American people, a they are dispersed throughout eve state in the nation. Negroes, the fore, must be concerned with obtai ing that degree of power which o ninth of the population should e pect, and they must do this throu constitutional and democratic mea for to attempt a revolution wou bring on a counter-revolution of t

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*Bayard Rustin is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

sort that I do not wish to contemplate.

Beyond these political distinctions, there are differences in cultural and social patterns of behavior that are so profound as to make it almost impossible for Africans and Negroes to understand one another. This situation is illustrated by a conversation I had with a 17-year-old boy during a recent visit to Nairobi, Kenya. He said to me, "Mr. Rustin, I am a Kenyan and I belong to the Kikuyu tribe. You are an American, and I would like to know what tribe you belong to."

Being taken aback, I replied, "I belong to the Negro tribe," upon which he asked to to speak some Negro to him. I tried to explain to him that Negroes had originally been Africans at which time they spoke their tribal languages, but that after 300 years in America we had forgotten our tribal tongue and now spoke the common American language of English. Incredulously, he asked, "How can you be of the Negro tribe if you do not speak the Negro language? I am a Kikuyu and I speak Kikuyu as my first language and Swahili as my second."

Our conversation lasted for over an hour, and though I made every effort to be explicit and explanatory, it was impossible for me to identify myself to him in any way that he could understand. He found me as strange a being as he might find a white American, a European, or an Asian.

## One Africa—or Many?

Just as Africans have difficulty understanding Negroes, so many of our own people do not know that there is not *one* Africa but many, including many tribes that are now within the borders of African states. The extent of the American Negro's failure to understand Africa was articulately described in *Ebony* by Tom Mboya, Kenya's minister for economic planning and development:

> . . . I find sometimes there is a complete misunderstanding of what African culture really means. For example, some people think that to identify as an African, one has to wear a shaggy beard or a piece of cloth or skin on the head, or has to wear one's hair natural. These are conditions imposed on the African today by the circumstances of poverty, limitations in technical and educational and other resources. These must not be confused with culture.

United Nations

*A young woman of Oulof origin in Senegal.*

> An African walks barefoot or wears sandals made of old tires not because it is his culture, but because he lives in poverty. He lives in a mud or wattle hut, but these are signs of poverty which must not be mistaken for cultural heritage. Culture is something much deeper. It is the total sum of your personality, outlook, and attitude to life.

Mboya made these remarks as part of a larger statement discouraging American Negroes from expatriating to Africa "because they are black." His words are relevant today because there is again talk among some Negroes of going back to Africa. While relatively few Negroes realistically consider expatriation as a possibility, the fact that it is being discussed is significant for it is part of a much broader movement by black Americans to separate themselves from the mainstream of the society.

There is a reason for this movement which has far less to do with the Negro's relation to Africa than to America. The "Back to Africa" and separatist tendencies are always strongest at the very time when the Negro is most intensely dissatisfied with his lot in America. It is when the Negro has lost hope in America —and lost his identity *as* an American—that he seeks to re-establish his identity and his roots as an African.

This period of despair has historically followed hard upon a period of hope and of efforts to become integrated—on the basis of full equality—into the economic, social and political life of the United States. The present separatist mood, as we know, has come after a decade in which the Negro achieved enormous and unprecedented gains through the civil rights struggle, and it has coincided with a right-wing reaction that has obstructed further measures toward equality. The combination of progress, aroused hopes, frustration and despair has caused many Negroes to withdraw into separatism and to yearn for Africa.

Three times in the past the Negro has been similarly disenchanted. During the period of social stress following the founding of this nation, the humanitarian ardor which had been aroused by the independence movement disappeared. Negroes who had hoped for progress turned inward, and it was during this period that the African Church was formed. The separatism of Booker T. Washington rose upon the ruined expectations aroused by the Civil War and its aftermath but dashed by the Compromise of 1876. And after World War I, when Negroes expected but were denied justice after fighting for their country, Marcus Garvey organized over 2,000,000 blacks to join a movement to buy ships that would carry them back to Africa.

Many who joined the Garvey movement, I believe, did not really wish to return to Africa, but rather wanted to express to other Americans their intense dissatisfaction with the injustices that they had been subjected to in this country. For, ultimately, Africa is a vague memory and a misunderstood reality to the Negro. He is an American. His ancestors have died here and have suffered here. He has roots in this country as deep—or deeper—than any other American. However much the Negro searches for his African heritage, he can never escape his American identity. He has no choice, therefore, but to struggle for the establishment of the economic and social conditions that will enable him to realize his potential fully on this soil. Not until this struggle is successful will he entirely reject the illusion of Africa and accept the reality of his American selfhood.

# How Can We Achieve World Peace?

## by Bayard Rustin*

World peace is a clearly agreed-upon objective, with those who seek it sharply divided on how it can be achieved and particularly on whether we can get there without first discarding our present institutional structures. When the debate is put in these terms it seems to me to miss at least one absolutely fundamental point—the question of values—which I will discuss later. First, we should recognize that the changes that will lead us to world peace are not different in quality or complexity from those we need for improving the world's social systems in general. I have had considerable experience in working both for peace and social change, and while I believe that in many ways they must be striven for separately, they do share common problems.

Change is inexorable: one way we have of labeling people is by their reactions to change. Simplistically stated, this is the spectrum: reactionaries want change, but prefer to move society back to earlier conditions; conservatives reluctantly accept change, and attempt to slow it up believing the less change the better; moderates assert that change is necessary, but caution against moving too quickly; liberals urge expedition of change, many believing that substantial improvement is possible under the existing systems. Some liberals, like myself, believe that at least some present systems require basic alteration; radicals feel that without basic institutional change there is no possibility for improvement; revolutionaries, whether of the Right or the Left, want to overthrow many of the existing value structures immediately. The so-called New Left in this country took an extreme position of being willing to discard most, if not all, values as well as institutions and systems.

I believe that change must be rapid, thorough, systematic and permanent. Permanence is the problem. Values do not change overnight—there are very few who have visions on the road to Damascus. Social structures are deeply imbedded; they evolve slowly through experience and education.

It is idle to talk of social change or world peace in generalities. The extent of change and its pace are functions of tradition, centrality of institution, depth of support, and intensity of need for change, and so on. Many who call for widespread, rapid change tend to avoid the hard soil of reality, and instead deal in abstractions and broad statements for which there are no concrete applications.

One major problem is that the debate, as expressed in the media, tends to be polarized and personalized. In the United States, we heard at great length about the New Left (now dormant) and now we hear about the "New Conservatives," while the Liberals, with whom I associate myself and on whom, I firmly believe, the great responsibility for designing and effecting real change ultimately rests, are given short shrift and discounted.

Let me caution that I am not equating the New Left and the New Conservatives in terms of their influence on government policy: the New Left was a creation and finally a victim of the press; it has left no permanent imprint on society. The New Conservatives, on the other hand, have at the very least provided an intellectual justification for the Nixon Administration's policies of retrenchment. I do not believe either tendency reflects the predominant liberal thought. Most who are committed to social change reject the absolutism and rhetoric of violence of the New Left. On the other hand, they remain unconvinced by those who argue that we have reached the limits of what government can do to bring about peaceful, orderly social change or a peaceful world order.

But these polarities do provide a useful point of departure for a discussion of the extent and pace of social change. This is particularly true of the New Left. It is sufficient for me to say of the New Conservatives,

*(continued on page 617)*

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*Bayard Rustin* is the Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

sources for the betterment of the poor nations, or the creation of an environmental agency empowered to bring enforceable legal action against criminal ecological offenders—is now necessary. These would be highly visible political actions whose effects could readily be communicated to large numbers of people as holding forth the promise for rapid and positive changes in the quality of their lives.

We argue that the world order perspective of global systems designed to achieve a set of interrelated values leads to envisioning both the systems and the strategies to achieve them in a form we describe as drastic system change. The need for change of such dimensions and within such time frames as to warrant the term "drastic" is well noted in the quotation from Secretary-General U Thant, who seems to share our assumptions. With this in mind, one must carefully examine the quotation from the President of the United States. Two questions arise from his statement. The first is: Does the President conceive of these problems as global problems, either from the viewpoint of survival or the quality of life? The second question is: Even if he does, would the image of the world he projects furnish us with guidelines which could provide solutions or by which we are willing to abide?

For the scholars of the World Order Models Project, the answer to both questions is "No." Quite frankly, our view is that President Nixon and the elites of other major superpowers seem to be concerned with these four problems only insofar as they may cause unpleasantness, friction or even the threat of force between the five major powers. Whatever their intellectual awareness of these problems, the elites of these powers seem not to have integrated them emotionally or ethically. For the moment at least, a five-nation balance-of-power world, which conceives a Vietnam as likely to be merely a footnote of history, is so devoid of a vision of a global community with compassion that, even if it were to work—and we have strong doubts that it would—we would personally not want to become part of it, and we know that there are hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who share that feeling. Hopefully, among them are some who now conceive of themselves as gradualists.

We wish to make clear that in our view, imagining alternative futures and proposing transition strategies consonant with realizing world order value are not tasks to be relegated to the distant future. We know that national leaders, encapsulated by visions of the 18th and 19th centuries, are in the process of attempting to implement their own visions of world order, in which the balance of power is more significant than the realization of world order values. If a more peaceful and just world is to become a reality, the input of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of human beings and their humane visions of world order must replace those presently being acted upon by these anachronistic decision-makers.

There is an urgent need for dialogue and cooperation between the gradualists and the advocates of drastic system change. For if, indeed, they do share the same goal of a world community based on peace and social justice then they will need to work out a common vision of what that goal will be in actual operation, and more important, complementary strategies and policies for achieving it.*

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*I wish to acknowledge my appreciation to Betty Reardon for her assistance in adapting this article from a paper previously prepared for a German publication on peace education.

## How Can We Achieve World Peace? *(continued from page 614)*

moderates, or whomever, that I do not accept their views, quite simply because I do not feel they recognize fully the seriousness of the ever-increasing gap between the aspirations of the poor and a system which sets them apart from the rest of society. Nor do they comprehend the great physical and spiritual toll which poverty exacts. To create a society which functions for the masses of people rather than the privileged few, and a global order that finds it unnecessary to resort to war requires formidable changes to an extent perhaps not yet attempted by any democratic system. Clearly, this is not solely an American problem—indeed it may be far more serious in other countries. It certainly is a growing source of friction between countries. All humans and all their systems are ultimately interdependent, a fact which is daily being brought home to us with increasing sharpness and clarity.

Why, then, has the New Left failed, if in fact it did address itself to at least some of the basic needs of the broad mass of people and did act as an advocate of substantive change? And, more fundamentally, why did the New Left prove unable to reach any broad segment of working people—why, in fact, did it receive its most hostile reception from those it purported to represent?

The answer, I believe, is that the New Left was not simply untraditional, but in fact rejected the roles of tradition and history in its approaches to programs, values and attitudes. It opposed not just a few misplaced values, but all the dominant values of society, including many that are quite worthy. Ultimately, those who did not find its excesses appalling or outrageous found the New Left's ideas simply irrelevant.

The effectiveness of any formula

for broadly beneficial social change, anywhere in our global village, lies in its achieving two basic goals. The first is to bring about the material uplift of a people. The second is to extend and advance democracy while bringing about that economic and social transformation. Does the change make education more accessible to the masses, and does it abstain from efforts to use education for indoctrination and propaganda? Are citizens given the right to vote, and is political opposition permitted to exist free of harassment and repression? Is the press free of censorship? And so on.

Absolutely fundamental is the question of whether any proposed social change is rooted in the values of the particular society. For any change that is not firmly tied to the values of the past—values which give shape and meaning to society—contains the seeds of its own destruction. It will either be repudiated by the very people it seeks to serve, or become the oppressor of the people. Israel has succeeded precisely because its democratic structure and institutions have basic, positive meaning to its people. In contrast, the Soviet Union met fierce opposition in its efforts at collectivization because it was proposing a social system alien to its culture, and thus ultimately had to impose that system from above.

The civil rights movement has been a powerful force for social change in the United States because it has sought more than the tearing down of the barriers to a racially equal society. Precisely because the civil rights movement was a catalyst for much broader reform, it touched working people and poor people of all races. During the 1963 March on Washington, A. Philip Randolph described the black struggle as one which is "not confined to the Negro, nor. . .to civil rights, for our white allies know they cannot be free when we are not. And we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

To examine the civil rights movement is instructive. As a mass, all-embracing movement it succeeded in altering substantially the social fabric of segregation—a fabric that had been built up and solidified over the course of a century's time. But it has failed to produce similar, far-reaching economic change. To change long-established economic patterns is, of course, complex and difficult, but this is not a sufficient explanation. The civil rights movement could have accomplished a good deal more had it remained a mass movement; instead, sizable segments embraced the narrow path of race consciousness, rejected coalition, and informed the nation that social progress was henceforth to be measured in terms of blackness. It may be that race and ethnic consciousness is as old as the Republic. However true, it is certain that racial feeling, narrowly defined, has never been the basis for *progressive* change.

In 1963 A. Philip Randolph was telling the nation that: "It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values. . .to demand full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits." Few who listened could fail to understand that he was speaking of something basic, even drastic, that was nevertheless within the American democratic tradition—change that would not be imposed, but fought for politically and morally. Just a few years later Randolph's concrete program was displaced by rhetoric—by demands for "Black Power." The nation, instead of listening, recoiled in shock.

The failure of Black Power is not an isolated incident; it is a symptom of the inability of many movements, not only here but throughout the world, to understand the tensions and conflicts that exist between various social forces. This is a problem with environmentalists, who at times become so obsessed with what they perceive as the impending ecological crisis that they fail to balance the need to preserve our natural resources against the equally desperate need to close the poverty gap between the developing and developed nations. To fail to take into consideration these conflicting tensions and the political realities behind them is to invite division and disagreement among forces that, in other circumstances and under more far-sighted guidance, would be strong allies.

A basic challenge confronting the educator is to understand, weigh and clarify social tension. He must raise in each student's mind the question of how to resolve worthy but conflicting objectives—such as the need for economic growth to help bring about a more just society and the need to avoid ecological doom. In this sense, the teacher who helps the student understand these tensions performs a much more useful role than those who see themselves as social activists.

A second basic challenge to education relates to something I touched on earlier, the need to help the student develop the capacity to analyse the problems of a particular culture in the light of its values. It is important, however, that these values be relevant not simply to one nation or one culture, but to the worldwide situation. In raising these questions of universal values with the student, it is nevertheless generally more effective to relate them to one's own community or nation rather than to some far-off place. Social change—at least social change that advances through the democratic process the conditions of ordinary people—does not emerge all at once; it is built on and rooted in the culture of the past. This is especially true of the more basic changes, and our challenge is to accomplish these as rapidly as possible—not a whit slower. World peace is such a basic change. It cannot come too soon—but peace is meaningless if it is only temporary. Permanent world peace must be rooted in the processes described above.

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**3-Part Series**

# American Negroes and Israel

**Part II**

**By Bayard Rustin**
**Executive Director**
**A. Philip Randolph Institute**

**This 3-part series is taken from THE CRISIS magazine, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and sent through the coutesy of the American Jewish Congress.**

BAYARD RUSTIN

The conflict between Africans and Arabs dates back many centuries; Moslems were in fact one of the first outside forces to enslave and uproot tribal Africans on a wide scale. As John Hope Franklin, the distinguished Black historian, has noted:

> **When the Mohammedans invaded Africa, they contributed greatly to the development of the institution of Negro slavery by seizing Negro women for their harems and Negro men for military and menial service.**
>
> **By purchase as well as by conquest, the Moslems recruited Negro slaves and shipped them off to Arabia, Persia, or some other land of Islam . . . .**
>
> **Long before the extensive development of the slave trade in the hands of the Europeans, many of the basic practices of the international slave trade had already been established.**

It is true, of course, that the slave trade as practiced by the Moslems was not as severe or extensive an institution as it later became under the Europeans. A much more serious indictment of the attitudes of Arab society is its continued tolerance for the slave trade at a time when the rest of humanity has condemned and abandoned the practice. The Anti-Slavery Society, headquartered in London, an organization committed to the eradication of slavery around the world, reports that Arab nations are the most flagrant violators of the 1956 United Nations Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Practices Similar to Slavery. In Saudi Arabia alone there are 500,000 persons living in slavery or enforced bondage, according to Society estimates, and slavery is known to exist in a number of other Arab lands, including Kuwait, Oman and Muscat, Yemen, Algeria, and Lebanon.

The pattern of modern slavery, according to journalist Noel Mostert, "is the age-old one. The source is still mainly Africa, the essential difference being that the routes of the slave traders run eastward instead of westward."

One of the most disturbing aspects of modern slavery is that despite its almost universal condemnation and the sanctions of the United Nations, it has undergone a steady increase during the past 25 years, a period which coincides with the era of growing wealth for the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. The Anti-Slavery Society believes that chattel slavery has increased

**Continued on Page 19**

# American Negroes and Israel

threefold since 1947, and it ascribes the increase to the growing affluence of the oil nations.

The world reaction to the phenomenon of modern slavery is a textbook case of how the dictates of **realpolitik** drown out the cries of the oppressed. The United Nations, the only agency with jurisdiction sufficiently broad to provide an effective policing mechanism, has treated the slavery question with the utmost care. The Big Powers -- the United States and the Soviet Union, in particular -- are unwilling to risk a confrontation with the Middle Eastern states with which they hope to form economic and political alliances. In addition, Russia fears that opening the question of slavery might ultimately lead to an examination of its own political trials and slave labor camps.

The myth of Arab-African brotherhood is further belied by Moslem oppression of non-Moslem Blacks in Nigeria and the Sudan. During the war of Biafran secession, Egyptian pilots flew bombing missions in which the principal targets were inhabited villages rather than military installations of Biafran troops. In the Sudan, the Moslem north carried out a near-genocidal campaign of terror against the Black pagans and Christians of the South. The Sudanese civil war was provoked by the efforts of the Moslems to force their language, religion, and culture on the non-Moslem Blacks. Between 500,000 and 1,000,000 Sudanese were slain in the conflict; countless others, after watching their villages burn, fled to the bush or sought sanctuary in neighboring countries. The Sudanese government was able to conduct its military campaigns because of a $5,500,000 gift from Kuwait, and because of arms shipment from Algeria, Egypt, and the Soviet Union. Thus we had an example of Arab unity in which Black people, not Jews, were the victims.

For their part, African nations are aware of the long history of conflict between Arab and Black; they recognize that forming alliances with the Arabs is a matter of pragmatic politics, not the result of "brotherhood." African leaders, moreover, do not share the sentiments of Black nationalists here who look on Israel as imperialist or racist. Until the Yom Kippur War, African nations enjoyed close and often beneficial relations with Israel, which for years had provided aid and technical advice that was of considerable value to states just emerging from colonialism's yoke. Thus the fact that all but a handful of African nations have broken off diplomatic ties with Israel in the past few months must be evaluated in the light of the shifting political forces in the Middle East, rather than in terms of political ideology.

Just as oil is in large measure responsible for the upsurge of slavery in the Middle East, so is oil a principal cause of the shifting political alliances of African nations. One must keep in mind that oil was a powerful enough weapon to evoke anti-Israel responses from Great Britain, France, and other European countries. Small wonder that the same weapon is sufficiently imposing to bring about a reversal in the foreign policies of the struggling, impoverished, and often politically unstable nations of Africa.

The power of oil -- particularly as wielded by Libya since the

all African nations retained diplomatic ties with Israel. And when the United nations debated the question of which side was the aggressor in the Six Day War, most Black African nations supported Israel.

But in 1970, after Gaddafi had assumed power, support for Israel began to wane. Libya promised aid to economically unstable countries, such as Uganda, and threatened to finance Moslem revolutionary movements in militarily weak nations, like Chad, but only if the governments would quickly sever relations with Israel.

Israel also had the growing influence of Mohammedanism to contend with. Many African countries have sizeable and ever-increasing Moslem populations that represent a potential source of unrest. It is far simpler, in the view of African chiefs of state, to appease the Moslem communities by denouncing Israel than to risk internal disorder or an insurgent movement financed by Libya or Kuwait.

The African nations were also motivated by the promise of the Arabs to extend the oil boycott to Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. As we shall see, however, the boycott, and the ensuing spiral in oil prices, threatens the economies of African and other underdeveloped nations far more seriously than countries which practice colonialism or apartheid. In the case of South Africa, furthermore, it is the Blacks who will suffer most severely; one of South Africa's most respected tribal leaders, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has already asked that the boycott be called off, asserting that "it would end up being the Blacks in South Africa who would end up bearing the brunt if the taps were turned off."

**Continued Next Week**

# Bayard Rustin Tells It Like It Is —

**BAYARD RUSTIN**

### THE PLO: FREEDOM FIGHTERS OR TERRORISTS

One of the most distressing reflections of the unhappy state of world politics is the ease with which words can be perverted, stripped of significance, and made to mean their opposite.

Acts of murder and terrorism are transformed into gestures of "liberation." Hijacking and the slaughter of innocent children are carried out in the name of "peace." The word "racism," once so meaningful to the oppressed of the world, has lost all objective value as it is as often applied to democratic, interracial societies as to those which practice the most extreme forms of apartheid.

The distortion of language is, however, but a symbol of a fundamental surrendering of political and humanitarian priciples, typified most dramatically by the warm reception accorded Mr. Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Liberation Organization by the United Nations. For Mr. Arafat to have shot his way into the General Assembly with a machine gun, only to be greeted by an overture of applause would have been almost as ridiculous--and deplorable--as the cheers which greeted his tirade of misrepresentation.

What is, after all, the "legitimate struggle" Mr. Arafat and the PLO is conducting. It is a struggle being waged with the tactics of calculated violence, where military targets are avoided, but women, children, athletes, diplomats, airline passengers--the defenseless and univolved--are sought and struck down.

By embracing the PLO, the U. N. has given a solemn amen to organized brutality, encouraging along the way no one knows how many other extremist organizations with a grudge against society.

It should be noted that the PLO's terrorism is practiced on dissidents within the Palestinian community as well as on Israelis and their supporters. Mr. Arafat likes to talk of the PLO goal of establishing a "democratic" state, but here again we must distinguish between a word's actual meaning and Mr. Arafat's definition. The PLO is certainly no model of democracy: no one elected Arafat to represent the Palestinians; its authority is guaranteed by the "freedom fighter's gun" to which Mr. Arafat referred at the U. N.

What, then, of the PLO's charge that Israel is a "racist" nation. This accusation has been repeated so often--Arafat made numerous references to Israeli "racism" and "colonialism" in his U. N. address--that it has achieved a measure of acceptance world wide, and in the American black community.

The question is what do the Arabs mean by "racism?" The standard definition is the systematic oppression of an ethnic or racial minority, very often justified on the grounds that the minority is inherently less intelligent, less clean, less pure or in some way inferior to the majority.

Applying this measurement it is apparent that some of the most blatantly "racist" regimes are in Arab lands. In Iraq, Jews were hanged in a public square, while today napalm is employed against the dissident Kurdish minority. Syria rivals Nazi Germany in its brutal treatment of its Jewish citizens, who are confined to a cramped quarter of Damascus, prevented from emigrating, and from time to time murdered with official sanction. And in the Sudan, it was non-Moslem blacks who were the target of a genocidal war in which 500,000 were killed and many thousands more forced to flee their homes.

I would not pretend that the racial situation in Israel, where some 400,000 Arabs live as citizens, is perfect. But given the enormous problems confronting her, this small nation has achieved a level of racial tolerance that is indeed remarkable. The Arabs within Israel enjoy rights and a standard of living unknown to the masses in Moslem nations. They participate politically; elect their own representatives to parliament; receive public education; and belong to Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation. They are, in other words, a part of the progressive institutions of Israeli society.

I believe that the Palestinian people have the right to a homeland, to self-determination, to the resolution of their state of uncertainity. The Jewish people, historically an oppressed people, have the same right. And given the rhetoric and actions of the PLO, there can be little doubt that to accede to the demand of a binational state would result in the Jews of Israel being dealt with much like the Jews in Iraq and Syria.

In her brief history, Israel has forged an enviable record of social achievement. At a time when so many appear willing to accept lies as the truth, to reach dishonest conciliation with terrorists, to barter away the most basic ideals of justice and compassion, Israel more than ever deserves the support of people of good will and common decency.

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# Rustin on Amin

By **BAYARD RUSTIN**
**President**
**A. Philip Randolph Institute**

President Idi Amin of Uganda should not be regarded by American blacks as a great, important, or sensible leader. In the heated exchanges of views that have followed Amin's speech to the United Nations there will be those who will say that the issue is racial solidarity and support for the nations of black Africa.

The furor was created when the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, described Amin as a "racist murderer" and urged the members of the Organization of African Unity to disavow his remarks.

Amin is among the least impressive and most repulsive leaders to emerge in the post-colonial world. Reversing the humanism of the anti-colonial movements of Africa, Amin has made racism a virtue and operating principle of political action. Among his first acts after assuming office was to expel 60,000 Asians, whose families had lived in Uganda for generations, by a series of cruel racist decrees.

Amin has been more interested in the psychic gratification that comes with absolute rule than in achieving social and economic progress for the people of Uganda. After imprisoning a Britisher who had written some uncomplimentary things about Amin in his diary, Amin refused to pardon the man from a death sentence until the British Foreign Secretary virtually crawled on his knees. On another occasion, Amin arranged for four whites to carry him on a throne. In both instances Amin displayed a lack of dignity. Anyone who has suffered the horrors and degradations of racism and colonialism should be the last to require others to degrade themselves.

But Amin is not merely an egotistical ruler. He has erected a tyrannical, brutal, and repressive regime. According to objective international organizations like the International League for the Rights of Man, the International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International, Amin's assassination squads have killed as many as 250,000 Ugandans, including Uganda's most outstanding citizens.

Amin, a Moslem, is bitterly anti-Christian. He has expelled all Christian missionaries, persecuted the Ugandan Christian community, and devoted massive sums of government money to spreading Islam, despite the fact that Uganda is 85 percent Christian.

When Amin called for the extinction of Israel, his words could not be lightly dismissed. Besides his personal expertise at murder, Amin has frequently expressed admiration for Hitler. In 1972, he went so far as to send a telegram to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim endorsing Hitler's genocide against the Jews. Amin has repeated this statement on many occasions and has even named a public park in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, after Hitler.

The United Nations is a strange world where people are more alarmed at the man who calls "murderer," than at a man who has committed not simply one murder but thousands, and advocates the murder of thousands more. We are fortunate indeed that Ambassador Moynihan and Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, who is serving as a U.S. delegate to the UN, had the courage not to hide behind the safety of diplomatic niceties, but to say the things that needed to be said. They had a moral obligation to speak the truth. And the truth is that Amin is a racist murderer.

Although I attended the founding conference of the Organization of African Unity and spent some time in Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, and Tanzania helping in their liberation struggles, I am convinced that the nations of Africa made a serious error in this instance. The African states, which one would hope might be immune to the diplomatic hypocrisy perfected by the nations of Europe, were not in this case.

Because of the need for continental unity, the African states defended Amin, even though they are disturbed by Amin and his brutal despotism. But when they applauded Amin's call for the extinction of Israel, they approved of the destruction of a state, a violation of the UN charter. When they replied to Moynihan's criticism of Amin by echoing his "anti-Zionist" attack on the United States and Israel, they were employing the most unwarranted and deplorable stereotyping. Like Martin Luther King, Jr., we should recognize that "when people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews." Amin's rhetoric resembled that of the right-wing lunatic fringe in this country that has always maintained that the NAACP is a communist organization and—most regrettably—that of Hitler. Finally, knowing that Amin has violated every principle that the UN is founded on—peace, brotherhood, international cooperation, and the rights of man—the OAU should not have allowed him to be chairman.

One sad by-product of the Amin episode is that it has detracted from the accomplishments of the Organization of African Unity. That organization has played and can continue to play a most important and progressive role in Africa and in the world. Indeed, both Moynihan and Mitchell praised the African states for their moderation in opposing Arab attempts to expel Israel from the United Nations.

American blacks truly interested in aiding the people of Africa will not indulge tyrants in black skins any more than they would support apartheid in South Africa. Authentic solidarity with Africa and humanity demands that we oppose the slaughter, oppression, or degradation of all peoples. ■

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1977*

**Letters**

# On 'Amin's Reign of Terror'

To the Editor:

We in the black community have long opposed the brutality, the oppression and the injustices of the white minority governments of South Africa and Rhodesia. We are equally outraged by the violations of human rights and the murders committed by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda. Neither the character nor the quality of oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks.

The record of Amin's six-year rule is a series of savage incidents demonstrating a total contempt for human life. Amin expelled 40,000 Asians of British citizenship from Uganda. He has systematically persecuted Christians, who make up 80 percent of Uganda's population. The country's chief justice, a former Prime Minister, was dragged from his courtroom by Amin's gunmen and has not been seen since. All barriers that once protected Ugandans from the abuses and crimes of Amin have been removed.

It is estimated that from 50,000 to 300,000 Ugandans have been killed by Amin's murder squads. A French documentary film includes an estimate that 90,000 Ugandans were killed in the first three years of his rule. Thousands of Ugandans are in prisons and tens of thousands have fled to other African nations, Europe and the U.S.

No one should believe that in criticizing Amin he is criticizing black Africa. The leading statesmen of Africa have denounced his atrocities. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has called him "a murderer," while President Kenneth Kaunda has termed him "a racialist."

All Americans, black and white, who are dedicated to human rights and freedom, should join in vigorously condemning Amin's reign of terror and should do whatever is possible to defend his victims—hundreds of whom are exiles living in the United States.

DOROTHY HEIGHT
Pres., Natl. Council of Negro Women
VERNON JORDAN
Exec. Dir., National Urban League
ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON
N.Y.C. Commissioner of Human Rights
FREDERICK O'NEAL
Pres., Associated Actors and Artistes
WILLIAM POLLARD
Dir., A.F.L.-C.I.O. Civil Rights Dept.
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Pres. Emer., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
BAYARD RUSTIN
Pres., A. Phillip Randolph Institute
ROY WILKINS
Exec. Dir., N.A.A.C.P.
New York, Feb. 18, 1977

165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022/Plaza 1-4000
Editor: Norman Podhoretz

# News from Commentary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, September 29...A prominent black leader has warned the Carter administration against concentrating "solely on the black-white problem" in Africa while failing to resist "the kind of totalitarian party dictatorships which the Soviet Union is in the process of trying to implant in Africa." Bayard Rustin, President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, writing in collaboration with Carl Gershman, Executive Director of Social Democrats USA, issues this warning in an article entitled "Africa, Soviet Imperialism, and the Retreat of American Power" in the October issue of Commentary Magazine.

"Virtually all governments in Africa are undemocratic to one degree or another," says Rustin who, in addition to playing a major role in the civil-rights movement in the United States, was also a founder of the Committee to Support South African Resistance and has worked in Africa with the independence movements of Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika, and Zambia. But, he continues, "Nowhere are human rights more brutally suppressed, and nowhere does democracy have less chance of evolving," than in Marxist-Leninist regimes of the type which has been established in Angola with the help of the Soviet Union and its Cuban military proxies.

Rustin and Gershman charge that the Carter administration has been less sensitive than many African leaders to the menace of Soviet power in that continent. In support of this charge, they cite the airlifting of Moroccan troops to help Zaire combat a Soviet-armed invasion, the attack by President Bongo of Gabon on what he himself called "Soviet imperialism," and other attacks on Russian policy in Africa by President Mobuto of Zaire, President Kaunda of Zambia, President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, President Senghor of Senegal, and President al-Numeiry of the Sudan. These African responses, Rustin and Gershman declare, contrast sharply with UN Ambassador Andrew Young's statement that the Cubans "are a force for stability in Angola," and President Carter's opposition to sending military aid to Kenya and Zaire.

Rustin and Gershman further charge that "in an administration presumably committed to the welfare of blacks, the hands-off attitude toward the Cuban actions in Africa is completely hypocritical." In a reference to Ambassador Young's statement with regard to the Cuban presence in Angola, they write: "To put it bluntly, the Cubans have not 'stabilized' Angola but have brutalized black Africans living in that unfortunate country." On this point they quote President Houphouet-Boigny who said recently: "In less than two years they (the Cubans) have killed thousands of Angolans--our African brothers, murdered in cold blood. More victims fell in this short period than in the fifteen years of guerrilla war against Portuguese colonialism. Yet the West rarely notes this gruesome reality."

"It would appear," Rustin and Gershman sum up, "that any number of African leaders have a better understanding of the policies of the Soviet Union and their strategic and geopolitical meaning for the West than does the leader of the West's most powerful country." These goals, they say, include Soviet control of raw materials vital to the West and of the sea lanes necessary to Western commerce. "While African leaders are concerned with an ominous threat to their own independence and are pleading for America to see its own stake in opposing it, our own leaders are busy drawing analogies between Africa and the American South," they say.

Commenting on that analogy, made on different occasions by Ambassador Young, Vice-President Mondale, and President Carter, Rustin and Gershman caution: "The fact that the civil-rights analogy does not work hardly means that the United States should not continue to press forward for rapid and fundamental change in southern Africa. But the policy must have two sides: for majority rule and against elements that seek to exploit the issue to advance Soviet goals."

Commentary is a monthly journal of thought and opinion published by the American Jewish Committee. Its Editor is Norman Podhoretz, noted author and critic.

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Freedom at issue

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# A U.S. Coalition on Human Rights

Bayard Rustin

*Scores of organizations in the civil rights movement joined with groups in the field of international human rights, on October 6, to attempt to form a broad American coalition for human rights. Freedom House was one of the early organizers of the conference. Among the speakers were John Richardson, Jr., president of Freedom House, and Board members Sol Chaikin, Leo Cherne, and Rita Hauser.*

*Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was the organizer of the conference. His opening address appears below.*

*Mr. Richardson hailed Mr. Rustin's remarks and particularly applauded his opposition to "tyranny of the left and the right, and injustice at home and abroad." Mr. Richardson recalled his own participation in the March on Washington in 1963—Mr. Rustin was a prime mover then, too—as an "enormous outpouring of human conscience." That movement, said Mr. Richardson, "is now at a stage at which it can spread around the world, and even strengthen our own government's commitment to advancing human rights."*

*Private organizations are most effective, he added, in maintaining this momentum. In that regard, he urged again private pressure on governments for the continuing review of the Helsinki Accords after the present Belgrade Conference ends.*

We meet as individuals active in major American organizations involved in social, economic, or political improvement, to join with leaders of organizations with a long and honorable tradition in promoting international human rights.

We have come together to consider whether we should form an American coalition for human rights; and, if so, to begin the discussion of what its purpose, structure, and functions should be.

The idea for this meeting originated when a few of us met to plan an educational conference on the meaning of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords which are being discussed at the Belgrade Conference that opened earlier this week. As we explored with others the idea of such a conference on the Helsinki Accords, it became clear that concern in America for human rights is now so strong that there was a need for a far broader organization than we had originally anticipated.

At the outset, I would like to suggest a moral philosophy for your consideration as a basis for the coalition that is being proposed.

I believe we must oppose suppression of human rights anywhere, *whatever the ideology of the oppressor.* We must, in my view, oppose dictatorships *of both the right and the left*—unequivocally and without qualification.

In addition, I would like to propose that such a coalition stress the importance of social and economic well-being for all peoples. We must, in my view, look to the development of human well-being that embodies the *full* range of human rights and aspirations. I point out that this means stretching the definition of human rights beyond civil and political considerations to include all matters which affect human welfare.

We have called together today people whom we believe to be committed to the principles I have suggested.

It is my hope that this coalition will be concerned *whenever* governments, including our own, restrict the rights of people for advocating or exercising:

Freedom of speech and of the press; *or*

Freedom of assembly and association, including the right to form free trade unions; *or*

An independent judiciary; *or*

Freedom of artistic and intellectual expression; *or*

Religious liberty and freedom of movement.

We must also begin to lay a groundwork for education about minimum social and economic standards. These are the tasks for the coalition.

It is also my hope that our coalition would oppose violations of human rights whether they take place in Chile *or* Cuba—that is, in dictatorships of the right *or* left; in South Africa *or* Uganda—that is, in dictatorships that are white *or* black; in South Korea *or* Vietnam—that is, in dictatorships that are authoritarian *or* totalitarian. In order for this coalition to be successful and morally consistent, it must oppose dictatorships of every kind.

Let those of us here today not forget that, if we lived in a dictatorship, we could be among the first to be jailed, or interned on some island prison, or sent to the Gulag Archipelago. *We* are the counterparts of the human rights advocates who are chemically lobotomized in Soviet mental institutions or trapped in the brutalized serfdom of the *apartheid* system that tyrannizes the vast majority of South Africans.

We are not in South Africa, or Chile, or the Soviet Union, or Uganda. We are in America, and here we can provide moral sustenance to those who suffer afflictions because of their beliefs in elected governments and in an open society.

Just two days ago, a voice cried out to us, the voice of Andrei Sakharov, one of the true heroes of our time, who said: "We are going through a period of history in which decisive support of the principles of freedom of conscience, an open society, and the rights of man, have become an absolute necessity." I want to express my total solidarity, with this statement, and with the admirable man who made it. And I hope that we here can provide such support, and help develop it elsewhere. We can also provide economic sustenance, both to relieve human suffering and to sustain democracy wherever it exists.

The people of India have shown recently that even the most poverty-stricken demand both bread and freedom. And as we celebrate the bloodless democratic restoration in that ancient land, we must not forget that the people of India need our bread, and our support of their economic and social development. Yet I have not detected a commitment in our nation to greater assistance, on anywhere *near* the scale that I believe is required to reinforce political democracy in India with the solid foundation of economic development.

Although our government must do more in this area, our president, Jimmy Carter, deserves great credit for expressing eloquently the concern which many Americans have for human rights. Indeed, our president has raised the spirit of this country and given renewed hope to millions throughout the world who suffer from political oppression.

Most of the people in this room today were active in the civil rights movement a decade and a half ago.

We marched together in Washington in 1963 and in Selma in 1965.

We protested together.

We lobbied together.

We mourned together.

We have friends who are not here today—Protestant, Christian, Jewish, black, white, yellow, brown—who lost their lives in that great struggle.

But, despite suffering, we accomplished a revolution in American society. We learned what can be done when peoples join together to work for democratic change.

It is my hope that the proposed coalition will be formed, and that we *all* will enlist in this struggle for human rights. Yet we should remember, as we enter this arena, that we are really the second or third wave in a battle long led by others, whose significant contribution has, I am happy to report, recently begun to be appreciated.

I speak, of course, of the major human rights organizations, many of whose leaders are here today. I particularly want to welcome our friends from Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights, the International Commission of Jurists, Freedom House, the International Rescue Committee, and the leaders of human rights efforts sponsored by some of our nation's principal religious and trade-union organizations. We came to these human rights organizations for advice and assistance in planning this conference, and we will assuredly need their cooperation in the future, if such a coalition as is proposed here is to prosper.

May I also add that many of us are deeply concerned about the campaign launched by some of the worst oppressors in the world to remove United Nations consultative status from such principal human rights organizations as the International League for Human Rights. I hope I speak for all of us when I urge representatives of the organizations in this room *not to fail* to bring to the attention of other leaders and members of their organizations this despicable effort launched by such champions of police-state terrorism as Argentina, Chile, and the Soviet Union.

We should watch this situation carefully. If the professional human rights organizations request our assistance, I hope all of us will communicate to the Carter Administration our concern at this expulsion effort, and our strong support of what we hope will be a determined effort by President Carter to organize multi-lateral backing for protecting the present United Nations status of the independent human rights consultative organizations.

With respect to the function and structure of the coalition, we have in mind the model developed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, founded by Roy Wilkins over twenty-five years ago and still going strong. The Leadership Conference is a broad coalition of more than 150 organizations, many of which are represented here today. At its core are the major black organizations, and surrounding them are the labor, religious, liberal, professional, service, and youth organizations that make up that body.

It has been our experience in the Leadership Conference that all involved have benefited from such an arrangement. The civil rights groups have been strengthened by having immediate access to a permanent coalition of organizations which might otherwise not be involved in an on-going basis in the civil rights cause. Equally, the non-civil rights organizations benefit by having a means of informing themselves about civil rights issues and of participating effectively in this field.

Yet, in the Leadership Conference, we do not pretend to have unity on every issue, and we issue statements or take actions only where there is a consensus. However, when the Leadership Conference does act in consensus, its effectiveness is far, far greater than any single organization could ever hope to achieve acting alone.

We hope that the human rights coalition proposed today could serve similar purposes. For those organizations that are relatively new to the human rights field, the proposed coalition could provide valuable, reliable information and a means of becoming active. For those organizations with extensive human rights traditions and programs, the coalition can provide a national framework for cooperation. For professional human rights organizations, it can help increase their influence by expanding the number of leaders and organizations who receive their materials, endorse their statements, and promote their appeals.

In another connection—there are profound differences in the way in which many people here approach the problem and meaning of social and economic human rights. The coalition can be an agency to stimulate research to help define and clarify these important areas.

As to the proposed coalition's specific objectives and structure, they are, for discussion purposes, spelled out in two sheets of paper you should all [here] have, one called the statement of *Purpose and Goals*, the other the statement of *Structure and Function*.

You are no doubt aware that the problems we address today are vast and complex. Thus, I have suggested to all panelists that they consider commenting on these two papers in the course of their remarks, where they feel it appropriate. I also stress that the suggested goals, structure, and function are tentative and are presented to open the discussion.

Some people may say that we should not presume to concern ourselves with conditions in other countries which have different histories from our own, different cultures, different levels of social and economic development, different forms of governments, and different political ideologies. The expression of such concern, some maintain, constitutes interference in the internal affairs of other countries. I am in this context reminded of the criticism which eight Alabama clergymen levelled against the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for "interfering" in the internal affairs of Birmingham. I was deeply moved by Martin's reply when he illuminated John Donne's "no man is an island." In Martin's famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," he said:

"I am in Birmingham because injustice is here.... Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly."

That, I trust, is our common belief. May we move to the task ahead. ☐

Bayard Rustin Address
at National Conference on
Human Rights, October 6, 1977

Welcome - and thank you for coming.

We meet as individuals active in major American organizations involved in work for social, economic, or political improvement, to join with leaders of organizations with a long and honorable tradition in promoting international human rights.

We have come together to consider whether we should form an American coalition for human rights; and if so to begin the discussion of what its purpose, its structure and its functions should be.

The idea for this meeting originated when a few of us met to plan an educational conference on the meaning of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords which are being discussed at the Belgrade Conference that opened earlier this week.

I won't discuss the significance of Helsinki. My good friend Bill Korey will do this shortly. I only want to say that as we explored with others the idea of such a conference, it became clear that concern in America for human rights is now so strong that this conference is of far broader scope than originally anticipated.

I would like to suggest a moral philosophy for your consideration as a basis for the coalition that is being proposed.

I believe we must oppose suppression of human rights anywhere, *whatever the ideology of the oppressor.* We must, in my view, oppose dictatorships *of both the right and the left* - unequivocally and without qualification.

In addition, I would like to propose that such a coalition stress the importance of social and economic well-being for all peoples. We must, in my view, look to the development of human well-being that embodies the *full range* of human rights and aspirations. I point out that this means stretching the definition of human rights beyond civil and political to include all matters which affect human welfare.

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It is my hope that this coalition will be concerned whenever governments, including our own, restrict the rights of people for advocating or exercising:

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Religious liberty and freedom of movement.

We must also begin to lay a groundwork for education about minimum social and economic standards. This will be a task for the coalition.

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We came to those human rights organizations for advice and assistance in planning this conference, and we will assuredly need their cooperation in the future, if such a coalition as is proposed here is to prosper.

May I also add that many of us are deeply concerned about the campaign launched by some of the worst oppressors in the world to remove United Nations' consultative status from such principal human rights organizations as the International League for Human Rights.

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For professional human rights organizations, it can help increase their influence by expanding the number of leaders who receive their materials, endorse their statements, and promote their appeals.

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The expression of such concern, some maintain, constitutes interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

I am reminded of the criticism which eight Alabama clergymen levelled against the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for "interfering" in the internal affairs of Birmingham. I was deeply moved by Martin's reply when he illuminated John Donne's "no man is an island." In Martin's famous "Letter From A Birmingham Jail," he said

"I am in Birmingham because injustice is here ... Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly."

That, I pray, is our common belief.

Now let us move forward.

# The War Against Zimbabwe

*Bayard Rustin*

No election held in any country at any time within memory has been more widely or vociferously scorned by international opinion than the election conducted last April in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe Rhodesia. In scores of other countries, non-democratic governments periodically stage elections whose predetermined results are never challenged or questioned, even by the world's democracies. Indeed, just two weeks before the Rhodesian election, the Iranian government held a referendum in which the people were asked to approve the establishment of an "Islamic republic." Though a constitution had not yet been drafted, and though the vote took place during a period of growing repression of civil liberties, widespread separatist rebellions, and a reign of terror by semi-secret courts dispensing "revolutionary justice," no government raised objections to the whole procedure or questioned the validity of its predictable outcome.

In contrast to the silent acquiescence in what passes for elections in the world's tyrannies, the outcry against the Rhodesian election has been deafening. The United Nations Security Council immediately passed a resolution condemning it and calling upon all countries not to lift economic sanctions against Zimbabwe Rhodesia. And the New York *Times*, urging no change in the Carter administration's Rhodesian policy, announced that it would be "a moral and diplomatic disaster" for the United States to recognize the legitimacy of the election or of the government resulting from it. The *Times*'s wish has since been granted.

Few critics of the election have even pretended to have an open mind on the subject. United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, who had earlier described as "neofascist" both the interracial transitional government in Rhodesia and anyone who supported it, announced that the election was "rigged" and called for "new elections without pressures." Congressman Stephen Solarz, the chairman of the House African Affairs Subcommittee, said the election no more expressed the will of the people than did elections in the Soviet Union. (He had earlier helped defeat a move to send a congressional observer team to Rhodesia to determine if, in fact, such a harsh judgment of the election were warranted.) Columnist Tom Wicker, who had predicted that the civil war would prevent the Rhodesian government from conducting any election, let alone a fair one, dismissed the absence of major disruption during the voting as immaterial, and observed that the newly elected government of Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa simply could not be accepted as "a legitimate member of the family of nations." And a group of 99 Americans, ranging from intellectuals and others on the far Left to liberal civil-rights and labor leaders, issued a statement a month *before* the election calling it a "fraud" since "the people of Zimbabwe cannot vote freely with a gun at their heads."

Contrary to these predictions and opinions, however, the people of Zimbabwe did vote in an election that was freer than most held in the developing world—freer, certainly, than elections held anywhere in Africa with the exception of Gambia, Botswana, and possibly several other small countries. Moreover, not only did they not vote with "a gun at their heads," many voted with genuine, unmistakable enthusiasm. The contrast between how the election was viewed by most Zimbabweans (the name preferred by the blacks) and how it was described by critics outside the country is nothing less than extraordinary.

As one of the nine members of the Freedom House delegation which observed the election (others included the journalist Roscoe Drummond, former Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein, and Professor Maurice C. Woodard of Howard University), I had the opportunity to speak on

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**Bayard Rustin** is national chairman of Social Democrats USA. A long-time civil-rights leader in the United States, he was also a founder, in 1951, of the Committee to Support South African Resistance and worked in Africa with the independence movements of Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Kenya, and Zambia. Mr. Rustin's last previous contribution to COMMENTARY (August 1977) was "Africa, Soviet Imperialism & the Retreat of American Power," written with Carl Gershman, who assisted in the preparation of this article as well.

the spot with hundreds of voters in different election districts, as well as with leaders of the participating parties, knowledgeable correspondents, and other international observers. I also met with opponents of the election who were part of the so-called external forces or the Patriotic Front and with professors and students at the university of Salisbury, most of whom boycotted the election. Our delegation stayed throughout the five-day election, visiting more than 100 polling stations throughout the country. Three members remained in Zimbabwe Rhodesia until all the votes were counted and any complaints of irregularities could be received.

The delegation, whose members had professionally monitored previous elections in 26 countries, was excellently qualified to make an informed and objective judgment about the fairness of the election and the attitude of the people toward it. Our conclusion, reached unanimously, was that "the election represented a significant advance toward multiracial majority rule" and was "a useful and creditable step toward the establishment of a free society in Zimbabwe Rhodesia."

To be sure, the election was held under extraordinary circumstances. The Patriotic Front had vowed to use violence to disrupt the voting—Joshua Nkomo, the leader of one wing of the Front, had predicted a "bloodbath" at the polls, a warning repeated by many of the guerrillas—and so martial law was in force throughout most of the country. The security forces at the polls protected voters and gave them a feeling of reassurance. Their presence may also have had a coercive effect, but we saw no evidence that they compelled people either to vote or to vote for a particular candidate. (The voting was by secret ballot.) In many localities where people did not vote in large numbers, the government did not try to increase the turnout. Moreover, it was in the large urban centers, where the voters were the most sophisticated and the least subject to exhortation and coercion, that the highest levels of participation occurred.

This is not to say that the government took a passive role in the election. Everyone eighteen years of age and older was allowed to vote, and the government encouraged participation through publicity about the election and voting procedures. But these actions were not inappropriate in a situation where most people were voting for the first time in their lives; and their overall effect was to increase majority control over the results. At the same time, the government sharply curtailed the nonviolent expression of opposition to the election. Such expression was allowed in some places, such as at the university in Salisbury where we witnessed a demonstration urging a boycott of the voting. But on the whole, the opponents of the election were not allowed freely to communicate their point of view.

What effect this restriction had on the election is hard to say, since voters were subject to many conflicting pressures. White farmers and employers encouraged people to vote, as did the local militias (the security forces organized by the black political parties). But voting was also discouraged by the fear of disruption at the polls and by the Patriotic Front's warnings that it would punish anyone who participated. While the disruptions did not occur on a large scale, some voters were killed in transit to the polls by land mines which the guerrillas had laid.

NO ONE can say with certainty what influence these different pressures had on the voters. But clearly a very large proportion of the population felt free to participate or not to participate in the election. Taking into consideration disputes over the size of the voting populations in some districts and voting by some teenagers under the qualifying age of eighteen, the turnout was still well over 50 per cent and was most likely nearer the official figure of 64.5 per cent. The turnout was unexpectedly high, well above the minimum figure the government felt was necessary to demonstrate majority support for the election. Since opponents of the election would undoubtedly have used a low turnout as evidence of majority opposition to the election, they are hardly in a position to deny the significance of the turnout that did take place.

Moreover, the voters had, in the view of the Freedom House delegation, "a sense of meaningful choice." The nearly 1,900,000 black votes were divided among four competing parties, with Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC) receiving an overwhelming 65 per cent majority. The post-election charge by the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole that there were "gross irregularities" during the election only underscores the fact that the competition was keen, since he was deeply disappointed by his party's distant (14 per cent) second-place finish. (Significantly, his allegations did not focus on the mechanics of the election, which no one has challenged, but on the methods used by Muzorewa's party to increase its vote; and the allegations have not been supported by the evidence or testimony of the overwhelming majority of international observers.)

It is true, of course, that the two external parties—Nkomo's Zambia-based Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Robert Mugabe's Mozambique-based Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—did not appear on the ballot. But the common belief that they were excluded from the election is simply inaccurate. Not only were Nkomo and Mugabe invited to participate, they were both offered seats on the transitional government's Executive Council, along with Prime Minister Ian Smith, Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau. But Nkomo and Mugabe refused to have anything to do with the election. Still, voters were allowed to cast protest votes by spoiling their ballots or leaving them blank. Some did, since the number of spoiled or blank ballots was highest in districts where the external parties have the most support. Yet the percentage of such ballots never reached 10 per cent in any single district, and nationally only 3.35 per cent of the voters chose to protest in this way.

While the election thus did not meet the rigorous standards that one would apply to elections in Western democracies, it was remarkably free and fair, especially considering that a civil war was in progress and that most of the population had never before participated in an election. But the opponents of the election—not just the Patriotic Front, the front-line states (Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, and Angola), the Communist world, and the United Nations, but also political leaders and publicists in Western democracies, including the United States—have not shown the least interest in the question of how democratic the voting process was. As the New York *Times* put it, "The real issue is not how the election was conducted, but what it was about."

In this connection, two major objections have been raised, the first having to do with the new constitution. It is charged that this constitution was never submitted to the black voters for approval; that it reserves, for a period of ten years, 28 of the 100 parliamentary seats for the 4 per cent white minority; and that it preserves white domination over the army, police, judiciary, and civil service. The second objection is that the internal settlement, under which the constitution was adopted and the election was held, did not include the Patriotic Front, and so would not end the civil war but lead to its escalation, with the likely involvement of Cuban troops. Summing up these objections, the *Times* has charged that the internal settlement "is little more than a device for keeping real power in the hands of Rhodesia's small white minority" and is, therefore, "rightly suspect in black African eyes" and "a recipe for civil war."

Here again, the views of the opponents of the election outside Zimbabwe Rhodesia and the views of the people inside the country diverge in a most extraordinary way. The Zimbabweans participated in the election with enthusiasm precisely because they felt it marked the beginning of real majority rule and would also bring an end to the war. Virtually all the people I spoke with gave these reasons to explain why they were voting.

The "internal leaders" who negotiated the settlement with Ian Smith felt that the agreement reached on March 3, 1978 established, in the words of Bishop Muzorewa, "the machinery for dismantling the structures and practices of colonialism and racism and of minority rule." They went into the negotiations with the objectives of destroying the legal foundation for institutionalized racial discrimination and winning the transfer of power from the minority to the majority in an election based on the principle of one person/one vote. The first objective was achieved on October 10, 1978 with the abolition of all statutory discrimination, including the Land Tenure Act which reserved lands for white ownership. The second objective was achieved with the election in April.

The argument that the constitution was never submitted to the black voters for their approval is weak. Throughout the talks, black negotiators reported back to the executive bodies of their respective parties to get their approval for any agreements that were made. At one point in the negotiations, when Bishop Muzorewa walked out in a dispute over the number of white seats in the new parliament, a special meeting of the UANC's Provincial Council was called which was attended by 800 delegates from all over the country. These delegates represented local constituents who were kept informed about the progress of the talks. In the view of the *black* parties, a referendum on the constitution would simply have delayed independence and exposed their party workers to increased guerrilla violence. And it would have been redundant, they felt, since participation in the election was itself a vote in favor of the constitution and the internal settlement—a point implicitly recognized by those who opposed the election because of "what it was about."[•]

The black negotiators compromised on the issue of the 28 white seats; they were, after all, *negotiating*, and they did not feel that they had sacrificed their fundamental position. In the first place, such an arrangement was in the tradition of Britain's African decolonization policy of "multiracialism." (In Zambia, for example, the special allotment of parliamentary seats to the non-African minority was not discontinued until 1968, four years after

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[•] It is true that a referendum on the internal settlement was held for whites. This was done to fulfill Smith's 1977 electoral pledge that whites would be consulted on any agreement negotiated with internal black leaders—a pledge made to shore up the confidence of the whites, whom Smith had promised only a few years before that there would not be black majority rule "for a thousand years." In this connection, Andrew Young's repeated claim that 40 per cent of the whites preferred the Anglo-American plan to the internal settlement is without foundation. In the 1977 election in which Smith had sought a mandate to negotiate an internal settlement, his Rhodesian Front party won 85.4 per cent of the votes. The Rhodesian Action party, which opposed any move toward majority rule, won 9 per cent of the votes, while the National Unifying Force, which backed the Anglo-American plan, received only 4 per cent. In the subsequent referendum, held in January 1979, over 84 per cent of the whites voted in favor of the internal settlement, and once again the opposition consisted overwhelmingly of those who opposed majority rule altogether.

It is possible that Young's figure of 40 per cent was reached by adding the total number of no votes on the referendum to the number of whites who didn't vote. This may also be how President Carter arrived at the figure of only 60 per cent white support for the constitution, which was one of the reasons he gave at his June 7 press conference for not lifting sanctions. This is of course an exceedingly duplicitous use of statistics. If the same method were applied to the 1976 U.S. election, one would conclude that only 27 per cent of the American electorate supported President Carter while 73 per cent opposed him.

independence.) Then, too, all the plans that have been introduced for a negotiated transition to majority rule have made a special provision for white representation in parliament. Even the now obsolete Anglo-American plan, which is vigorously defended by Ambassador Young, reserves 20 of the 100 seats for the white minority. During Nkomo's bilateral talks with Smith in 1976, he proposed an election with three different voting rolls which would have assured the whites a substantial minority of legislative seats. He did so, as he said, "to meet fears expressed by the Rhodesian Front" (Smith's party) and "in a spirit of compromise." In the talks leading to the internal settlement, Smith demanded 34 seats for the whites. Muzorewa wanted the number limited to 20 but reluctantly compromised at 28 after his black negotiating partners, Sithole and Chirau, accepted that figure.

The blacks agreed to this arrangement for a ten-year period; they also agreed to clauses in the constitution which protect the institutional interests of the whites for an equal period, in order to reassure the white minority that its political and economic position would be stabilized under an African-dominated government. The alternative to this kind of settlement would have meant the inevitable flight of whites from the country and the collapse of the economy, as happened recently in Angola and Mozambique. Muzorewa has made the point that if independence is not to be a "hollow shell," Zimbabwe must not repeat the mistakes of other African countries which drove out indigenous skilled whites, and then in desperation rehired at three times the cost "economic mercenaries who were inevitably failures in their own countries and who came to Africa for what they could milk out of their hosts."

The internal settlement, then, was designed to provide a period of stable transition during which blacks could acquire the experience and skills they were denied under white rule. Muzorewa has promised training programs for Africans to achieve "*both* . . . the necessary efficiency and the necessary orientation to black majority rule" (emphasis added). He is not impatient, since black control over the institutions now dominated by whites is inevitable in a country 96 per cent black. (Already the army is 85 per cent black and the police force is 75 per cent black, and the cabinet minister responsible for each force is also black. Moreover, all white officials are now answerable to a black head of state and to a parliament and cabinet which have over a two-thirds black majority.

While Muzorewa and the other internal black leaders have expressed a practical interest in retaining the skills and energies of the whites for Zimbabwe, expediency has not been their only consideration. Whites who have been four generations in Zimbabwe, Muzorewa has said, and who have no other home, must not be "driven out to nowhere." In an open letter to American blacks, Muzorewa has emphasized that Zimbabweans had never "fought the white man's skin. We fought his evil system. We fought his racism." Some people, he said, feel that we should "be ruthless with the white race. But I wish to warn against the reversal of discrimination . . . it makes us hypocrites to turn into black racists ourselves. It makes us oppressors and not liberators."

Ordinarily one might expect such sentiments to be applauded by Western liberals. But in fact, as Bishop Muzorewa said recently, while Zimbabweans "are prepared to forget the past and work together with our white brethren . . . some people in Britain, America, Africa, and other parts of the world appear unwilling to allow us to do so." Little attempt has been made even to understand the practical and moral aspects of the Bishop's position, which is viewed as a rationalization for continued white control of Zimbabwe Rhodesia. As a result, we have the paradoxical situation that a settlement which has been accepted by most people inside Zimbabwe Rhodesia as the best and only realistic course for their country to take is opposed by foreign advocates of "majority rule"!

THE negotiations leading to the internal settlement succeeded, where all previous attempts to negotiate a solution to the Rhodesian crisis failed, because three conditions prevailed. First, by the fall of 1976, the Smith regime had been forced by events to concede the principle of black majority rule. No single event broke the back of white resistance. Rather, it was a series of developments: the energy crisis and the Western economic recession which magnified the impact of sanctions on the Rhodesian economy; the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the emergence of pro-Communist regimes in Angola and Mozambique; a sharp change in policy toward Rhodesia by both the United States and South Africa; and not least, the steady escalation of the guerrilla insurgency and the increased rate of white flight from the country. All these together compelled Smith to abandon his position of intransigence.

The second factor was the involvement in the talks of black leaders with a broad following in the country, in particular Bishop Muzorewa. The earliest talks (aboard the HMS *Tiger* in 1966 and the HMS *Fearless* in 1968, and the negotiations in 1971 between Smith and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, then British Foreign Minister) had been between Britain and Rhodesia and had bypassed the black majority entirely. Subsequent talks between Smith and Nkomo in 1975 and 1976 similarly lacked the involvement of broadly representative nationalist leaders. Nkomo certainly had long experience in the nationalist movement. But he had only limited support in the country, partly because of his narrow tribal base among the Ndebeles who make up only about 15 per cent of the black population. In addition, the talks were viewed by other nationalists as an attempt by Zambia's President

Kaunda to impose his own candidate, Nkomo, as the leader of the internally divided nationalist movement. In fact, resentment against Zambian interference in Zimbabwean affairs has been one of the elements in the Rhodesian talks least understood by outsiders.

Muzorewa, unlike Nkomo, had for some time been thought to have the broadest popular support among Zimbabweans. Elected Rhodesia's first black bishop in 1968, he quickly earned the reputation of being a resolute defender of black interests and was barred by the government from visiting tribal trust lands. When the British appointed the Pearce Commission in 1971 to test the acceptability to blacks of the Smith-Home constitutional proposals, he was the only figure the different nationalist factions could agree upon to head the new African National Council (ANC), which was organized to mobilize the campaign for rejection. The campaign was successful, and during the course of it Muzorewa emerged as the preeminent black leader in the country.

Combining strong criticism of the Smith regime with appeals for racial reconciliation, Muzorewa has frequently drawn huge crowds at rallies, at times as many as 200,000 people, and his popularity was confirmed by his overwhelming victory in the election. He also has support among the guerrillas, most of whom left Rhodesia in the period following 1972 when his popularity was at its height. This helps explain why he is seen as the only nationalist leader capable of unifying the country.

After the collapse of the all-party Geneva talks in January 1977, Smith announced that he would seek talks with "moderate blacks," chiefly Muzorewa's ANC. Muzorewa refused to take part in any talks unless Smith was prepared to surrender power "immediately and unconditionally" to the black majority. But the decision of the five frontline presidents to give exclusive backing to the Patriotic Front produced great resentment in Muzorewa's party, which accused them of "launching a civil war" that would cause the slaughter of Zimbabweans. When the Organization of African Unity, at its Libreville meeting in July 1977, also decided to back the Patriotic Front, an internal settlement became the only course open to those who still wanted a negotiated solution. Sithole, a dedicated nationalist who had spent ten years in prison for his political activities and was, in fact, the founder of ZANU, had already agreed to negotiate with Smith. So when Smith, on November 24, 1977, conceded the principle of one-person/one-vote elections as the starting point for negotiations, Muzorewa announced that he was ready "to test him out."

MUZOREWA's desire for free, universal-suffrage elections was naturally strengthened by his confidence that he would win them convincingly. Similarly, not least among the reasons Nkomo and Mugabe have opposed such elections as the basis for a transfer of power from the white minority is their fear that they could not win on those terms. Both, in fact, have said that they would only consider holding elections *after* power had been transferred to the Patriotic Front. This, if anything, is a sure "recipe for civil war," since an election policed by the two guerrilla forces of the Patriotic Front would quickly degenerate into a war between them, a prospect that even Zambia's Kaunda is thought to fear.

Moreover, it is hardly likely that either Nkomo or Mugabe would govern democratically. Nkomo, given his narrow base, could only rule through force. And his close ties to Russia and Cuba, which have equipped and trained his army, make it inevitable that both countries would have a decisive influence in any government he headed. Mugabe, even more than Nkomo, favors totalitarianism out of ideological conviction. He has made no secret of his belief that "the multiparty system is a luxury," and he has announced that if the blacks of Zimbabwe do not like his ideology, "then we will have to reeducate them."

The absence, then, of Nkomo and Mugabe from the talks with Smith was the third factor which made it possible for the negotiations to succeed. There simply was no basis for a political compromise which included the Patriotic Front, a reality which the frontline states and the OAU recognized (and helped bring about) when they endorsed the Front and announced that an independent Zimbabwe could only be created through armed struggle.

For this reason, the insistence by both the British and American governments that any political solution which did not include the Patriotic Front was unacceptable can most generously be described as naive. If Nkomo and Mugabe had any interest at all in a political settlement, they would not have rejected out of hand the Anglo-American plan which called, among other things, for Smith's resignation in favor of a British resident commissioner who would head a transitional government; for a UN peace-keeping force which would supervise elections; and for the replacement of the Rhodesian army by a new Zimbabwe army which would, according to the then British Foreign Secretary David Owen, "be based on the liberation forces." Smith called the plan "a very cunning scheme" to hand power over to the Patriotic Front. But Nkomo and Mugabe did not think so, partly because they did not believe, as Andrew Young said they did, that they would win free elections. (Only Muzorewa and Sithole welcomed the plan, though they expressed concern that African elements in the UN peace-keeping force might aid the Patriotic Front, even to the extent of assisting in a coup.)

Similarly, Nkomo and Mugabe both reacted with manifest contempt to the subsequent British-American call for an all-party conference. Nkomo said he would have nothing to do with "all-party nonsense" and declared on September 11, 1978 that "We mean to get that country by force and we shall get it." Mugabe said he would attend such a conference, but only on the condition that "the entirety of the Salisbury regime must go and the enemy forces must be completely dismantled." Then, shortly after the announcement in Washington by the four members of the Rhodesian Executive Council that they would attend an all-party conference without preconditions, Mugabe's organization (ZANU) made public a death list which included 50 Zimbabweans associated with the internal settlement, including the three black members of the Executive Council. The document described these people as "Zimbabwean black bourgeoisie, traitors, fellow-travelers, and puppets of the Ian Smith regime, opportunistic running-dogs and other capitalist vultures."

Nkomo and Mugabe have adopted an equally uncompromising attitude toward each other, thus making a political compromise *within* the Patriotic Front no more likely than one between it and the parties to the internal settlement. The presidents of the frontline states have made repeated attempts to impose "unity" on ZANU (Mugabe) and ZAPU (Nkomo), but with little success. The formation in 1975 of a united army, the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), resulted in violent clashes between the ZANU and ZAPU forces and eventually in their complete separation. The Patriotic Front, established the following year, is a paper political alliance that has done nothing to increase military cooperation between the two guerrilla forces. On the contrary, Mugabe and his aides have long resented Nkomo's failure to commit his heavily armed forces to the war effort, alleging that he is conserving his army's strength for what he expects will be the final showdown with ZANU. In a statement directed at Nkomo, Mugabe recently warned that "Those who have not fought cannot reap the rewards of a victory to which they have contributed nothing."

THE current division within the guerrilla ranks—which persists despite a new effort to coordinate their military effort—must be seen against a background of fifteen years of splits, splits within splits, tribal/regional conflicts, fierce internal violence, and meddling by neighboring African states.[*] Indeed, in a curious, sordid, and illuminating way, the creation of the Patriotic Front can be traced to the most notorious act of internal violence, the murder of ZANU chairman Herbert Chitepo in Zambia on March 18, 1975. The killing, which was preceded by a mini-civil war within ZANU's ranks and by mass executions of a rebel group, prompted President Kaunda of Zambia to establish an international commission of inquiry consisting of representatives of 13 African states. After nine months of investigation, the commission found members of ZANU's high command guilty of the murder.[†] Mugabe, furious at the verdict and at the jailing of his ZANU comrades, denounced Kaunda and withdrew from Zambia to Mozambique where he consolidated ZANU's guerrilla forces. Shortly thereafter, Kaunda, hoping to resurrect Nkomo (whose reputation had been badly damaged by the failure of his talks with Smith), offered to release Chitepo's murderers if Mugabe would agree to a joint ZANU-ZAPU delegation at the Geneva talks. The deal was consummated and the Zambian high court acquitted the assassins who promptly joined Mugabe in Geneva, and the Patriotic Front came into being.

This incident may help explain why many Zimbabweans resent Zambian interference in their affairs, and do not regard the Patriotic Front as their chosen instrument for bringing peace and majority rule to their country. It may also explain why there is distrust of international institutions which have endorsed the Patriotic Front as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe; and of Western "progressives" who, as Muzorewa has said, "extol the armed struggle, especially from some safe distance from the death and the bloodshed and the tears and the misery."

IN THE wake of the election, the continued support of the Patriotic Front must be viewed as morally unconscionable. At the time the internal settlement was announced, Conor Cruise O'Brien commented (*New York Review of Books*, March 8, 1978) that if the Patriotic Front continued to kill people after free elections were held and a black majority government sat in Salisbury, then its behavior would be "morally equivalent" to that of such anti-democratic European terrorist groups as Baader-Meinhof and the IRA. All this has now come to pass, yet the Patriotic Front retains the support of the UN and other international bodies, while the elected government of Zimbabwe Rhodesia is viewed as an "illegal" pariah state.*

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[*] Dr. Masipula Sithole, the brother of Ndabaningi Sithole and a ZANU activist for eight years, has just published an honest and courageous book, *Zimbabwe Struggles within the Struggle* (Rujeko Publishers, Salisbury, 1979), which tells the history of the conflicts within the Zimbabwe nationalist movement.

[†] The commission described one of the assassins, Josiah Tongogara, as a "man possessed of inordinate ambitions" who had engaged in "the systematic process of eliminating possible rivals by death. . . ." According to the commission's report, Tongogara had openly remarked that "he saw no reason why he should not be the first President in an independent Zimbabwe through the barrel of the gun." Remarkably, when Andrew Young was asked by interviewer Jonathan Power (London *Times*, May 22, 1978) if he saw any parallels between the American civil-rights movement and the Patriotic Front, he replied: "Nonviolence is in many ways being practiced by the Patriotic Front. . . . I asked one of their commanders, Tongogara, what they actually do in Rhodesia, and he said they're not doing much fighting, except when they are fired upon, or when the Rhodesian defense forces find them and try to run them out. Basically, what they're doing is moving around the villages and conducting political seminars and singing songs—which is exactly what we did."

It is especially interesting that the excommunication of Zimbabwe has been decreed in the name of racial self-determination, but in total disregard of the views of that country's black majority; and that the Patriotic Front is favored in the name of majority rule, but in total disregard of that group's anti-democratic outlook. Thus, we have the spectacle of the United Nations denying a platform to an "illegitimate" black African leader (as it did to Muzorewa), who is then greeted upon his return home by a cheering throng of over 150,000 blacks; and of the New York *Times*, ordinarily a proponent of political democracy, asserting that for the U.S. to "pressure" the Patriotic Front to come to terms with the newly elected black government in Zimbabwe Rhodesia "would be a betrayal of American support for majority rule."

One can account for such anomalies only if it is understood that the issue is not whether or not there shall be rule by the black majority, but what form such rule shall take. And here the alternatives are as clear as they were at an earlier time between white minority and black majority rule. For if the presidents of Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Angola have their way, majority rule will take a form more or less similar to what exists in their own countries; which is to say that it will be a dictatorship by a small black elite over a destitute black population. It is, of course, precisely this kind of "majority rule" that Muzorewa has said would be a betrayal, for it would have "the mere trappings of independence—a brand new flag, sleek and shiny limousines, black faces in parliament, the OAU, and the United Nations—while those in power are not accountable to the governed for their actions." In fact, it has been Muzorewa's rejection of "worn-out ideologies," of "political philosophies which could make people secondary to the state—which would regard people as expendable," which constitutes his indictment of the post-colonial experience in much of Africa, and which accounts for the antagonism to him and to Zimbabwe Rhodesia among those who cling to such ideologies and who rule uneasily over the increasingly disillusioned and discontented black masses. And it is, not least, the need to conceal the betrayal of independence and the self-infliction of poverty and political oppression which explains why the struggle for "majority rule" is proclaimed with such strenuous devotion.

INTO this essentially internal African debate have stepped the Soviet Union and its Cuban and East German proxies, seeking to exploit African conflicts and frustrations to advance Moscow's geopolitical ambitions. And into it also has wandered the United States, newly sensitive, as it would like to think, to the aspirations of black Africa and determined, as Secretary of State Vance has put it, not to "mirror Soviet and Cuban activities." The foremost U.S. objective has been to preserve American "credibility" in black Africa, the assumption being that this is the measure of our influence on the continent and is also the best and the only way (all military options having been ruled out) to deter the Russians. Anything we might do to undermine that credibility, it is thought, would only invite further Soviet intervention which we would not (and should not, given our Vietnam experience) be prepared to counter.

With respect to Zimbabwe Rhodesia, the price for maintaining American credibility among the frontline presidents and with Nigeria has been that we support—or at the very least, do nothing to oppose—the Patriotic Front. As a result, we have found ourselves, until now, tacitly aligned with groups armed by Moscow, hostile to America, antagonistic to democracy, and unpopular within Zimbabwe Rhodesia itself. And we have opposed the internal parties which look to us for support, share our professed belief in an open multiracial society, and have genuine popularity within the country. We have defended this policy in terms of our historic commitment as a nation to human rights and, more practically, in terms of protecting our country's vital interest in Africa and of preventing the escalation of civil war. Yet it has been hard for most Americans, or for the United States Congress, to understand how any of these objectives is served by promoting the Patriotic Front.

The fact is that this has not been the only practical course open to us. The psychology of appeasement is now so deeply rooted among most American officials and political commentators that they have, almost as a matter of course, underestimated our own strengths and the strengths of our friends, as well as the weaknesses of the Soviet position. U.S. officials tremble at the thought of a Nigerian oil embargo, forgetting the fact that Nigeria needs American capital and technology at least as much as America needs Nigerian oil. Most importantly, within Zimbabwe Rhodesia itself, there is now less sympathy for the guerrillas than ever before. The people are simply tired of violence, especially violence which has no purpose, since there is now a black majority government. If this government takes steps, as it has promised, to improve the social and economic position of the black population, the rate at which guerrillas will defect to become part of the new order could increase dramatically. It is also possible that the Patriotic Front leaders will now negotiate with the Bishop if, as the London *Economist* has observed, they "are not to risk becoming the 30-year Arafats of southern Africa." Moreover, Zambia and Mozambique, which have suffered badly from the fighting and are heavily dependent on the much stronger economies of Zimbabwe Rhodesia and South Africa, are already under pressure internally to end their support of the Patriotic Front and to accommodate to the new reality. Zambia is particularly vulnerable, since more than half its trade and most of its food imports are now carried by rail through Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

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* The charge of illegality, which is contained in the two UN Security Council resolutions on the internal settlement and the election, is more than a little ironic, since it implicitly accepts the legality of British colonial rule in Rhodesia. "To the black majority," Muzorewa has said, "illegality was imposed on the country at the onset of British colonialism in 1890 and not in 1965 [when the Smith government issued its Universal Declaration of Independence from Britain]. We do not accept that there is any other authority than the black majority which can bestow legality to Zimbabwe."

Whether Moscow would be prepared, under these circumstances, to escalate the war is doubtful. At present, the army of Zimbabwe Rhodesia is, in African terms, a strong fighting force and more than a match for the divided Patriotic Front. To defeat it would require a major commitment by Soviet proxy forces at a time when the Cubans are overextended in Angola (where they now maintain a force of 45,000 military and civilian personnel). An intervention of this kind would be deeply resented in most of Africa, and it would strengthen opposition to détente in this country and weaken whatever chance there is for Senate ratification of SALT.

The Russians will, more likely than not, remain cautious and wait for an opportune moment to strike. The point is that it should not be our policy to create opportunities for them and to encourage the guerrillas to continue fighting, which is what the President's repudiation of the Muzorewa government in his June 7 statement has already done. Beyond the narrow issue of economic sanctions against Zimbabwe Rhodesia, there is the larger question of whether we will do anything to help the new black government to survive and continue to evolve in a democratic direction; or whether, by our inaction and failure of nerve, we will embolden its enemies and thus destroy any hope for democracy in the country. If we take the latter course, we will have done nothing to increase the credibility of the United States either in Africa or elsewhere. On the contrary, we will have raised a signal to all the world that this country no longer has the capacity to defend or even understand its interests, or to help those who, unlike ourselves, continue to believe in freedom.

**POINT OF VIEW**

Bayard Rustin and Adrian Karatnycky

# Primacy of Human Rights

The Madrid Review Meeting on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which officially opens tomorrow provides an important opportunity for the reassertion of the primacy of human rights in an East-West dialogue. The meeting, which is part of a review process begun by the 1975 Helsinki Accords, is also an opportunity for placing the Soviet bloc on the ideological defensive.

But the success of Madrid is dependent on a Western strategy based on a willingness to raise questions which have not been raised vigorously enough in the past for fear of harming the fragile foundations of detente.

Any meeting which is based on a founding document which asserts the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of states cannot help but confront the question of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

A compelling argument can and should be made that a government which is not subject to the pressures of public opinion and which suppresses free speech can recklessly commit its troops to military adventures without fear of the opposition of its citizenry.

Since the previous review meeting, held in Belgrade in 1977, the U.S.S.R. in particular has intensified repression of democratic oppositionists, large numbers of them members of citizens' Helsinki Monitoring Groups. Such violations must be harshly condemned.

Additionally the Madrid proceedings should be extended to a wide-ranging discussion of Principle Eight of the Helsinki Accords, which reaffirms the right of all ethnic groups and peoples to determine freely their own poltiical status. Such a discussion should include an examination of the Soviet policy of Russifying non-Russian nationalities and look into the repression of Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian, Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar, Armenian, Georgian and other advocates of national and human rights.

The national question is one which the Soviets fear, and its open airing would be of great significance in demonstrating to the developing world, in particular, that the Soviet Union is in essence the world's last remaining colonial empire.

If the Soviet-bloc delegations raise the specter of non-interference in internal affairs, Western delegates should roundly condemn recent statements by East Germany Party Secretary Erich Honecker, who has declared that "Poland is and will remain a socialist country. . . . Together with our friends in the socialist bloc we will see to that."

The Honecker statement is a clear violation of those Helsinki principles which affirm sovereign equality, the territorial integrity of states and non-intervention in internal affairs and which assert the inviolability of frontiers.

The worker unrest in Poland, moreover, should provide the impetus for broadening the discussion of the Helsinki Accords to include the question of workers' rights. The Madrid meeting should discuss openly the need for establishing an international commission to monitor trade union elections in the East and West, preferably under the auspices of the International Labor Organization.

Very often the debate on the Helsinki Accords is limited to matters of human rights and disarmament. The Accords, however, also contain a sweeping expression of concern for environmental matters. A recent Russian-language book, published in the West and written under a pseudonym by a highly placed Soviet official, reveals a serious problem of pollution in the Black Sea, which the author claims will eventually pose a threat to the ecology of the Mediterranean.

The Helsinki process should include an investigation of such allegations and provide for a discussion of the question of nuclear safety. While nuclear power has been subjected to a spirited debate in the West, Soviet bloc countries have been building nuclear power plants at a rapid pace. Reports of accidents at nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. should be investigated and East and West should agree to uniform safety standards. Here again, the absence in the Soviet bloc of a democratic public discussion of nuclear safety should be stressed.

The Helsinki Accords have to date been a failure.

Afghanistan and Soviet repression of human rights activists are two clear indications of this fact. If the Helsinki process is to be put on the right course and the Review Meeting is to be deemed a success, the Madrid convocation must become the occasion for the reassertion of the centrality of human rights.

*Bayard Rustin, the noted civil rights leader, is chairman of Social Democrats USA. Adrian Karatnycky is research director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and co-author of* Workers' Rights, East and West *(Transaction Books). Both Mr. Rustin and Mr. Karatnycky are members of the coordinating committee of the Ad Hoc Citizens Committee for the Madrid Helsinki Review Meeting.*

THE WASHINGTON STAR Monday, November 10, 1980

LOS ANGELES TIMES
3/26/82

# The Asian Refugees' Suffering Goes On—and On and On

By CATHERINE O'NEILL and BAYARD RUSTIN

BANGKOK, Thailand—There are more than 200,000 refugees living in Thailand today—people from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos—and the Thai government is anxious that the Western nations might be pulling back on their commitment to arrange their resettlement.

The refugees are people who have been forced from their native lands by government-sponsored murder of family members, by famine, by systematic denial of a chance to work or by persecution of an entire ethnic group. They have lived for more than two years cramped in camps, fenced in, tightly guarded, with hope withering away.

Last week, as part of a delegation from the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees, we visited camps for Cambodians who had fled the murderous onslaught of the Khmer Rouge.

The suffering that the Cambodians have experienced as a people is unequaled in post-World War II history. It was for us best capsulized in the comments of Dr. James Stickler, former dean of Dartmouth Medical School and now a volunteer physician with the International Rescue Committee. In the admission ward of the bamboo hut that is called Khao-I-Dung hospital, Stickler told us:

"In the two months I have been here, I have not taken a case history where murder of family members was not part of the experience. The words, 'They stabbed my mother,' 'I watched them behead my brother' are not unusual. They are the everyday statements of our incoming patients."

Among the children, the pain shows easily. Leaf through their drawings, and you see people being forced into mass graves, beheadings, starving field workers with ribs protruding from their emaciated bodies. (The drawing reproduced below is typical, though in black-and-white it doesn't convey the horror of the 10-year-old artist's emphasis on a common theme: decapitation. The round object in the middle is a human head.)

The school-age children's compositions, too, show the trauma that they have known. One begins: "The main activity of the savage Pol Pot regime was to kill people."

The suffering of the Cambodians' past is undenied, but what of their future? For the 90,000 Cambodian refugees now in Thailand, it is bleak.

The U.S. government is not now accepting refugees from Cambodia. Toward these people, both our doors and our hearts are closed.

The refugees have almost no choices; they can't go home, they can't stay in Thailand, and no one will take them out of Thailand. They can hear the artillery shelling across the border a few miles from their camps as the Vietnamese army occupying Cambodia and the still-active Khmer Rouge resistance battle almost daily. A day before we visited one of the camps, a Vietnamese-launched shell landed there, killing 18 people, mostly women and children. Is it any wonder that they say they are afraid to return? They fear life under the Vietnamese or a resurgence of the dreaded Khmer Rouge.

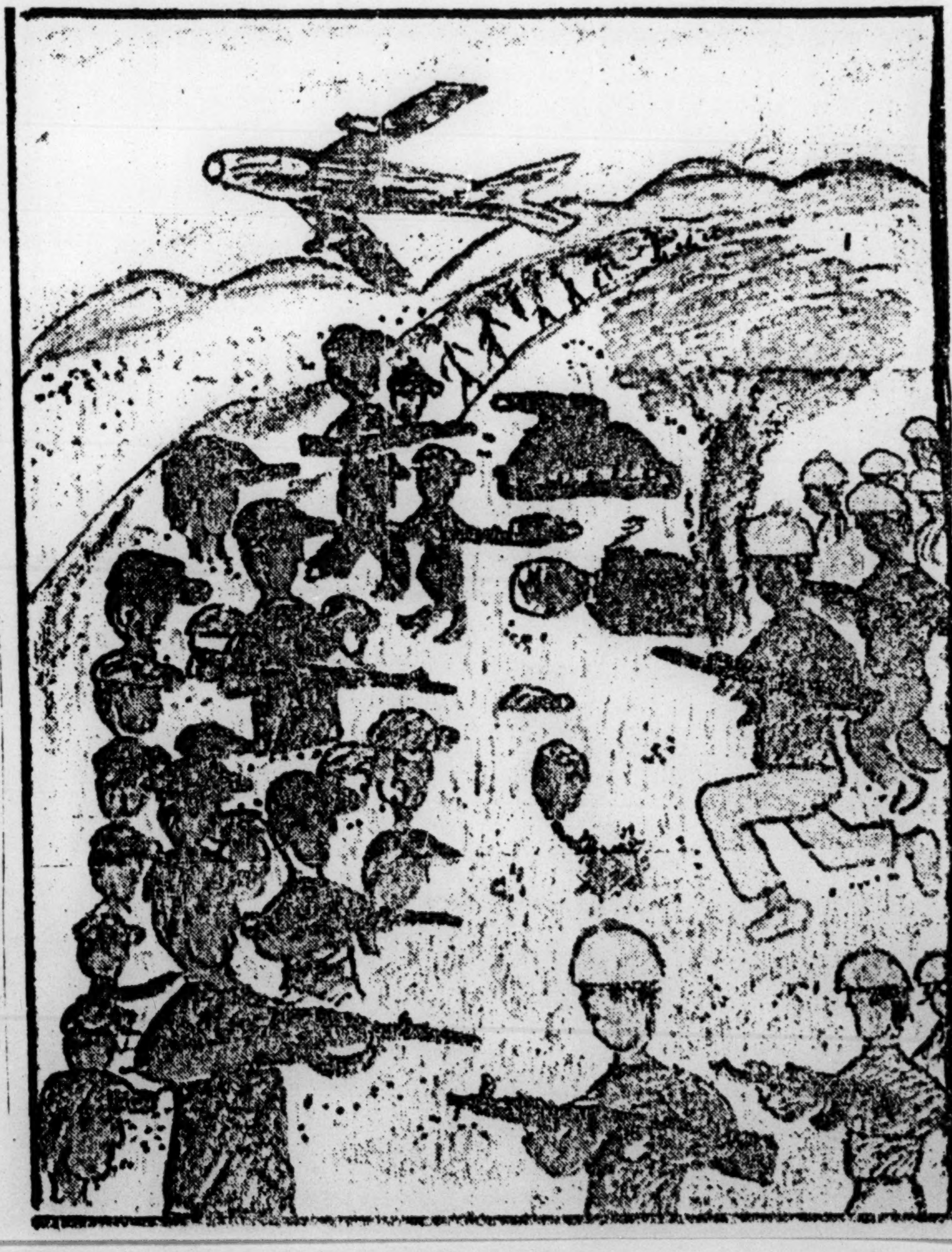
And what of where they are now? Thailand is an overcrowded developing nation about the size of Oregon, with one-quarter the population of the entire United States. When the exodus began in 1979, Thailand wanted to close its borders to shut out the starving, grieving Cambodians, but the United States and other Western nations intervened. They pressured Thailand to be generous, to offer temporary asylum with the understanding that the refugees who could not return to their country would be resettled abroad. Two-and-a-half years later, 90,000 Cambodians still sit in camps in Thailand—waiting. They write letters to the American Embassy in Bangkok telling of their relatives in the United States. They ask for a chance to join them and build a new life. They deserve that chance. But it is being denied them.

The United States has authorized the resettlement of up to 100,000 refugees from Indochina in 1982. The people of Cambodia are not eligible for inclusion under this quota. One reason is the persistent, though now diminishing, hope that they can be repatriated. Almost 30,000 Cambodians who now sit in those camps have ties to people in the United States. They could be admitted without raising the authorized Indochinese refugee quota by even one person. Justice and equity demand that this be done.

Whatever the varying bureaucratic responses might be as to why the United States is excluding Cambodians, they will not hold up in the judgment of history. The spiritual test of a people, of a democracy, is the humaneness that it expresses toward those who are without hope and without a home.

The United States, despite all its internal domestic trouble, is once more called on to open its doors to the likes of a young man who came running after us as we were leaving one camp. He has learned English there, he has a sister-in-law in Seattle, and he has one question: "Can you help me?"

*Catherine O'Neill, active in Southern California politics in the 1970s, now lives in New York. Bayard Rustin is the noted civil-rights activist.*



# The Israeli Incursion Into Lebanon

A personal report and reflections
on my trip to Israel and Lebanon.
August 15-23, 1982

Bayard Rustin
Bayard Rustin

## Why This Trip?

While this report will cite some facts and statistics, it is essentially a very personal reflection on the June 6, 1982 Israeli incursion into Lebanon, and its aftermath. Along with some other Christians, including a Catholic Bishop, a Catholic trade-unionist, a Greek Orthodox, a Baptist executive and a Maronite Christian, I visited Israel for a week in late August. The trip was arranged by private groups in the U.S., but did have the necessary cooperation of Israeli officials. We held discussions in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and also spent two long and very full days in Lebanon, one each in the eastern and western parts of the country, including East Beirut. In addition to the group meetings with various Israeli Foreign Ministry officials, including Yitzhak Shamir, the Foreign Minister, I talked separately with Sam Lewis, the U.S. Ambassador to Tel Aviv, and with Yitzhak Rabin, former Labor Prime Minister of Israel.

The Israelis welcomed us since they were eager to disprove the charges that they had transgressed international law with an act of military aggression, that they had conducted that aggression with unnecessary brutality and force, and that they had had no concern for the Lebanese civilians caught in the conflict. The Israelis were convinced that the world's media had been biased and unfair and had completely distorted the facts. They hoped that objective visitors to Lebanon would return to the U.S. and report the truth of that situation.

Since this is a personal report, my own bias should be clearly set forth. I have devoted my life to nonviolent social change. While I recognize that violent military action is universally seen as an acceptable method for every nation's effort to maintain its security, I have by and large felt that such violence is, in the long run, counterproductive and delays, if not prevents, the kinds of social change I have advocated. In my efforts to foster civil and human rights, I have been completely dedicated to democratic processes, and have therefore been a supporter of Israel, the only democratic state in the Middle East. These two positions at times have created a tension for me, one which the preparation of this report has obliged me to confront again.

## The Double Standard

My first conclusion is that Israel did indeed receive an unfairly bad press. Part of this was due to their applying a press gag in the early days of the action, and their statement that their objective was to secure a 25 mile zone free of the PLO. This proved to be inaccurate, as they advanced on Beirut, 40 miles from their border.

By standards of international law, the Israeli advance into Lebanon was not an act of aggression (despite George W. Ball's charge in his op-ed *New York Times* column of August 25, 1982). No nation in the world will passively accept continuous attacks from forces based in a neighboring country, and international law recognizes that when such a neighboring country is incapable of halting such attacks, the injured country has every right to undertake that task itself. During the Habib-negotiated ceasefire, from July 24, 1981 through June 5, 1982, Israel says that the PLO was responsible for 248 terrorist actions, not only within all parts of Israel but also against UNIFIL (United Nations) and Haddad forces in Southern Lebanon and against Israeli and Jewish targets in a number of other countries. These involved shellings, planting of landmines, Katyusha rocket barrages, hand grenades, knives, and guns. In May 1982, the month preceding the Israeli advance, 26 such strikes were reported. The northern border with Lebanon was obviously particularly vulnerable and, in Kiryat Shimona for example, children had remained in underground bomb-proof shelters for periods of up to two weeks at a time, in fear of rocket barrages. Just as the U.S. claimed that it had the right to pursue Pancho Villa into Mexico, as a result of his raids on U.S. soil, so the Israelis claimed the right to enter Lebanon in search of the PLO.

It is a curious fact that the world has a double standard with respect to the PLO and Israel. In addition to its long record of terrorist activities, other outrages by the PLO go unremarked: there is irrefutable evidence that, during the 12 years of PLO dominance in Southern Lebanon, they were responsible for tens of thousands of deaths in the civil war (that did not quite end in 1976 but continued sporadically until June 6, 1982) and creating hundreds of thousands of homeless refugees. They were also responsible for uncounted incidents of individual murder, theft, rape, intimidation, and general lawlessness. Ask residents of Southern Lebanon, and you will get citation after citation. Yet few harsh words have been used about such activities.

The nations of the world, while prepared to use violence to further their own interests, seem to demand pacifist behavior from

Israel. It is immoral for such nations to denounce Israel's use of force in achieving its objectives, while finding ample rationalization for their own violence. Almost all of the world applauded either the violent takeover of the Falkland/Malvina Islands by Argentina, or the violent response by Great Britain. All nations in the world recognize the validity of violence in pursuit of national interests and certainly none can assert that Israel's national interests were not involved. The Israelis claim that the PLO does represent a threat to their national survival, while no one believes for a moment that the loss of those remote islands, 8,000 miles away, threatened England's existence as a sovereign nation.

The irony of this double standard is that Israel itself accepts it, holding itself to a higher standard of conduct than the rest of the world. The first real demonstrations against the Lebanon incursion took place within Israel, where there also has been widespread and intense discussion of the conduct of the war. The orders to the Israeli troops, described to us by Israeli officials and confirmed by combat soldiers in the field, were not to fire at non-military structures except in response to fire emanating from such sources. One Lieutenant told us that his unit suffered 11 casualties (6 killed, 5 wounded) in Sidon because his troops had obeyed those instructions. He felt that his 42-man unit would have had at most only 2 or 3 casualties had it been free to fire at will.

## The Media Reports and the Actuality

As for the dispatches published in the American media, there is no question in my mind that both the damage and the number of civilian casualties reported had been vastly exaggerated by substantial orders of magnitude. Nabatiya, a Moslem town in Southeastern Lebanon, was a thriving bustling regional center when we stopped there to talk with people on the street. There was damage, of course, but nowhere near the wholesale scale that had been reported. The town, which had dropped in population from 55,000 or so before it was taken over the PLO, to about 12,000 during PLO occupation, was now rapidly returning to its former size, with people coming back from Beirut daily and picking up their lives. We stopped people on the street at random and asked if they would be willing to talk with us. Without exception they were eager to do so. One of our party spoke Arabic and some of us could

Main Street, Nabatiya, Lebanon, August 18, 1982

converse in French, so there was no substantial communications problem. All the Lebanese expressed joy at their liberation by the Israelis, and while they wanted all foreign troops to leave, they wanted the Israelis to go last. These Shi'a Muslims, Arabs all, literally hated the PLO and cited atrocity after atrocity.

For example, in Nabatiya I talked with an elderly Shiite Moslem woman who had sought out our Israeli military escort (a professor of biochemistry called from his classroom) to thank him for freeing her country and making it possible for her to return to her home, from which she had been ejected by the PLO 6 years earlier. Her house was now a pile of rubble, more as a result of the PLO occupation than the Israeli advance. But they were her stones. She could rebuild, and she wept for joy.

The cities of Tyre and Sidon had been reported as virtually leveled. There was significantly more damage there, but only on the main coastal road that led to Beirut. The side streets seemed virtually untouched, and certainly the cities were alive and functioning. We stopped in Sidon and talked to people at random in the streets, and heard again the same story—praise of the Israelis for ridding them of the PLO.

Another major source of media outrage against Israel was its bombing of West Beirut, especially the intensive 11 hour bombing and shelling of August 11. The Israeli response to that charge is twofold: first, they admit that the bombings, although in response to alleged PLO violations of the ceasefire, were disproportionate to those violations. That is, they were far more intense than called for by the violations by the PLO. It is their argument that this was intended to demonstrate their determination to take West Beirut by force, if negotiations failed. They also claim that it was precisely those bombings, especially the 11 hour one, that convinced the PLO to agree to evacuate West Beirut, and therefore in effect saved many lives—Lebanese civilian, Israeli, and Palestinian. They further argue that the bombings were precisely targeted to military areas and to military installations in civilian areas of low population density. Since we did not enter West Beirut, we have no way of validating this latter claim (the former is, of course, a matter of opinon). But I am inclined to believe the Israelis, on the basis of the villages and cities we did see, at least to the extent of their desires and targeting. We cannot, at this time, know how precise their aim was.

The Israelis assert that they took great care to avoid damage to schools, hospitals, and other social institutions. It is significant that along the 40-odd mile route from Israel's northern border to the museum in the green line, the area of the most severe fighting, we did not see damage to a single mosque.

My conclusion is that, as wars go, this one was relatively carefully waged. Nevertheless it was a war and in any modern war, innocent people suffer. The Israelis admit this and express regret, but point out that it was PLO policy to immerse themselves in the civilian population, to establish their strong points in schools, hospitals, refugee camps, and even in apartment houses. So, it was the PLO that held the civilian population hostage. The Israelis tried to limit damage to the civilian population, even at the expense of their own casualties but not at the cost of their objectives. If one accepts the logic of the incursion, then one must agree that the Israelis tried very hard to reduce the casualties inflicted on civilians.

There is no question that the behavior of the Israelis was exemplary for a war situation. The casualties reported in the American press were obviously grossly exaggerated. The figures of 10,000 civilian deaths and 600,000 homeless were supplied by the

Palestinian Red Crescent, headed by Yasir Arafat's brother. The Israelis have conducted a body count and report 10 civilian dead in Nabatiya, 50 in Tyre, and 400 in Sidon. They claim that far less than 1,000 civilian Lebanese deaths have resulted from their advance, not including west Beirut (at that time still occupied by the PLO). They admit to some 25,000 homeless Palestinians, as a result of destruction within the refugee camps, and assert that very few Lebanese are still without shelter. Almost all, displaced temporarily by the war, have returned home.

## The Ammunition Dumps

The Israelis claim to have uncovered over 400 ammunition dumps, not only in fortified bunkers but also in civilian buildings and areas. We saw one destroyed bunker over 100 yards long, built of reinforced concrete.

The extensive ammunition dumps give one pause to ponder. The equipment discovered far exceeded the Israeli intelligence estimates and were far beyond the needs of guerrilla warfare. Some who have seen those dumps believe that there were enough to equip 500,000 soldiers (which the PLO could not raise). Even if not adequate for

**Destroyed Ammunition Bunker, Southern Lebanon**

such an enormous army, there is no question but that the dumps so far uncovered indicate an intended far wider scale of warfare than was possible with the 14,000-20,000 PLO terrorists in Southern Lebanon.

For what other reason could the PLO have stored the following quantities of arms, inventoried by the Israelis as of July 19, from some 413 caches, with many not yet sorted out and not including what are undoubtedly major depots in West Beirut? The Israeli inventory lists 764 vehicles and armored combat vehicles including tanks; 26,900 light weapons; 424 heavy weapons, artillery and field guns; 43 anti-aircraft weapons; and 1,500 truckloads of ammunition, including 5,109 Katyusha rockets, 7,914 artillery shells, 33,299 mortar bombs, 8,771 mines, and 18,760 hand grenades. There were also over 2,000 items of non-lethal military equipment. Was a major war in the offing?

## The PLO's International Connections

In addition to the arms caches, the Israelis captured a wide variety of documents, some of which have been released. These included detailed instructions for shelling civilian cities and villages in Northern Israel, and reports from PLO terrorists being trained in the Soviet Union. Besides documents linking the PLO to a worldwide network of terrorist groups, many foreign nationals—Germans, Italians, and Japanese, among others—were taken prisoner as their training camps in Southern Lebanon were captured by the Israelis. The PLO obviously served as a training ground for terrorists of many countries.

## What Does PLO Control Mean?

Another judgement to which I came is that the Israelis who, for their own reasons, are adamant about not dealing with the PLO, are correct in that conclusion. The Israelis fear Soviet influence in the area as well as continued PLO attempts to destroy Israel, as per the PLO charter which has never been amended or negated. That judgement is probably right, but in addition I took note of the PLO's behavior in Southern Lebanon, where they succeeded in making violent opponents not only of the Maronite Christians, but also of the Shi'a Muslims (allied in spirit to Khomeini who is a strong PLO supporter). Their record of rape, pillage, murder, and general lawlessness disqualifies them, in my conviction, from aspiring to be the leaders of a civilized Palestinian independent autonomous entity. If I were the Israelis, I would encourage the Lebanese, heretofore relatively silent under the PLO occupation, to speak out to the world about the crimes visited upon them during the PLO usurpation of their land.

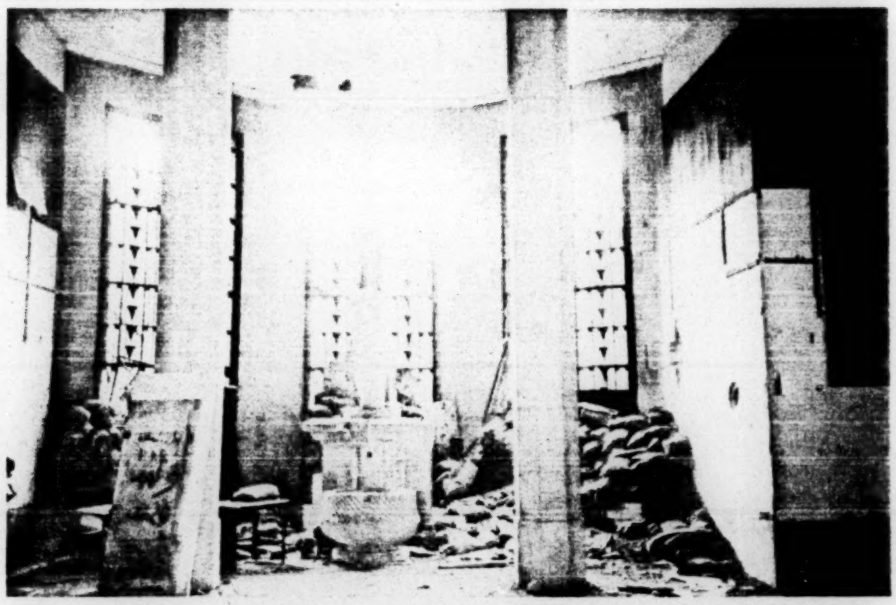
For example, we stopped in the Maronite village of Aichiyah, in Eastern Lebanon. Here we were told by the villagers that the PLO had attacked the village and herded all but 55 of the 2,000 or so population into one of its two churches. These 55 were slaughtered, their bodies thrown into dry wells.

One church, and the priest's house, was completely demolished. The other now needs to be resanctified before it can be used again for religious purposes. The graveyards were desecrated, coffins opened, bones scattered and visible through the vault openings.

Consider Damour, in Western Lebanon, a Christian resort city on the coast between Sidon and Beirut. Here between 1,500 and 2,000 of the villagers were executed by the PLO, which established a permanent base in the town, expelling the remaining people. With an original population of some 50,000 to 60,000, Damour is now an abandoned city, almost wholly uninhabitable. The beautiful church was used as a garage and storage depot, its stained glass windows destroyed, its walls used for target practice. We could glance into the various houses as we drove up the hill to the church. Each was filled with the detritus of an uncaring, insensitive, brutal occupying army, replete with wanton destruction. This all-PLO held town, with no civilians, was the scene of some bloody fighting as the Israelis took it.

Consider the museum in Beirut, a treasurehouse of antiquities from some of the world's most ancient societies. The PLO took over the museum, made it into a fortress, scattered or stole many of its priceless objects, threw others outdoors into the yard and gardens, and behaved without any feeling at all for their own, and our, heritage. We looked at that museum, which is now behind Israeli lines, and were as much appalled by what we saw as by the many atrocity stories we had heard.

In sum, in the areas of Lebanon under PLO control, there was no civilian system of justice. There was no functioning police force, no arrests, no court system and no appeal. What law there was was PLO law, what justice there was was PLO justice. Those of us whose black ancestors lived in areas under Ku Klux Klan control


The Beirut Museum of Antiquities, August 19, 1982

have special reasons to know what that means. For the powerless, it means intense, continuous, and unending personal insecurity. In effect, terror.

## Israeli Intentions

The Israelis have stated repeatedly, and there is no reason to doubt them, that they would leave Lebanon along with all other foreign forces. The question remains whether the Syrians will agree to leave Lebanon, which they have never recognized as an independent country and which they still regard as part of Greater Syria. If the Syrians do leave, the Israelis say they will do so, simultaneously. There is thus no reason at all for George Ball to state, as he does in that op-ed page column referred to earlier, that there is cause to believe that the Israelis will occupy that portion of Lebanon south of the Litani River. That assertion seems, at present, to have been wholly gratuitous and without foundation.

## What Now?

Inevitably, I came to some conclusions about the future. The official Israeli position was one of optimism that the PLO has been destroyed militarily and that they now can enjoy a peaceful border with Lebanon. This is true, at least for the immediate future. They also point out that, as a by-product of this dispersal of the PLO, new options have been opened up, options which may benefit the West as well as the Israelis.

Yes, those options are open. But they will require creative diplomacy if constructive results are to ensue—creative diplomacy not only by Israel, but by the Arab States, the United States, and the rest of the concerned world. That burden of compromise or creativity cannot be put on Israel alone. Yet I fear there will be efforts to do so.

For example, Western Europe, the Arab countries, and the Third World will probably all pressure Washington to bring pressure to bear on Israel to be more "sensitive" to Palestinian interests. The Israelis can scarcely afford a "confrontational mode" with the U.S., yet that is what is clearly in the offing. If the Begin government holds to its position of no concessions, that pressure from the U.S. will undoubtedly strengthen it with the Israeli voting public (it has always worked that way in the past, in other countries as well as Israel—unite behind the government when pressed by outsiders). Result, rigidity, no movement, no steps toward resolution of the Palestinian problem, still a major obstacle to true peace in the area. And failure to make progress on the Palestinian question means sooner, rather than later, resurgence of the PLO or other radical groups.

The Israelis are not now planning to be more forthcoming in their talks with Egypt on West Bank autonomy. As Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told us, there is nothing that Israel can afford to give up. I hope that this is only a negotiating posture, made for temporary public consumption. If it is not, if the Israelis intend to hold adamantly to their present posture, then I am very pessimistic about the future and what it portends. There is the possibility that Israel, strong in its military victory, will see armed force as its basic strategy, and, flushed with conquest, will become ever more rigid.

Many Israelis claim that Israel was always their land, from which they were ejected 2,000 years ago. 2,000 years from now, the Palestinians may very well be making the same claim—and trying to enforce it by war. Further, the demographic statistics are against the Israelis, whose lower birth rate will mean that they will soon become a minority even within their own borders. My support for

Israel is based on its being a democratic state. Can it retain that democracy when it has an Arab majority, which it keeps in place by a Jewish army?

Given this, what is now imperative is an initiative from the Arab States that would facilitate a change of stance by the Israelis. President Reagan's recent policy speech did not specifically provide that opening. How the Arab States respond will therefore now be critical.

So, yes, there are new options. But after 35 years of unremitting hostility from the Arab States, all but Egypt still legally at war with Israel, the onus for initiatives is squarely on the Arab States and the PLO.

Americans who would preserve an oasis of democracy in the Middle East must urge our government to take those steps which will really make peace possible. The first and essential step in what will obviously be a prolonged and delicate process is for the U.S. to secure from the Arab States and their creature, the PLO, a clear and unequivocal statement that they accept Israel as a legitimate state in the Middle East. They must further agree that any change in Israel's borders must come as a result of negotiation and not by war.

Anything less than such a categorical declaration by the Arab States and the PLO is unlikely to lead to increased flexibility on Israel's part.

The Arabs have taken the lead in making war against Israel--time after time after time. It is their responsibility now to take the first and unilateral step toward peace in the Middle East.

One simply cannot predict what the Israeli response will be until this step has actually been taken. And since Israel is a democratic society, I believe that such a step would lead to intense and widespread public discussion and evaluation. The Sadat initiative created a new psychological and political mood in Israel, leading to peace with Egypt and the return of the Sinai. And I am convinced that a clear and unequivocal recognition of the State of Israel with secure borders will bring about a similar political and psychological change in the present attitudes of the Israeli people, who will then demand from their government that flexibility which can lead to peace.

Postscript: This morning, September 17, 1982, as this copy is being typeset, we have learned that Israeli troops have taken most of West Beirut, in the wake of Bashir Gemayel's assassination. The prospect for peace now seems even more precarious. While Arab recognition of Israel still remains the single most important first step required, Israel has also undertaken new and more dangerous responsibilities.

**Those who left New York with me on August 15
and returned on August 23 were:**

Rev. Carl E. Flemister, Executive Minister of the American Baptist Churches of Metropolitan New York

Thomas Y. Hobart Jr., President of New York State United Teachers

John E. Nikas, former President of the Hellenic-American Neighborhood Action Committee

The Most Rev. Joseph E. Sullivan, auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn

Joseph Toubia, Maronite Church of New York

Charles Bloomstein, Secretary, A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

## PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

### Israelis

| | |
|---|---|
| Moshe Gilboa | Director of Diaspora Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| Eliahu Avidan | Center for Political Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| David Aphek | Center for Political Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| Hanon Bar-On | Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| Yitzhak Shamir | Foreign Minister |
| Yitzhak Rabin | Former Labor Prime Minister of Israel |
| Paul Kedar | Former Israeli Consul General in N.Y. and former military spokesman for Israeli Defense Forces in Beirut. |

Two reserve officers, each of whom served with us as military guides during our visits to Lebanon. Known to us as Eliahu and Ezra, in deference to Israeli wishes that family names of military people not be used.

### U.S. Citizens

| | |
|---|---|
| Samuel Lewis | American Ambassador to Israel |
| Congressman James Scheuer | D., 8th CD, N.Y. |
| Congressman Mario Biaggi | D., 19th CD, N.Y. |
| Congressman Raymond McGrath | R., 5th CD, N.Y. |
| Bernard Resnikoff | American Jewish Committee—Jerusalem Representative |
| Harry Wall | Anti-Defamation League—Jerusalem Representative |
| Janet Sherman | American Jewish Congress—Jerusalem Staff |

### Others, in Lebanon

Israeli Soldiers and Officers
Soldiers in Major Haddad's militia
Palestinian refugees
Shi'a Muslims
Sunni Muslims
Maronite Christians

## PLACES VISITED IN LEBANON

Beaufort Castle
Nabatiya
Jezzine
Aichiyah
Rashadieh—refugee camp
Tyre
Sarafand
Sidon
Damour
East Beirut

# The Election in El Salvador

## *March 28, 1982*

**In the week preceding the election in El Salvador, Freedom House sent a five-member team to observe the preparation and conduct of the elections. Upon their return, they prepared the following report.**

*The March 28 Constituent Assembly Election in El Salvador was a referendum on itself, a test of political party strength, and a mandate for peace. It was not marred by gross fraud. The electoral mechanism was well-conceived and executed. The guerrilla war was not in itself a sufficient reason to declare the election invalid. The sizable turnout demonstrated the determination of the Salvadoran voters to fulfill their civic obligation even in the face of possible danger.*

*The present government installed by military coup and subsequently incorporating elements of a major political party has been able to involve a significant segment of the people in the political process through competitive party elections. Although the complete spectrum of political opinion could not be included, the resulting government can start from a more democratic and broader base than has existed at least since the early 1970s. On this basis the process of extending democracy may be resumed.*

*Despite the election, El Salvador will continue to face serious problems of human rights, security, lawlessness, and economic decline. Stability can only be achieved by a government willing and able to face these problems as a whole. Such a government can only be one that unites the Salvadoran people, and while firmly reestablishing order, strives creatively and with goodwill to reincorporate all those groups or individuals who have placed themselves outside the political process.*

*Whatever government emerges from this election will not please all groups in El Salvador or all democratic countries in this hemisphere. But it will be closer to representing the people than any government that was likely to have emerged from other means of returning the country to legality.*

### INTRODUCTION

Freedom House is a nongovernmental organization dedicated to promoting democracy and human rights throughout the world. In fulfilling its mission the organization monitors the level of political and civil rights in all countries and brings oppression to public notice wherever it occurs. The organization realizes that democratic freedoms are never perfected nor entirely secure in any country, and that in many countries different and often unpropitious historical experiences, economic conditions, and ethnic, party, or class antagonisms render the achievement or preservation of freedoms particularly difficult. This difficulty does not make the people affected any less deserving or less interested in their rights than the people of free, industrially advanced democracies.

Elections are a fundamental means of achieving democracy, for they equalize as far as possible the political rights—and through political rights potentially all rights—of a population. Both in the past and present many poor peoples have illustrated their ability to understand electoral rights and to organize to achieve their goals and interests progressively through the expansion of these rights.

The struggle for democracy in Latin America has been long and frustrating. Yet in the course of this struggle most Latin Americans have come to experience civil and political rights and to become familiar with their forms. Democratic elections in Latin America are said to be primarily of importance to the middle classes. Yet the middle classes have become a progressively larger part of these societies, and workers and peasants have come to have an increasing share in the advance of democracy.

The history of El Salvador is often portrayed as a story of unrelieved oppression. There have been and may continue to be serious human-rights abuses that have been the responsibility of successive governments. El Salvador has also witnessed a halting growth both in the acceptability of democratic forms and in the broadening of the basis upon which democracy can grow. Although the forms of democracy had long been present, the first democratic election is said to have been in 1931. It was followed shortly by a military coup and repression, and from that time on the oligarchy was forced to share power with the military. Subsequently, while on the one hand the military was often oppressive, on the other hand it came to reflect the variety of class interests in the society and to persistently enact economic and social reforms, incomplete as they remained. As a result, since the 1930s the governing party and its military supporters had to struggle against challenges from the right as well as the left.

In the 1960s, after proportional representation was accepted, many representatives of the less favored were elected to local and national office, and parties identified with neither the military nor the oligarchy began to share power. In the early 1970s this progress was set back politically but never entirely erased, nor did the governing party or its military supporters abandon efforts at reform. ISTA, the Agrarian Reform Institute, for example, was created in 1975.

Given this background, it was not surprising that elements of the military and some leftist elements should have seized power in a deteriorating situation in 1979, a coup that eventually led to the Christian Democrats and the military sharing power. Nor should it be surprising that together they should have attempted to greatly expand land reform and to rapidly return the country to political democracy. Nor should it be surprising that there was much criticism and no doubt much to criticize in their efforts.

The setbacks in the 1970s were accompanied by the growth of radical parties or factions and, beyond this, by the development of armed guerrilla groups operating within the country and across its borders. In turn, government security forces and rightist legal and illegal paramilitary groups responded with waves of repression and assassination and limitations on civil freedoms that drove many moderate leftists into silence or exile. These developments were related in part to the internal history of El Salvador and economic conditions, and in part to developments in neighboring countries and the efforts of the international revolutionary movement. By 1982 the struggle between the guerrillas and the government was seen by some to be between Soviet-Cuban-supported communism and American-supported democracy or at least anticommunism. It was this, but it was also a reflection of El Salvador's history and the inability of its political and economic institutions to meet the people's rising expectations.

## THE TASK OF THE OBSERVATION MISSION

The role of the Freedom House Mission in El Salvador was to examine in so far as possible the election and its context in order to make a judgment as to whether this election represented democratic progress.

In this context the critical question for the observer was whether the March 28 election represented a forward step in the institutionalization of democracy in El Salvador. This question was asked both in terms of that proportion of the society participating positively in the election and in terms of the relation of the election to the challenge represented by the guerrilla forces and their alternative conception of society.

## THE ELECTION

On March 28 El Salvador elected sixty deputies to a constituent assembly that was subsequently to choose an interim president. This assembly will thereby directly and indirectly represent what should be the highest authority in the state.

Much of the election process was well known to the people from previous elections. However, because of the guerrilla war and the common accusations of fraud made in previous elections, certain innovations were made in the election system. Instead of voter registration, identification cards were used along with a finger-marking system. When the votes were cast, these cards were indelibly stamped. This made it possible for voters to vote outside of the area in which their identifications were issued. The recent mobility of the people, occasioned by war and economic conditions, as well as the need to leave open routes to alternative polling places, led to this innovation. Polling places were also radically centralized by the elimination of many outlying stations. This made the places easier to protect, and made the fraudulent substitution of ballots (frequently alleged in previous elections) much harder to effect.

The certification of the precinct counts by a variety of party observers and the multiple transmission of these results also reduced the possibility of manipulating the results.

Voters were asked to vote only for the party of their choice, with the deputies to be chosen proportionately within fourteen departments on the basis of party lists. Several of the six competing parties were not well organized, yet through the media, posters, and demonstrations in major centers all were able to spread their message to some extent. The radio, at least, reached nearly all Salvadorans, yet the degree to which the people as a whole were adequately informed of party positions and allegiances was unclear. Grass-roots organization beyond the urban centers seems to have been minimal, although the three major parties had or achieved considerable national organization and maintained traditional allegiances. The message that there was to be an election and that all should vote was communicated.

The fact the Christian Democrats were part of the ruling Junta made them on the face of it the incumbent party and the election a plebiscite on their rule. However, for a number of reasons the previous assumption of El Salvadoran history that incumbent parties cannot be voted out of power could not easily be applied. The military establishment that was also a part of the Junta had historically been close to the previous ruling party (PCN). Other major parties had ties to the military, and thus to the government, that were perhaps equally close.

Incumbent advantage may also have been reduced by the fact that the past experience of the Christian Democrats with electoral fraud, as well as the attention of so much of the outside world, may have made manipulations more difficult.

## FREEDOM HOUSE OBSERVATIONS

After examining the literature and information that was made available, our mission of five persons visited El Salvador on March 24-30. We saw and talked with a variety of potential voters in urban and rural settings in five departments (with over 50 percent of the population). We received a broad spectrum of impressions, although the security situation and the fears of our respondents limited the responses and explorations. In addition we met with leaders of political parties, party workers, the voting commission, labor leaders, and the leaders of the Junta.

We noted in this process extreme disparities in living conditions and status, the guerrilla presence, and general awareness of the election. The extent to which the issues of the election were understood, outside the middle classes of major cities and peoples directly affected by government programs, was unclear.

Voting was regarded by informants as a civil obligation. The election decree specifically spells out the compulsory nature of voting and the emphasis that officials should place on this both before and after March 28 ((Decree 914 [Transitory Election Law], Articles 53, 144, 145, 146). Although, in the past, enforcement of similar laws has been very lax, in this election in a context of fear and anxiety these regulations might have been taken more seriously. Fears of government forces or other non-guerrilla forces if one did not vote were reported by American media. Fear of the guerrilla forces if one did vote was also evident and indirectly observed. (On the guerrilla campaign against the election, see below.) Pre-election polls and our own investigations reported voter hopes that the election would help achieve peace and employment; we do not know to what extent the voters really believed the election would achieve these goals.

Before the vote nearly all those contacted said they would vote. Still, in many cases it may have been impossible to overcome the difficulties and dangers of actually traveling to the polls in the time available. Even in the relatively secure areas we visited, some people would have had to travel as much as twenty-five kilometers each way on insecure or possibly unavailable transportation; on poor roads even much shorter trips would have been very difficult. Lack of available vehicles due to guerrilla destruction of oil supplies, vehicles, or other causes compounded the difficulty. Thus, while the election commission believed that only 5 percent of the people would actually be prevented from voting because of guerrilla control of peripheral areas, problems of poll accessibility must have made voting onerous if not impossible for perhaps another quarter of the population.

Observation of a number of polls on March 28 revealed that announced procedures were generally followed and that large numbers of people were willing to devote many hours to traveling to the polls and getting through the very crowded polling places. At most polling stations voters appeared to fulfill their obligation pleasantly or even enthusiastically, although there were problems of crowd control.

The election was in part a referendum on itself and on the system it represented. Parties or political factions to the left of the Christian Democrats did not participate. This included guerrilla groups whose leaders traditionally reject attaining power through competitive elections and more moderate leftist groups whose leaders believed participation carried too high a risk of assassination. While political activity was and remained dangerous for all groups, their recent experience suggested particular danger. It should be noted that refusal to participate in an election has been frequently used by Salvadoran parties to express their dissatisfaction or as a tactic. In addition, those opposed to the election could have campaigned for its nullifica-

### Members of the Mission

**Raymond D. Gastil**, director of the Comparative Survey of Freedom of Freedom House; a social anthropologist who has written extensively on comparative social and political structures in the Third World; member of two Freedom House election-monitoring missions to Rhodesia-Zimbabwe (1979, 1980).

**Frances Grant**, perhaps the most widely known North American in Latin America for experienced, consistent support of social and political reform over the past forty years. She is secretary-general of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.

**R. Bruce McColm**, director of the Caribbean Basin Program of Freedom House; resident scholar, journalist, author of the currently widely quoted Freedom House Perspective, *El Salvador: Peaceful Revolution or Armed Struggle?*; covered guerrillas in Angola, dissident activities in Latin America.

**Bayard Rustin**, trustee of Freedom House; member of both Freedom House election-monitoring missions to Rhodesia-Zimbabwe; president, A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund; organizer of the 1963 March on Washington; prominent civil rights leader for three decades.

**Leonard R. Sussman**, executive director of Freedom House for fifteen years; organized the Zimbabwe election-monitoring by Freedom House; formerly press secretary to the Governor of Puerto Rico, later its information director in the United States; has worked in Asia, Africa, and Europe to expand press freedom, and writes extensively on press-control, UNESCO, and related subjects.

tion; in Salvadoran law if there is a majority of blank or defaced votes the election is void. (The Christian Democrats, for example, campaigned for a null vote in the San Salvador department in the legislative election of 1972).[1] However, legally only the participating parties were to be allowed to raise this issue (or others) of nullification subsequent to this election (Decree 914 [Transitory Election Law], Article 131).

It is understandable that while the participating parties had open access to the media, and often free access, and could campaign within relatively fair guidelines, civil and even political freedoms were reduced to the extent that those who opposed the election had to operate in a continuing state of emergency. According to the election decree (Article 74), only competing parties were allowed political advertising during the campaign. Attempts to oppose the election might also fall under Article 86, according to which no advertising of "anarchist principles or principles contrary to representative democracy" was to be allowed. Certainly very little legal political advertising was allowed against the election, although a previously vocal segment of the population opposed it. We also noted the prohibition of political activity by religious ministers or in church (Article 85). This lack of legal opposition was to some extent compensated for by the guerrilla radios and word-of-mouth communication and the influence of guerrilla violence.

## Analysis of the Election Results

In the early 1960s when voter registration was onerous, about 21 percent of eligible voters participated in Salvadoran elections. The percentages steadily increased in the 1960s.[2] By the 1972 presidential election, the election figures of both the opposition and the government suggest that as many as 800,000 voted.[3] In the fraudulent 1977 election we can still estimate on the basis of verified returns in part of the country that as many as one million may have voted.[4] The population in 1972 was estimated to be 3,800,000; in 1977, 4,400,000.[5] With 48 percent of the population estimated to be of voting age, this means the percentage of eligible voters participating in the 1970s was about 45 percent.[6]

For the 1982 election, many forecast a relatively low turnout. However, pre-election polls showed that as many as 80 percent of eligible Salvadorans planned to vote.[7] Thus, with a population of about five million or 2,400,000 potential voters, the final number of votes cast, 1,485,185, makes it possible to conservatively estimate a 62 percent participation rate.[8] This was a creditable performance. Obviously the guerrilla war in general, and the problems of poll location and transportation it posed, as well as the attacks on the day of the election made voting impossible for many who had planned to vote.

The Christian Democratic Party (PDC) received 40 percent of the valid votes, which gave them twenty-four of sixty assembly seats. The new rightist and populist ARENA received 29 percent for nineteen seats; the pre-1980 governing party (PCN) received 19 percent for fourteen seats. The remaining 12 percent of valid votes were divided among three other conservative parties, with AD (Democratic Action) receiving two seats and PSP one. (Detailed results are given in the Appendix.) There were also 11.4 percent defaced or blank ballots.

The results by party accorded fairly well with previous Salvadoran experience. In the relatively fair elections of 1968 the Christian Democrats received 43 percent, of the vote, the further left MNR nearly 4 percent, and the conservative parties 53 percent.[9] In the 1972 presidential election the united front of Christian Democrats and parties to its left polled about 43 percent and the more conservative parties 57 percent. Given the fact that the former left allies of the Christian Democrats failed to vote, or cast null votes, in the 1982 election, the party's strength seems to have remained quite stable.

The pattern of departmental returns corresponds to historical experience in many respects. The Christian Democrats were strongest in the cities, PCN in rural areas, especially in the east. ARENA picked up support everywhere: its campaign organization was most vigorous. Perhaps equally important in the result was the relative uniformity of party percentages from all departments, compared to earlier "fair" elections (for example, 1966).[10] This suggests a nationalization of the political process, perhaps due in turn to greater reliance on the national radio and television in the campaign.

The strategy of the leftist civilian and military parties that opposed the election remained confused and ineffective, illustrating once again a remarkable disunity. The rebel message to the people was that the election was a farce and that it should and would be "defeated." One persistent message was that there was going to be a popular uprising that would swamp the election.[11] In Mexico City rebel commanders said they would defeat it "by making the war felt at all levels everywhere," but not by attacking voting booths or voters.[12] There were, however, reports that guerrillas threatened to kill or mutilate voters.[13] We directly knew of threats to destroy private buses, and buses were actually destroyed. Yet still other guerrillas told voters that if they felt compelled to participate they should cast null ballots.[14]

In the event, many opposed to the election cast null ballots. Of the 11.4 percent null ballots, perhaps most were cast by supporters of the far left, especially those cast in larger cities. Combined with those refusing to vote, this suggests a 10 to 15 percent support for the violent left, a not surprising number considering the political history.[15] This suggests that the ineffectiveness of opposition to the vote was not only due to disunity. Perhaps the left was not able to be sufficiently active, or to call for an insurrection, or to call for abstentions, because they knew they did not have sufficient support to succeed. They did not want to fail in another all-out attempt as they had in the "final offensive" of January 1981.[16]

Two aspects of the El Salvador political process that are unfamiliar to Americans deserve further comment. First, compulsory voting is not in itself undemocratic. Many democracies, such as Australia, have compulsory voting. Compulsory voting need not result in high participation rates. In the 1960s elections in some departments of El Salvador, voting was compulsory, but participation remained low.[17] In the 1982 Guatemala election, in spite of compulsory voting and very repressive security services, only 45 percent of registered voters participated.[18] Secondly, in parliamentary democracies the party receiving the largest number of votes or seats is neither legally nor morally justified in assuming it will be a part of the government unless it also has a majority. For example, Sweden has been ruled in recent years by a coalition of small parties in spite of a very large social democrat plurality. A similar outcome might be undesirable in El Salvador, but it would not be a repudiation of the voter's mandate.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The election was a referendum on itself, a test of political party strength, and a mandate for peace. We have no evidence that this election was marred by gross fraud or that intimidation or violence dictated its result. The electoral mechanism was well-conceived and, from our observations, executed in a consistent and fair manner. We do not believe that the guerrilla war was in itself a sufficient reason to declare the election invalid.

Far from it. The sizable turnout demonstrated the determination of the Salvadoran voters to fulfill their civic obligation even in the face of possible danger.

A broader evaluation of the meaningfulness of the election can be attempted only within the Salvadoran context. In effect, a government installed by military coup and subsequently incorporating elements of a major political party has been able to involve a significant segment of the people in the political process through competitive party elections. Although the complete spectrum of political opinion could not be included, we conclude that the resulting government can start from a more democratic and broader base than has existed at least since the early 1970s. On this basis the process of extending democracy may be resumed. To succeed, this extension must not be limited to small political factions of the right and left but must include the active involvement of the majority of the Salvadoran people in political and economic affairs. The response of the Salvadoran people in the 1982 assembly election was evidence of their capacity for such involvement.

Despite the election, El Salvador will continue to face serious problems of human rights, security, lawlessness, and economic decline. Stability can only be achieved by a government willing and able to face these problems as a whole. Such a government can only be one that unites the Salvadoran people and, while firmly reestablishing order, strives creatively and with goodwill to reincorporate all those groups or individuals who have placed themselves outside the political process.

Whatever government emerges from this election will not please all groups in El Salvador or all democratic countries in this hemisphere. But it will be closer to representing the people than any government that was likely to have emerged from other means of returning the country to legality. Let us hope that all Americans—North and South—will help this government solve its problems and thus build a more secure and democratic future.

*April 12, 1982*

## Notes

1. Stephen Webre, *José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960-1972* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 172-174.
2. Ronald H. McDonald, "Electoral Behavior and Political Development in El Salvador," *The Journal of Politics* 31(1969): 397-419. Also, *El Salvador Election Factbook, March 5, 1967* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems, 1967).
3. Webre, *José Napoleón Duarte*, pp. 171-172. Preliminary official, PDC (Christian Democrat), and official recounts show similar totals. Taking into account defaced and blank ballots, the total was 750,000 to 800,000.
4. Webre, *José Napoléon Duarte*, p. 197. Nine hundred twenty or 26 percent of the ballot boxes yielded 278,000 valid votes. Since half of these were in the San Salvador area, we can assume the count in other boxes might have been less. The government total of valid votes, apparently greatly inflated, was 1.2 million.
5. George Bowdler and Patrick Cotter, *Voter Participation in Central America, 1954-1981: An Exploration* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), p. 23, says 43 percent of potential voters participated in the 1972 presidential election. In general this is not a judicious study.
6. All population estimates are based on those quoted in Instituto Salvadoreño del Segura Social, *Estadisticas 1980*, San Salvador, 1981, p. 12. Figures given in the 1979 *Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, 1980*, and the *Encyclopedia of the Third World* (1982) suggest that 48 percent of the population was eighteen years old or above. This was also the assumption of the Central Election Board.
7. Such polls were reported to us by the Election Board and ARENA. One was conducted by a well-known Costa Rican polling organization.
8. Five million is a rough estimate. Extrapolating the 1980 population figures would give over 5,100,000, but the war has caused increased emigration (although a small number may have returned to vote). Sixty-two percent participation should be considered a conservative and very rough estimate. If a lower estimate of 4,500,000 were used, voter participation would be 68 percent.
9. McDonald, "Electoral Behavior and Political Development in El Salvador."
10. *El Salvador Election Factbook.*
11. For example, Warren Hoge, the New York *Times*, March 16, 1982, or Raymond Bonner, the New York *Times*, March 19, 1982.
12. Alan Riding, the New York *Times*, March 2, 1982. *See also* Marc Cooper and Ronnie Lovler, *Village Voice*, April 6, 1982, p. 19.
13. Lynda Schuster, *The Wall Street Journal*, March 17, 1982; Richard Meislin, the New York *Times*, March 29, 1982.
14. Richard Meislin, the New York *Times*, April 1, 1982; Warren Hoge, the New York *Times*, March 29, 1982.
15. Of the null ballots, we estimate 9 percent were purposely defaced or unmarked. This is 5.5 percent of the adult population. There is little reason to suppose that many more than an equivalent number failed to vote because of opposition to the election. We know many were prevented from voting by distance or danger (as we

have discussed above in the section, Freedom House Observations). The army could not vote, and many Salvadorans had not obtained their required identity cards before the elections. A significant percentage fails to vote out of apathy in all countries. Far-left electoral support in El Salvador has always been very low. An authoritative summary of strength among groups to the left of the Christian Democrats in 1980 suggests less than 200,000 adult supporters or about 8 percent ("The Salvadoran Left" from *Latin American Regional Report, Mexico and Central America*, August 15, 1980, in Marvin Gettleman et al., eds., *El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War* [New York: Grove Press, 1981], pp. 111-113). We should allow for some growth and indirect support.

16. *See* Gettleman, *El Salvador*, p. 119.
17. *El Salvador Election Factbook.*
18. Raymond Bonner, the New York *Times*, March 15, 1982.

## Appendix A
## Election Results by Departments

| | PDC | ARENA | PCN | AD | PPS | POP | Total Valid Votes | Blank & Defaced Votes | Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ahuachapan | 26,256 | 22,820 | 12,319 | 3,164 | — | 760 | 65,319 | 10,704 | 76,140 |
| Santa Ana | 63,686 | 37,949 | 22,791 | 12,259 | 5,101 | 1,903 | 143,689 | 19,747 | 163,870 |
| Sonsonate | 47,420 | 37,502 | 20,737 | 7,434 | 3,515 | — | 116,608 | 14,774 | 132,054 |
| La Libertad | 62,840 | 44,015 | 22,806 | 11,376 | 5,156 | 2,168 | 148,361 | 21,782 | 170,976 |
| Chalatenango | 17,694 | 15,506 | 10,619 | 1,496 | 914 | 492 | 46,721 | 6,370 | 53,513 |
| San Salvador | 145,076 | 87,861 | 37,954 | 40,254 | 14,518 | 4,430 | 330,093 | 41,928 | 374,850 |
| San Vicente | 14,205 | 7,973 | 11,088 | 2,181 | 711 | — | 36,158 | 4,493 | 40,752 |
| Cabañas | 10,188 | 11,804 | 14,366 | 1,015 | — | — | 37,373 | 5,321 | 42,747 |
| La Paz | 26,940 | 17,995 | 14,794 | 3,401 | 1,654 | — | 64,784 | 8,646 | 73,994 |
| Cuscatlan | 15,902 | 23,517 | 12,148 | 2,620 | 1,062 | 601 | 55,850 | 8,308 | 64,396 |
| Usulutan | 17,013 | 17,937 | 9,346 | 3,111 | 1,799 | 734 | 49,940 | 5,137 | 55,180 |
| Morazan | 13,108 | 7,185 | 7,189 | 1,504 | 456 | — | 29,442 | 3,578 | 33,047 |
| San Miguel | 42,049 | 31,834 | 29,170 | 6,315 | 2,336 | — | 111,704 | 12,443 | 124,362 |
| La Union | 24,513 | 19,734 | 23,637 | 2,234 | 1,282 | 1,063 | 72,463 | 6,603 | 79,308 |
| **Total** | 526,890 | 383,633 | 248,964 | 98,364 | 38,504 | 12,151 | 1,308,506 | 169,834 | 1,485,185 |
| **Percentage of Total** | 35.5% | 25.8% | 16.7% | 6.6% | 2.6% | 0.8% | 88.1% | 11.4% | |

*Totals include contested votes, which are not shown in this table.

San Salvador, Santa Ana, and San Miguel are the departments with the larger cities. The departments most affected by the war are Chalatenango, San Vicente, Usulutan, Morazan, and La Union. The El Salvador government reported voting did not occur in 65 of 260 municipalities, presumably concentrated in these departments. It should be noted that there was a substantial vote in Usulutan Department in spite of the prevention of voting in the municipality of Usulutan by guerrilla activity.

The political parties running candidates in the election were:

**ARENA** (National Republican Alliance). Formed in 1981 by cashiered National Guard intelligence officer Roberto D'Aubuisson. Accused of conspiracies against the government and widely, though perhaps erroneously, believed to be involved in illegal death squads. Reputed to have substantial oligarch financial support, it was characterized by good organization, conservative economics, and the personal charisma of its leader.

**POP** (Popular Orientation Party). Founded by rightist opposition to PCN government in 1970s. Leader previously founded ORDEN, a rural anticommunist paramilitary organization. Did not have candidates in all departments.

**PDC** (Christian Democratic Party). Founded chiefly by intellectuals in 1960 in the tradition of Latin American Christian Democratic parties. Stresses traditional values and economic reforms of a social democratic nature. Strong commitment to agrarian reform. Has developed relations with labor and peasant organizations. Leader, José Napoléon Duarte, is claimed to have been defrauded of the presidential election in 1972 (in a front including parties further to the left), and was head of the Junta at the time of this election.

**AD** (Democratic Action). Middle-class professional and business party led by a lawyer often felt to be a possible compromise candidate between left and right. Stresses good government, reconciliation of all parties and groups, and social programs in a conservative vein.

**PCN** (National Conciliation Party). PCN ruled the country in collaboration with the military 1961-1979. A nationalist and anticommunist party, PCN has nevertheless included many reformist elements, and in common with previous governments often developed state enterprises in preference to private. Traditional support, particularly in rural areas.

**PPS** (Popular Salvadoran Party). The conservative branch of an older opposition party going back to the 1940s. Said to be supported by the wealthy. Did not have candidates in all departments.

# Appendix B
## Myths in the Discussion

The history of repression, inequality, and incomplete democracy in El Salvador has led to an unnuanced condemnation of Salvadoran conservatism that results in a persistent misunderstanding of recent events. This misunderstanding is at the root of the inability of many American commentators to grant meaning to the size of the vote in this election and the division of the vote.

It is, for example, an error to simply identify the *oficialista,* military-political parties, that have ruled El Salvador since the 1930s with the interests of the wealthy and the rejection of reform. As one authority on El Salvador wrote in the early 1970s, "The political system cannot be seen simply in terms of certain groups—the army, the oligarchy, the American embassy—holding the power or a certain proportion of the power. . . ." The author goes on to say that the PCN (the ruling party of the 1960s and 1970s) had a slight "net reformist" influence on the process.[1] More generally, Duff and McCamant, in their comparative study of violence and repression in Latin America, wrote in 1976:

> Military intervention and control have not had the negative results in El Salvador that they have in other parts of Latin America. The military has been able to retain a reformist image without unduly antagonizing the established wealthy families. It has worked in close cooperation with the well-educated and more progressive elite, has sought mass support through political parties, and has responded to the challenge of the Alliance for Progress without allowing its industries to be taken over by multinational firms. The Salvadoran military established an earlier and more moderate version of what the Peruvian military has made famous since 1968.[2]

Similarly, while land reform was given great impetus after the 1979 coup that replaced PCN government, and especially under the junta after the accession of José Napoléon Duarte, it must not be forgotten that land reform has been a persistent feature of Salvadoran politics since the 1930s, with successive governments proposing, and to some extent achieving, agrarian and land reform plans.[3] More fundamentally, the Salvadoran *campesinos* have apparently persisted in believing since pre-Spanish times that they had a right to use any under-utilized land for their subsistence. As their numbers increased in recent years, in many areas the actual control of land by the large landholders has been preempted by numerous subsistence squatters. Their acquisitions have a validity in Salvadoran law unfamiliar to our society. By 1970 the leading authority on Salvador's land problem feared that this movement, with or without "land reform," would eventually destroy the commercial agriculture of the country.[4]

Ignoring these facts, ideologically inspired academics continue to paint a picture of El Salvador that is simply unprovable. For example, the political scientists LeoGrande and Robbins write, "El Salvador has the most rigid class structure and worst income inequality in all of Latin America," and go on to say that a few thousand people received until recently 50 percent of national income, and that modernization has offered no improvement in equity.[5] However, in a letter commenting on these assertions, an economist points out that in fact El Salvador had one of the *most equal* distributions in Latin America, with the top 20 percent receiving 52.4 percent of the income in 1969, a smaller amount than, for example, Mexico. He also pointed out that in the 1960s the share of the poor and middle classes in national income was growing more rapidly than that of the wealthy.[6]

The upper middle and upper classes of El Salvador cannot, in any event, be considered simply to be parasites existing on the backs of the poor. At least since the middle of the nineteenth century the relation of landlord and peasant has increasingly diverged from the relation of the *ancien régime* in which the lord lived luxuriously on the surplus of traditional agriculturists. The landlord (and more recently industrialist) has instead often been an innovator and investor who through private and public means built up production of new crops, such as coffee. It is these crops that made possible the roads, schools, hospitals, and other modern amenities of the country.[7] In the process a dual economy has been created, the population has exploded, and class differences been exacerbated; but the contribution of many of the wealthy cannot be ignored.

Another myth is that there was never a fair election in El Salvador before 1982;[8] within this myth it is taken as gospel that the presidential election of 1972 was obviously stolen from Duarte. While there have been many fraudulent elections, interrupted ballot counts, and incumbent parties have had great advantages, careful students of El Salvador described the election of the late sixties as reasonably fair.[9] Alastair White, for example, explains at some length why the governing party, the PCN, did so well in rural areas, and doubts that fraud or direct intimidation had a great deal to do with the results.[10] In the 1972 presidential election both the figures of the government and the PDC show the race to have been very close, with the result to be decided at any rate by the PCN-dominated legislature. It is suggestive that, after asking for a recount, a coup in favor of the PDC occurred before the recount was completed. Fraud is not seen as decisive in the 1972 result; however, subsequent assembly elections were obviously affected by massive candidate disqualifications,[11] and 1974-77 elections were questionable and/or one-party.

A final myth is that some party or group represents the people or is an expression of popular desires. In terms of social origins, perhaps the actors on the political stage with the most impoverished origins are the military officers, although through education even they come to be an elite. The leaders of the political parties and factions, including those of the far left and their guerrilla forces, are recruited from a very small, educated class with little psychological affiliation with, or understanding of, the average Salvadoran.[12] The far left's hero of the peasant rebellion of 1932, Farabundo Marti, was an urban-educated son of an owner of 1,250 hectares.[13] It is our impression that none of the parties has been able, or even seriously attempted, to organize the people as a whole or to involve them in the political process. It was evident that there are many groups "out there"—labor unions and peasant organizations, as well as the unorganized—who would like to play a more active political role but who are expected instead to rally to banners created for them and in their interest. Democracy will only be firmly established in El Salvador when political communication is no longer only from the top down.

Free of these myths, the results of this election should be no longer mysterious. Of course, all is not mythology. There have been fraudulent elections. There are serious problems of inequality, corruption, brutality, assassination, and war-related excess. We suspect most parties and groups have been involved in the cycle of violence. Hatreds engendered by past outrages and habits of violence will remain a serious obstacle to national conciliation, reform, and the reestablishment of legality.

The election was a courageous first step in overcoming this legacy.

### Notes

1. Alastair White, *El Salvador* (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 195 and 197.
2. Ernest Duff and John McCamant, *Violence and Repression in Latin America* (New York: Free Press, 1976), pp. 144-145.
3. Stephen Webre, *José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960-1972* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 193-195. More generally, *see* David Browning, *El Salvador: Landscape and Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).
4. Browning, *El Salvador*, pp. 248-303.
5. William M. LeoGrande and Carla Anne Robbins, "Oligarchs and Officers: The Crisis in El Salvador," *Foreign Affairs* 58, no. 5 (Summer 1980): 1084-1103.
6. Joseph P. Mooney, *Foreign Affairs* 59, no. 1 (Fall 1980): 180-181. Mooney's remarks are based on Hollis Chenery, *Redistribution with Growth*, World Book (Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 8, 42. According to the *Encyclopedia of the Third World* (New York: Facts on File, 1982), the top five percent received 21.4 percent of income, the bottom twenty percent, 5.8 percent; the equivalent figures were 23.9 percent and 2.9 percent for Mexico.
7. Browning, *El Salvador*, pp. 139ff.
8. For example, Lynda Schuster in *The Wall Street Journal*, March 17, 1982, "In a country that hasn't had a clean election in fifty years. . . ."
9. Webre, *José Napoleón Duarte;* Ronald H. McDonald, "Electoral Behavior and Political Development in El Salvador," *The Journal of Politics* 31 (1969): 397-419; and White, *El Salvador*.
10. White, *El Salvador*, pp. 205-209.
11. White, *El Salvador*, pp. 252-253; Webre, *José Napoleón Duarte*, pp. 153-172.
12. *See* Gabriel Zaid, "Enemy Colleagues: A Reading of the Salvadoran Tragedy," *Dissent*, Winter 1982, pp. 13-39 (translated).
13. Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), p. 33.

## Appendix C

## Observation Mission Activities

**Pre-election Visits** (by department and city)
- La Libertad:
  - Chanmico—large cooperative, officials
  - Santa Fe-Ranchon—small cooperative, officials and members
  - Santa Tecla—election and party officials
  - La Perla (junction)—*campesinos*
  - Ciudad Arce—*campesinos*
- Santa Ana:
  - Santa Ana—mayor-candidate
- San Miguel:
  - San Miguel—election commission, party leaders
- San Salvador:
  - San Salvador—Amnestia in Colonia Costa Rica (refugee camp)
- Sonsonate:
  - Barra Salida—fishermen, farmers
  - Apancoyo—*campesinos*, small businessmen

**Major Private Interviews in San Salvador**
- Jorge Bustamente—president, Central Elections Council
- Tito Castro—UCS union leader
- Major Roberto D'Aubuisson—ARENA leader
- José Napoleón Duarte—president of Junta
- Gen. Jaime Abdul Guttierez—vice-president of Junta
- Samuel Maldonado—UCS union leader
- Luis Preza Grande—CTS union leader
- Mario Redaelli—ARENA leader

**Polling Stations Visited, March 28**
- La Libertad:
  - Santa Tecla
    - Instituto Nacional "J. D. Villacorta"
    - Escuela "Daniel Hernandez"
- Santa Ana:
  - Santa Ana
    - Escuela Experimental "Tomas Medina"
    - Escuela "Tomas Medina"
    - Escuela "Republica de Guatemala"
- San Miguel:
  - San Miguel
    - Escuela "Confederacion Suiza"
    - Escuela "Isidoro Menendez"

Thursday, October 14, 1982 THE MIAMI TIMES

# The Vibrancy Of Israel's Democracy

## BAYARD RUSTIN SPEAKS

The viciousness and inhumanity of the massacre of Palestinian refugees in West Beirut has resulted in a worldwide outcry. yet nowhere has that protest been stronger or the public demonstrations larger than in Israel, where the people have been outspoken and unequivocal in their condemnation of the murder of hundreds of Palestinians by Lebanese Christian militamen.

Israeli writers and artists, trade unionists and religous leaders, as well as prominent spokesmen across the entire Israeli political spectrum, have join in the denunciation of the heinous crime in Beirut. Members of Prime Minister Begin's cabinet have resigned to protest his reluctance to launch an independent inquiry. A massive chorus of voices has called for the resignation of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. Many Israelis have called upon Prime Minister Begin himself to resign.

On Saturday, September 25 the some 400,000 demonstrators gathered in a huge protest in Tel Aviv demanding an open investigation to determine the extent of the Israeli leadership's involvement in the Beirut massacre. As someone who spent half a year coordinating and laying he groundwork for the 1963 March on Washington, in which 250,000 demonstrated, I can only marvel at the magnificence of this spontaneous expression of Israel's conscience, in which over 10% of her people participated.

The public expression of Israeli outrage over their government's mishandling of its voluntarily assumed responsibilities in West Beirut is a testament to the vibrancy and vitality of Israeli democracy, and its fundamental commitment to humane values.

At first, Prime Minister Begin resisted calls for an independent inquiry into the extent of Israeli complicity in the Beirut massacre. But that enormous domestic public outcry pressure the Prime Minister and his cabinet into a startling reversal of policy.

There now will be an independent judicial commission of inquiry into the massacres in the Sabra and Shaliat refugee camps. This inquiry should and must resolve all questions concerning the guilt or innocence of Israel's government and military leaders. On the basis of the facts uncovered in that inquiry, the Israeli people and their elected representatives will be able, through the democratic process, to determine the fate of those found culpable. In the words of Labor Party Chairman Shimon Peres, "The question arises whether these statesmen who made the terrible mistakes can remain in office."

That indeed is the heart of the question that all Israelis will have to confront in the weeks ahead. Yet the very fact that Israelis have the freedom to answer this question is a testament to the strength of their democracy. Just as in our own country, the impeachment process led to the resignation of President Nixon for his involvement in the Watergate coverup and just as the judicial process led to the punishment of those guilty for the My Lai massacre in Vietnam, so in Israel the democratic process will be the ultimate arbiter.

Out of the shock of Shaliat and Sabra have come the first stirrings of a way out of the Middle East's latest tragedy. And as we justifiably join the chorus of condemnations of the Beirut massacre we can only hope that the new Lebanese President Amin Gemayel will follow Israel's example and launch his own independent inquiry to punish those directly responsible for the outrage. Such a move would augur well for the new Lebanese President, who faces the difficult task of constructing a stable and democratic society.

The events of recent days serve to restore our faith in the judgement of the Israeli people. They have made absolutely clear that not external pressure, but the internal expression of Israeli morality and conscience, led to the establishment of the independent judicial commission of inquiry. This recent turn of events can comfort us, but it should not surprise us. For it is another affirmation of the wisdom of the people - the fundamental tenet of democracy.

Americans should recall the long and tedious process that led to the Nixon impeachment hearings. We should recall that calls for his resignation were ineffective until that process was well advanced. We can hope that the Israeli judicial inquiry will be prompt and speedy. But the recent expressions of conscience should make us confident that Israel's people will act wisely and democratically to set their own house in order. We should recognize that in launching their commission of inquiry the Israelis are on the right course. Calls by outsiders which prejudge the outcome may well prove counterproductive.

*THE ABOVE COLUMN WAS DISTRIBUTED TO 110 PAPERS SERVING THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN. IT IS A SUMMARY OF MY REACTION TO THE MASSACRE OF PALESTINIANS BY CHRISTIAN MILITIA IN WEST BEIRUT.*

# Arabs Must Be Persuaded to Bend

## Peace Won't Be Achieved Until They Recognize Israel

**By BAYARD RUSTIN**

A fundamental lesson that I learned from my long, close association with A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King Jr. was the importance, indeed the necessity, of making clear and public one's ultimate objective—even when the cause seems all but hopeless. Insisting publicly on the ultimate objectives ensures that both allies and opponents understand their real goals. Then, if a compromise is deemed essential, there is a better chance of having it understood and accepted, especially by those on whom one counts for support.

Randolph and King were guided by that principle throughout their lives—whether the struggle involved organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, or the proposed march on Washington in 1941 that resulted in the first Fair Employment Practices Commission, or pressure leading to President Harry S. Truman's executive order eliminating segregation in the armed forces, or the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, or the 1963 march on Washington. I have tried to follow this principle of clarity in my work in civil rights at home and for human rights worldwide. That is why I am baffled by our country's expressed policies with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In 1947 the United Nations agreed that the area west of the Jordan River (that part of the Palestine Mandate still under British administration after the establishment of Transjordan under King Abdullah, Hussein's grandfather) be divided into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The Arabs refused to accept this decision, and invaded the state of Israel on the day on which it was established. Israel successfully defended itself, and was left in control of an area slightly larger than that which the U.N. General Assembly had authorized. To this day Israel has not been accepted by the Arab nations (except Egypt, which recognized Israel in 1977).

We have since witnessed a series of wars against Israel. There is general agreement that these wars are dangerous and that the dangers involve not only the countries that are directly engaged but also all human beings. The Middle East conflict has exacerbated East-West tensions, it has led to enormous concentrations of armaments in the area, it has facilitated the spread of terrorism, and it has raised the possibility that the general outbreak of war might involve the nuclear-armed superpowers. Ending the Arab-Israeli conflict is therefore vital, even though it would not necessarily bring peace to the Middle East. After all, there have been about 30 inter-Arab conflicts since World War II that have not involved Israel.

By now it is clear that the Arab-Israeli conflict will end only when the Arab states agree to accept Israel as a legitimate sovereign state. The refusal to do so is at the root of the conflict. Despite rumors to the contrary or ambiguous hints, the Arab states have rejected every opportunity to extend such recognition—as has the Palestine Liberation Organization (Issam Sartawi, its leading proponent of recognition, was assassinated). Yasser Arafat's present difficulties indicate that he could not offer PLO recognition of Israel even if he wanted to.

What has U.S. policy consisted of during this period? Although I am not privy to secret diplomacy, I know from my own experience and from conversations with Administration officials that our general approach has been to pressure Israel into "concessions." So far as I know there has been no public strategy of pressuring the Arab states to recognize Israel. This is puzzling, since Israel cannot end the state of war—only the Arab states can.

Israel's settlement policy on the West Bank has been misguided from the outset. The extension of Israeli law to the Golan Heights, with the appearance of annexation, is similarly imprudent. Other charges that could be leveled against Israel are that it has expanded its borders by conquest and that it is treating its Arab population as second-class citizens. Yet these actions are a direct result of the unceasing war waged against Israel for 35 years. Every border expansion was a direct result of warfare that was either initiated or provoked by the Arab states. Israel can scarcely be faulted for trying to secure its borders while it is under constant threat of attack. When Egypt made peace with Israel, the Sinai was returned on schedule. Thus, while Israel's conduct is not without blemish, it is a direct outcome of Arab intransigence and belligerence.

Charges of Israeli mistreatment of Arab residents regrettably are true. However, within the context of relentless war and terrorism, and in comparison to other nations that face less dire threats, Israel fares quite admirably. The United States, for example, placed all the Japanese on the West Coast in concentration camps in 1942 without charging them with a single act of subversion or sabotage. Examine Argentina, South Africa, Zimbabwe or any other nation that is threatened by internal violence. Judged by the criteria by which most nations meet such threats, Israel's treatment of its Arab population has been restrained and even exemplary.

It clearly is specious to claim that the Arab refusal to recognize Israel arises from these or other defects in Israel's behavior. It is, rather, the very existence of Israel that the Arab states oppose. The latest evidence has been Arab pressure on Lebanon to try to prevent that hapless country from signing a peace treaty with Israel.

Given these conditions, I am convinced that U.S. policy should be directed, openly and insistently, on nothing less than Arab recognition of Israel within secure and negotiated borders. While pressure on Israel to halt its settlements is all to the good, it will prove counterproductive as long as there is not even stronger insistence that the Arab states recognize Israel.

I am not such an optimist as to believe that U.S. pressure on the Arab world, or on specific Arab countries, will be successful in the immediate future. There may have to be steps and compromises along the way. But the ultimate objective must be clearly and openly stated to all.

*Bayard Rustin recently returned from a fact-finding mission to the Middle East as part of a delegation from the Socialist International headed by Prime Minister Mario Soares of Portugal.*

# A PAPER
# FOR THE
# WORKING GROUP
# ON
# LATIN AMERICA'S POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Presented by

Bayard Rustin
Chairman, Social Democrats, USA

June 29, 1984
Lisbon, Portugal

# "HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT:
# STRATEGIES FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA"

A PAPER BY BAYARD RUSTIN, CHAIRMAN, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS USA
PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICA
OF THE FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
LISBON, PORTUGAL, JUNE 29, 1984

Latin America today stands at the center of the fight for democracy. Immense changes are in the offing in the formerly authoritarian societies of the region. Many of these changes have been immensely heartening. Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and Honduras have made recent transitions to democratic rule. El Salvador has succeeded in holding elections despite attempts by leftists and rightists to undermine the democratic process. In Brazil a powerful mass movement is pressing for a quick return to democracy. In Chile, trade unions form the advance guard of the effort to restore freedom. Yet as powerful as the popular will for democracy is in Latin America, democratic institutions are a fragile flower which will require many years to become deeply rooted.

There is much volatility among the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking nations of the region. Nowhere is this volatility greater than in Central America, where there is a danger not only from the extreme right and the extreme left, but because of the meddling of the Soviet Union and its clients, there is the equally pressing threat of regional conflagration which threatens not only dictatorships and tyrannies, but democrats and democracies as well.

Amid this volatility and violence we-- as democrats, as advocates of freedom, and as supporters of a just social order-- must seek to play an active role in strengthening of democratic forces and democratic institutions in the region. It is in this context that we must advance the democratization of non-democratic left-wing and right-wing regimes and strengthen existing democracies.

In my remarks, I will examine recent developments in Central America and then will seek to put forth what I would argue are the contours of a prudent and practical, but also fundamentally moral approach to the entire region. In making my observations, I am fully cognizant that I do not qualify as an expert on Latin and Central America. But I have devoted a lifetime to working for the advancement of democracy and democratic institutions at home in the struggle for civil rights alongside Martin Luther King, Jr. and the black socialist and labor leader A. Philip Randolph. I have also been privileged in working over the years with Nehru in India and with Nkrumah and Azikewe in Africa. I have devoted much of my time in recent years to the problems of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Haiti, and Poland. More recently, I have traveled frequently to Central America and have collected indelible impressions which help to inform the remarks and observations I will now proceed to make.

The widespread movement toward democracy and the growing demands for democratic change in Latin America, and particularly in Central America are occurring in the context of an immensely dangerous new factor: the emergence of Cuba as an increasingly active agent of Soviet interventionism, and the continued drift toward Marxism-Leninism in a Nicaragua which willingly and effectively has aligned itself with the interests of the totalitarian Soviet bloc and which seeks to export its tyranny through revolution.

Prior to Castro's rise and prior to the full internationalization and globalization of Soviet imperial ambitions, it was relatively easy for democrats to make clear-cut distinctions between the forces of good and the forces of evil. There were, on the one hand, traditional dictators allied with exploitative oligarchies and/or the military. On the other side there were the forces for democracy and social justice inside a country or in forced exile.

Then, help to democrats consisted of mobilizing public opinion, nurturing exiles, helping strengthen democratic political parties which might come to power in place of overthrown dictators, building support for free and independent trade unions. Today, however, the language of democracy and social justice is often used by would-be tyrants and totalitarians. Today, democrats and advocates of evolutionary change often find themselves the targets of right-wing "death squads" and leftist guerrillas. Today, our choices are not nearly so simple. Today our choices are not only between good and evil, our choices are often between bad or worse. We must look at who the opponents of tyrannies are and must be mindful of the sorts of regimes they might seek to install.

In most of Latin America, of course, the distinctions between the forces for democracy and the forces of oppression are still quite clear. But it is in the case of Central America and the Caribbean, where there are insurgents opposed to democracy and where Cuba and the Soviet Union seek to advance their malevolent interests, that our task is far more difficult and nuanced.

And it is to Central America and the Caribbean that I would like to turn by examining in greater detail the cases of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

In the case of El Salvador, we have recently witnessed a remarkable event-- the election of a true democrat, Jose Napoleon Duarte, who was imprisoned, tortured, and exiled for his commitment to freedom. The elections, which I had the privilege of observing first-hand were generally free and fair. The runoff election which Duarte won, moreover, occurred with less of the polling place confusion that partially, though not decisively, complicated the first round of the process.

Jose Napoleon Duarte is committed to a program of land reform, democracy, negotiation, and reconciliation. He is precisely the sort of democrat who deserves the wideranging support of the West. Duarte recognizes that profound social inequities, the years of tyranny, and the continued lawlessness of right-wing "death squads," provide a fertile ground for would-be leftist tyrants. He is therefore committed to an extensive program of land reform, support for free trade unions and peasant organizations, the nationalization of banks and export trade, the building of an independent judiciary, the depoliticization of the army and police, and the strengthening of a free press. Yet his laudable goals cannot be achieved without an end to the violence of the extreme right and left. Nor, as the Kissinger Commission suggested, can Duarte and democracy succeed without significant

Western economic aid and without military aid linked to concrete human rights improvements. Such military aid, which ought to be administered through the civilian Salvadoran government is needed to prevent the anti-democratic guerrillas from seizing power or militarily sabotaging economic development.

Much has been said by the press of the West about the cruelties and horrors perpetrated by the Salvadoran rightist "death squads." Less attention has been paid to the bloody acts of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front. Five members of the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly were killed in the period before the Presidential elections. The guerrillas have recently killed Red Cross ambulance drivers, civilians, school teachers; they have attacked passenger trains; they broke their promise not to disrupt the elections; and, according to a number of independent trade union and campesino leaders of the UPD, some of the political leaders could not even entertain the prospect of participating in elections because they have been threatened with death by the guerrillas if they break with them on this issue and rejoin the democratic process.

Let us contrast the example of the slow, but nevertheless promising progress toward democratically-elected civilian rule in El Salvador, with the situation in Nicaragua.

Unlike El Salvador, where support for the guerrillas is narrow, in Nicaragua the opposition to the Somoza regime was broad-based, having included the press, labor unions, much of the business community, and the Catholic church. Nonetheless, it was only the Sandinistas who controlled the guns. And it was only the pro-Cuban, Marxist-Leninists among the Sandinistas who called the shots. The Sandinistas won the support of the Organization of American States on the basis of their promise to hold open and democratic elections, to pursue a policy of political pluralism, and to remain truly non-aligned. Now, nearly five years after their victory, we can fairly take a closer look at their record.

Just three months after taking power, the Sandinistas told an Assembly of their cadre that a governing junta which included independents was "an alliance of convenience organized by the Sandinistas to thwart Yankee intervention" and that "it was not necessary to negotiate with the bourgeoisie, but only to give some representation to people with patriotic reputation." They, likewise, asserted that they were organizing an "army politicized without precedent." Much as the National Guard once belonged to Somoza, so today the Army belongs to the FSLN and not the state.

But the Sandinistas did not end there. They emphasized that the need "to appear reasonable during the transitional period was beginning to cause dangerous problems such as an independent labor movement." But most ominously they emphasized the need to support "World Revolution" and clearly allied themselves with the so-called "socialist bloc" headed by the Soviet Union against the forces of " imperialism," headed by the United States.

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega asserted in August, 1981, that "the elections planned (then) for 1985 will in no way, like a lottery, decide who is going to hold power. For this power belongs to the people, to the FSLN, to our directorate."

Immediately after Somoza was toppled, the Costa Rican teachers union and the American Federation of Teachers offered to send teachers to help in a literacy campaign. The Sandinistas spurned such assistance, preferring the teaching materials, teachers, and totalitarian indoctrination that came from Cuba.

After enormous internal and external pressure, elections have at last been called for November, 1984. As it stands now opposition political parties will be severely restricted in their freedom to organize and to disseminate their views. The independent newspaper La Prensa remains heavily censored. And two of the most popular opposition leaders --Eden Pastora and Alfonso

Robelo-- are not eligible to take part because they have joined the anti-Sandinista guerrilla movement. On the other hand, in El Salvador, opposition leaders linked with the guerrillas were invited to take part in the democratic process. Moreover, the Sandinista junta has announced that it will not permit "the exaltation of values of the past" and that competing parties must "respond to the revolutionary reality."

No provisions are being made to assure free expression and freedom of the press for the election. Under the current "state of emergency" no news can be printed which "jeopardizes' the national security or defense of Nicaragua. There are sweeping restrictions against press discussions of shortages of consumer goods and other economic failings. Censorship today is regarded by many experts as worse than under Somoza. The FSLN owns all television channels. In the last three years, 23 independent radio news programs have been silenced and radio is now virtually a Sandinista monopoly. The only free newspaper, the highly popular and respected La Prensa is constantly censored, its journalists arrested and intimidated, its access to newsprint limited, its circulation artificially held low.

For between 2 to 4 months prior to the election, a total of 14 political parties in the opposition will have to share 15 minutes of television time once a week to take their message to the nation-- provided they do not address basic economic inadequacies and the undemocratic conduct of the revolution.

Opposition party activists mobility will be limited because of a five-gallon-a-week ration imposed on gasoline. The voting age has been lowered to 16 so that children indoctrinated by the Cubans and Sandinistas will cast their monolithic vote. Unlike El Salvador, in Nicaragua the military will also vote.

The forthcoming election, therefore, has all the earmarks of a massive manipulation. The opposition has raised a number of demands, which in my view are democratic and deserve Western support. They are: 1)that the FSLN separate their Party from the state and the military; 2) that the Contadora Group be invited in to observe the elections and the campaign prior to the elections; 3)that fundamental liberties --freedom of expression, freedom of press, freedom of movement, freedom of organization, access to the broadcast media-- be re-established; 4)that an end be put to institutionalized intimidation by organized Sandinista block committees and mobs ("turbas"), which break up opposition rallies and meetings; and that 5) all political forces and their leaders be allowed to participate in the elections.

Nor is the Sandinista attack on freedom limited to the political opposition. The Catholic church is,likewise, embattled. Priests are harassed by mobs. The Church's pastoral letters and sermons are censored in the press or prevented from being broadcast. A small Jewish community of some fifty families has been hounded out of the country and the only synagogue in Managua has been taken over.

Independent, non-Sandinista trade union leaders are jailed and intimidated. The right to strike has been suspended. Workers are coerced into joining the Sandinista-controlled unions. By mid-1982 the official count of political prisoners stood at 4,200 higher than even the figures under the Somoza dictatorship. Miskito Indians were rounded up into concentration camps. Some who resisted were killed or hounded into exile. Businessmen are harassed. The pretense of non-alignment has been abandoned in favor of slavish defense of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Cuban, East German, PLO and Bulgarian advisers and military instructors abound. The Soviets have shipped 15,000 tons of arms to Nicaragua in the last year alone. The society has become increasingly militarized and controlled.

Nicaragua's role in the region, in my view constitutes a profound threat to democracy and freedom. It weakens true democrats fighting to topple right-wing dictators by now exposing them to enemies on both the left and the right.

As in Nicaragua, the Grenada regime of Maurice Bishop came into power on the strength of widespread discontent with a right-wing dictatorship. But soon a Marxist-Leninist minority consolidated power and moved to establish totalitarian control of the press, trade unions, the churches, and independent social institutions. The Grenadian New Jewel movement saw itself as part and parcel of the world revolutionary movement led by the Soviet Union. It sought to undermine the Socialist International through a secret caucus involving the cooperation of Cuba and the Sandinistas.

It sought, as well, to provide support for Marxist-Leninist self-styled "revolutionaries" throughout the Caribbean.

Clearly,in shaping our strategy for the advancement of democracy in Central America, we must be mindful of these cautionary examples. Yet we must equally be mindful of the profound social and political inequities which provide a fertile ground for the "new dictators."

Above all we must adopt a strategy which advances democratic forces, strengthens existing democratic institutions, and works to advance pluralism both in politics and the economy.

The centerpiece of our strategy must be an effort aimed at peaceful, non-violent solutions. For it is democrats and democratic institutions which are most often undermined when violence and terror reign.

I am not suggesting that we blindly shut our eyes to the existing military struggles and urge an end to military aid for governments in Central America. We must insist, however, that such aid be proffered only to democratic governments or when tangible improvements have been made in the arena of human rights and basic freedoms. The active involvement of Western democracies in providing aid in Central America to democratic forces is vitally needed. Selective economic and diplomatic sanctions ought also to be an instrument used against both right-wing and left-wing tyrannies. Calls for non-involvement, however well-intentioned, pave the way to victory by the extreme right or the anti-democratic and pro-Soviet left.

The basis of any strategy aimed at non-violent change must be the principle of freedom of association and independent trade unionism. We must provide aid to the poorest countries in Central America and Latin America in ways which strengthen cooperative movements and trade unions. In this way we serve to aid those mass institutions which are strong guarantors of democratic freedoms and which, indeed, require democratic freedoms in order to thrive. Moreover, a serious question in the developing world is the question of political leadership. In the context of long periods of tyranny and dictatorship, and often in the absence of substantial working classes and middle classes, the development of a democratic political leadership and an infrastructure of democratic institutions is a daunting task, indeed.

It is in this regard, as the American trade union movement-- the AFL-CIO--has recognized, that the growth of independent democratic unions is a sine qua non of democratic change and stability. Trade unions in Central and Latin America provide an essential vehicle not only for the protection of the basic rights of workers at their place of work; they constitute an important training ground for future national democratic political and government leaders. Trade unions provide an essential instrument for talented young men and women of working class backgrounds to develop themselves and educate themselves.

It is clear that the positive movement to democracy in Latin America and Central America has occurred through the persistent struggle of trade unions, peasant movements, democratic political parties, courageous journalists, heroic religious leaders, and lawyers and judges who have fought bravely for an independent judiciary.

Yet it is equally true that the great gains won by these segments of society are dependent to a significant degree on the role of the military in these societies. Indeed, segments of the military in many Latin American countries have played an important role in accepting the popular will for parliamentary rule and returning to the barracks.

As democrats, trade unionists, and advocates of human rights, most of us do not pay much attention to processes within the military elites. Nor do we give much mind to the type of democratic and civic education which is provided soldiers. Yet the return of the military and the police to their intended functions of national defense and protection from criminality merit greater attention. The depoliticization of these segments of society, which often play a decisive role in assuring whether the fragile flower of democracy will bloom, ought to be the subject of serious discussion and investigation here and in any future deliberations on the prospects for democracy in Latin America and elsewhere in the developing world.

The strengthening of political parties, human rights organizations, and civic groups, must also be part of our strategy. Thus such initiatives as my country's National Endowment for Democracy must be strengthened and protected from short-sighted legislative budget-cutters.

In the final analysis, if we work to ensure that the hand of terrorists and tyrants of both right and left is weakened; if we work mightily to provide significant economic aid to Latin America, and Central America in particular; if we eschew the calls of isolationists who urge non-involvement; and if we fight to strengthen the hand of democratically-elected leaders in their fight against right-wing death squads and Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, we can be confident that we will have played a modest but important role in assuring that the 21st century is, for Latin and Central America, the Democratic Century.

Thank you.

Draft---Bayard Rustin: Testimony
South African Advisory Committee
September 15, 1986, Washington, D.C.

## INTRODUCTION:

My purpose today is to comment generally on current U.S. policy toward South Africa and to suggest several broad recommendations to modify the focus and tone of the Administration's approach to the issues involved. I would also like to stress that any formulation and implementation of a coherent U.S. policy vis-a-vis South Africa must be accompanied by a vigorous effort to re-educate the American people about the complex nature of the problem.

The government, non-governmental agencies and the American people must realize that the U.S. role in effecting meaningful change in South Africa is limited by several important factors. First, it should be recognized that it is difficult for any state to peacefully intervene in the domestic affairs of another sovereign country, particularly one as powerful as South Africa. South Africa is the foremost military and economic power in the region. And contrary to popular belief, U.S. business firms do not dominate the South African economy. American direct investment there is worth less than $2 billion. Consequently, U.S. investment hardly provides the kind of leverage that could alone bring South Africa to its knees or force Pretoria to end apartheid. Moreover, South Africa's dominance in the region, and its economic stranglehold on the front-line black states, is a factor U.S. policymakers must keep in mind in formulating tactics and strategy.

A second critical factor that hinders U.S. efforts is the increasing vulnerability of exisiting democratic groups within South Africa. As conditions in the country have deteriorated, the accompanying radicalization and polarization among blacks and other non-whites have put tremendous pressure on exisiting community, religious, civic, educational groups and trade unions that have maintained a democratic approach in their efforts to bring about an end to apartheid.

A third factor which encumbers meaningful and democratic change is political and tribal fragmentation. The ANC, for example, does not function in South Africa and, it may be argued, is out of touch with day-to-day events and problems inside the country. Yet, it continues to hold a sentimental ~~mythical~~ sway over a growing segment of the black population. There is also increased factionalism within the trade union movement, as well as tribal rivalries and turf wars.

It must also be added that any profound changes in South Africa will come from within. The future of South Africa, the nature of its political system and social and economic character, will be determined by South Africans, black and white.

democratic processes and institutions, government and people. Moreover, a democratic South Africa will need individuals with technical and scientific skills best provided in the United States. The U.S. government must see to it that thousands of South African students study in the United States each year, and encourage non-governmental agencies, foundations and universities to dramatically increase exisiting scholarship aid to South African students.

A U.S. policy to promote democracy should also include expanding programs to train black independent businessmen and entrepreneurs, who would obviously have a stake in ensuring a peaceful, democratic transition.

Potentially the most powerful force for democratic change in South Africa are the trade unions. The U.S. government, in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, should expand its programs to train and educate black and other non-white labor union leaders in negotiation, organization, and related areas. With the trade unions becoming increasing politicized and, in some cases, distrustful of U.S. motives in providing assistance, it is imperative that U.S. policy toward the unions be even-handed and free of overtly ideological baggage. A concerted effort must be made to counteract the anti-American propaganda that has made some unions leary of American aid.

But no effort to strengthen democratic structures in South Africa will ultimately be succesful if the United States government continues to be perceived as being unwilling to do more than simply scold Pretoria for its egregious human rights abuses and its continued subjugation of the black majority. This leads me to a disussion of sanctions.

## SANCTIONS

As the leader of the Free World, the United States must take the lead in imposing selective sanctions against South Africa. While it may be argued that some aspects of "constructive engagement" have led to some positive changes in the apartheid structure, the policy is viewed by South African blacks and an increasing number of Americans as inadequate. The name itself has become a pejorative. With the imposition of selective sanctions, coupled with a broad and expanded policy of supporting democratization on a grass-roots level, the United States will tell the world that while it is disengaging from the South African government with the removal of economic aid, it is not disengaging from the South African people. It has been argued that sanctions will have little economic impact on the South Africa, which is already taking sanctions-busting steps in anticipation of their imposition. It has also been argued that sanctions would hurt the front-line states by prompting South African retaliation. Without getting into the complex contingencies of these arguments, I beleive that South Africa will not take punitive economic steps against the front-line states because they will become the most likely go-betweens to avoid the impact of sanctions. In fact, it has even been suggested that sanctions may benefit some of the hard-pressed front-line states by compelling South African to maintain and even expand its regional trade.

But the final ramifications of sanctions is not the point. The point is that the imposition of sanctions will indicate our profound moral revulsion to the current apartheid regime in Pretoria. Their main objective, in the case of South Africa as in the case of Poland after the repression of Solidarity, is to register diapproval, inflict incovenience and assure those whome they support within the sanctioned country that somebody outside cares. They are, I suggest, the most dramatic, if not the only way, to counter the growth of anti-Americanism among black and non-white South Africans impatient with "constructive engagement."

Hence, I think it is critically important that the U.S. take the lead in imposing sanctions. Although a coordinated Western approach would be desirable, we should not wait for the European nations---many of whom are resisiting sanctions---to decide a course of action. We should be setting examples, not following behind.

It should also be remembered that sanctions are reversible. In this sense, they do provide some leverage. Divestment, on the other hand, is not, and I would like to just add a few words about this issue.

## DIVESTMENT

The related issues of divestment and disinvestment are increasingly becoming a moral touchstone for anti-apartheid groups in the United States and abroad. Two points ought to be made. The first, is that if U.S. companies pull out of South Africa, the void will quickly be filled by Asian firms already poised for such an eventuality. For example, U.S. companies now control 70 percent of the computer market; if they leave, companies from Taiwan and South Korea will take over. The effect on South Africa will be minimal.

The second point that must be made is that should the American companies go, so will the commitment to racial equality that many American firms have implemented in ther operations and employment practices in South Africa. It is doubtful that Asian or other firms will feel at all obliged to adhere to anything like the Sullivan principles.

The U.S. government must continue to support the efforts of American-owned businesses in South Africa to make ther workplaces free of all racial discrimination. But it must also demand that, where possible, U.S. businesses should seek innovative changes in race relations beyond the workplace. Moreover, U.S. companies should be pressured to provide more educational and humanitarian aid not only to workers, but to community and civic programs aimed at bringing an end to apartheid. This, too, could be an essential tool is fostering democratization.

## BRINGING LEADERS TOGETHER

Finally, I would like to say that the United States government should make a serious effort---through diplomatic channels or a Third Party---to bring together the top black leaders in South Africa. Clearly, the continued polarization and fragmentation that has led to black-on-black violence and has fostered growing disharmony works against our stated objective of promoting democracy.

Newsweek OCTOBER 20, 1986

MY TURN

# Our Next Step in South Africa

## Without democratic structures, the eradication of apartheid might lead to a system equally abhorrent

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

The Senate decision to override President Reagan's veto on sanctions against South Africa is an important step in clarifying a previously incoherent policy toward the Pretoria regime. Punitive measures will certainly contribute to strengthening our moral position and, it is hoped, enhance our badly tarnished image among South African blacks. But they alone are not enough. Economic pressure must be accompanied by a fundamental shift in our approach: U.S. policy can be effective only if our primary objective is to help foster the growth of democracy in South Africa, not merely to end apartheid.

Grasping this distinction is imperative. Americans must understand that if our interest is simply to abolish apartheid, then virtually any tactic and strategy will do, including the infamous "necklace." But if our goal is democracy and free association for all, then a strategy must be developed that is consistent with democratic ideals and practices. And it must be anchored on the supposition that, while the United States can help, the final outcome of the struggle is in the hands of South Africans of all races.

Far too many opponents of apartheid overestimate America's capacity to influence any sovereign state, especially one with the military and economic power of South Africa. This may be a difficult pill to swallow for a society psychologically geared to instant, "feel good" solutions. But there are no Hands Across America quick-fix treatments for the wounds of South African history. Even with the imposition of sanctions, the elimination of apartheid will be a long, arduous process, which, one hopes, can be achieved with limited violence.

But if time is an essential factor, it is also an impediment, given the escalating violence on all sides and the increasing extremism among South African whites and blacks. Hence, the United States must be prepared to implement and to maintain a comprehensive policy aimed at strengthening democratic institutions and supporting the education and training of what will be South Africa's postapartheid leadership. Without viable democratic structures like a bill of rights that protects individuals and minority groups as well, the eradication of apartheid might well lead to a system equally abhorrent. As history has taught us, the transference of power, even if initially based on the principle of one man, one vote, may not lead to a system that safeguards the civil and human rights of all.

What can Americans do to nurture democracy in South Africa? Despite the fact that there are literally hundreds of groups, many of them multiracial, most of them committed to peaceful and progressive change, the U.S. government currently spends a paltry sum to help them—about $15 million this year. All provide a range of essential services, such as health and child care, vocational training, labor mediation, housing, food distribution and education. Among them are trade unions, community associations, women's organizations and religious groups. Black Sash, with a membership of white middle-class women, provides legal aid to detainees and others persecuted under apartheid laws. Such grassroots organizations address the daily needs and hardships of the victims of apartheid. They help form the fragile foundation of democratic institutions, and our government must be prepared to greatly increase material and financial support to assist them.

The American people and nongovernment agencies have a role to play as well. They need to become directly involved with these antiapartheid groups. Project South Africa, for example, acts as a liaison between organizations and individual Americans willing to provide these South African groups with technical, professional, financial and moral support. More one-to-one, hands-on efforts are needed. The victims of apartheid need to know that no matter what the U.S. government ultimately does, Americans are working directly with them and not just for a cause.

**Union leaders:** Aid must also be increased in the critical area of education. Our government, our universities, our private foundations and our community groups must be willing to at least quadruple scholarships for black South Africans, thus allowing them to study at American, Western European and South African universities. They must also expand programs to train black businessmen and entrepreneurs who will then have a real stake in ensuring a peaceful transition.

But the most potent vehicle for peaceful change in South Africa may be the black and nonracial trade-union movement. As South Africa faces a growing shortage of skilled workers, unions will gain greater leverage to promote political reform. Since a vital component of any democracy is a free labor movement, our government must now follow the example of American labor in helping to train black union leaders.

The middle ground essential for peaceful change is rapidly eroding in South Africa. Black moderates like Archbishop Desmond Tutu are caught between an intransigent white regime and black extremists who advocate violence as the only means to abolish apartheid. In like manner, such polarization and the imposing of international sanctions have caused a great number of whites who had hoped for a progressive solution to close ranks with the Botha government.

Clearly some Americans will be impatient with an incremental approach to the South African problem. Others will argue that it is too costly, particularly at a time when the United States is decreasing rather than increasing foreign aid. Yet a policy that couples carefully selected and reversible punitive measures with a cogent program to promote democracy is the best way to use our limited leverage. It will show South Africans, black and white, that we are disengaging from a loathsome regime and committing ourselves to the democratic aspirations of the majority.

South Africa may remain one of history's most tragic episodes, no matter what we do. But without substantial economic assistance from the U.S. government and the good will of Americans, neither a relatively peaceful nor a relatively democratic solution is possible in South Africa.

*Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund and chairman of Project South Africa.*

# State of emergency cannot stop foes of apartheid in South Africa

**By David Peterson**

**Executive Director, Project South Africa**

South Africa's latest state of emergency has failed to bring that country's trauma any closer to a peaceful resolution. At most, it has strengthened the governing Nationalist Party's grip on the white electorate. But after three months of unprecedented repression, opposition to the regime has intensified. International economic sanctions are a foregone conclusion. The government has successfully frustrated some of the mass political protest, but Black antagonism towards apartheid will not be so easily suppressed as it was after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. The death toll continues to mount. Underground opposition structures seem to be entrenched in the townships. And at least 10,000 detainees now in prison are biding their time.

Clive Stuurman, the lean, soft-spoken young organizer of the Oudtshoorm Resources and Advice Center, would hardly seem to pose a threat to the awesome might of the South African state. Yet he and ORAC are characteristic targets of the government's state of emergency. There can be no doubt Clive will get right back to work if he is released, along with his associates, at least five of whom are also in detention. They have all been through this before. Although some have been tortured and beaten by the police. outwardly they display astonishing bravado, even insulting the police to their face. The ORAC office itself has been firebombed four times since it opened two years ago, but still seems to operate on a phantom budget. "We are not prepared to let people down," Clive insisted last April. "The Police realize we're doing effective work, but the people are quite adamant."

The comrades, as the amorphous groups of young activists such as Clive call themselves, are desperately groping for a way out of the repression, degradation and poverty that South Africa's systematic racism has imposed on their communities. Most are armed only with words, ideas, dedication; the less disciplined resort to threats, stones and petrol-bombs; the most violent force blazing gas-filled tires around their enemies' necks, the gruesome method of execution known as "the necklace."

Oudtshoorn itself is located in the South Cape, a conservative rural area 200 miles east of Cape Town, the birthplace of South Africa's president, P.W. Botha. There unemployment among Blacks may be 80 % and wages for farm workers average about a dollar a day. Oudtshoorn has been particularly hard hit by the state of emergency, according to C.A. Engel, a representive of E.M. Moosa and Associates, a Capetown law firm representing many of the new detainees. Not only in Oudtshoorn, but in each of the many small towns in the area—Lawaiikamp, Knysna, Swellendam, Riverdal, Paarl, Worcester, Carnarvon and Robertson—the estimated number of detainees often runs into the hundreds.

Almost no political activity existed in Oudtshoorn before several local churches launched the Advice Center to help community members with rudimentary legal services, unemployment counseling and filling out forms. ORAC was administering bail bonds, paid for by the South African Council of Churches; publishing and distributing a community newspaper, *Saamstaan*; researching community problems; organizing youth projects including sports and cultural events; training community members how to use office machines, make posters and silkscreen t-shirts. Though such grassroots activity, the Oudtshoorn comrades effectively mobilized almost the entire community. A consumer boycott, for example, was 80% effective, according to Clive. ORAC was expanding its influence, attempting to set up advice offices in the nearby townships around Wilmore, Uniondale, Knysna and Mussel Bay.

Just as in such "semi-liberated" townships as Cradock in the Eastern Cape and Mamelodi near Pretoria, police would no longer enter the neighboring township of Bangaletu, where ORAC had established an advice center, for fear of being attacked. The comrades said the police even tell victims who complain about crime to go to the UDF for help, an umbrella organization of 600 South African anti-apartheid groups the comrades said is dormant in the area. Gangs and crime had been a serious problem some years ago, but no longer, thanks, say the comrades, to the "People's Courts," controversial institutions some press accounts have accused of dispensing justice by means of the necklace.

Although the comrades' slogans about "People's Power" may sound ominously radical, most activists seem to have a genuine understanding and appreciation of western concepts of democracy, if not capitalism. Within both the UDF and most trade unions, emphasis is constantly paid to conscientious and somewhat laborious decisin-making based on consultation with various regions, affiliates and rank-and-file involved. In townships such as those around Port Elizabeth, communicy and political activity is organized on the basis of street and block committees. The resulting unity with which boycotts are enforced and protests mobilized has peacefully compelled white businessmen to join Black community leaders around the negotiating table. Since the state of emergency, the accounts that have leaked out of the rural areas suggest a drastically intensified state of siege in the townships, with floodlights, curfews and mass detentions. Some townships look like war zones, with army encampments on the edge. Casspirs, the army's menacing armored personnel carriers, cruise down garbage-strewn dirt streets, past rows of ramshackle homes thrown together from scraps of wood and corrugated metal. In strategic places, township residents have dug trenches across the streets to trap the casspirs, or set up barricades with burned-out transport trucks. "Even with the activists in detention, the community is still aware and mobilized. We might not be around, but we have left behind our footprints," explained two activists from the area in the anti-government *Weekly Mail*.

Bishop Desmond Tutu and others have remarked on the recklessness and readiness of so many youths to die for the cause. Yet somehow, most resistance to the apartheid regime has remained overwhelmingly non-violent. Opposition leaders frequently condemn violence and the use of the necklace, although many, including Clive, seem to accept it as inevitable as long as the police themselves are torturing activists and shooting children. The greatest danger is that the severly disaffected youth of South Africa's townships may become less and less inclined to follow moderate political courses advocated by thier elders, whom the government is now relentlessly eliminating. More may simply choose to plunder and kill their own community in the name of the revolution.

In the long run, the comrades may fail: exterminated in a genocidal bloodbath by right-wing whites; embroiled in a spiral of violence and anarchy, of internicine strife and battles with fellow Blacks over turf; betrayed by the communists or some other authoritarian leader. Yet some sincerely believe, despite mistakes and repression, that they are building the foundations of a genuine democracy, that time is on their side, that eventually they must prevail. Rashid Salojee, a gentle-mannered Indian doctor and a leader of the UDF in the Transvall, has also been redetained. Just after being released from detention during the previous state of emergency earlier this year, he warned, "The government is stretching itself thin. In the prisons, the guards don't want to imprison politicals. They say to us when no one is looking, 'we are on your side.' But the UDF is growing from strength to strength."

**(This article is based on David Peterson's experiences and interviews during his visit to South Africa in April, 1986. Project South Africa is an activity of the A. Philip Randolf Educational Fund to assist individuals and organizations working for peaceful change in South Africa.)**

FROM: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

CONTACT: Rachelle Horowitz - 666-9510

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

## Statement on Poland By Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

New York, March 21...According to reports received here, Jews in Poland are being blamed for the riots and demonstrations which have taken place in Polish cities. There is little doubt that the tiny minority of over 20,000 Jews, among 32 million people, has become the scapegoat of the Communist regime. This is an alarming throw-back to the ugly experiences of World War II, and the Stalinist anti-Semitic purges of the forties and fifties. Whatever political and economic difficulties face the Polish government, the current anti-Semitic campaign, faintly masked as "anti-Zionism," must be rejected and the Polish authorities must move to halt its spread.

What is most disturbing is the pogrom atmosphere which has been generated. Fathers have been ousted from their jobs because their children allegedly took part in demonstrations demanding a democratic society with guarantees of civil, economic and cultural rights. And this is mostly true of Jewish citizens. My information is that several hundred Jews have lost their jobs in the last few months. Polish leaders have denounced intellectuals critical of the regime, singling out Jews for special designation as alleged enemies of the state. This shocking state of affairs is too reminiscent of primitive Nazi-like tactics of reprisal and repression to permit us to remain silent.

The black community in this country, so long the victims of "scapegoatism," discrimination and calumny, is especially sensitive to outbursts against any other minority--black, white, Jewish, Christian or atheist. Their struggle is our struggle.

I am sure that the best elements of Polish society will reject the absurd efforts to blame all of Poland's ills on the few thousand Jews left in that country. This is an issue which must engage all of mankind, regardless of the particular social or economic system to which we aspire.

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# South Africa:
# Is Peaceful Change Possible?

A report by
Bayard Rustin
Charles Bloomstein
Walter Naegle

Photographs by
Walter Naegle

BLACKS, COLOUREDS
& ASIANS
ABANTSUNDU, KLEURLINGE
EN ASIERS

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# SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

In the following report we make a number of suggestions about what we can do to help achieve justice in South Africa. Below is a very brief summary of those recommendations:

**1.** There are hundreds of anti-apartheid agencies working within South Africa. These include trade unions, churches and church groups, human rights and other voluntary agencies, educational and professional associations, and many others. If violence is to be moderated and peaceful change made possible, these agencies will be the critical forces on which that change depends. Peaceful change is not possible if the external military forces remain the only chance for ending apartheid. We therefore urge that Americans who wish to help, offer these groups both material and moral support on a more greatly increased scale than at present. This, we feel, is by far the most important thing that individuals and agencies here can do.

**2.** While the campaigns for disinvestment and various boycotts will not have much impact on the political future of South Africa, they do offer educational and recruiting opportunities and should be continued. They serve notice on the South African government that world opinion is opposed to apartheid and also give support to those struggling within South Africa. They might be more effective, however, if more selectively applied and if South Africa were accorded some recognition for beginning to relax apartheid in sports. The boycott promoters should also acknowledge openly the limited impact of such programs.

**3.** The Solarz Bill (H.R. 3231) strengthens and adds to the Sullivan Principles and embodies them into U.S. law, with sanctions included. The bill should be supported and the President urged to come out in its favor.

**4.** The United States should formally end its policy of so-called constructive engagement and should make clear by actions that it opposes all forms of apartheid.

**5.** The United States should expand and increase its various programs offering educational opportunities and training to nonwhite South Africans. It should encourage U.S. corporations in South Africa to do the same.

# FOREWORD

There are few people in the United States who defend the South African government's apartheid policies. Almost without exception, that racist and dehumanizing system is condemned as abhorrent. But the question of what we can do about apartheid evokes a wide range of conflicting responses. The Reagan administration believes in what it calls "constructive engagement" and quiet diplomacy, the use of carrots and sticks to urge the South African government toward more democratic attitudes. Many in the United States see this policy as futile and argue that it does more to reinforce the present racist policies than to change them. Various groups in the U.S. propose actions ranging from support of the armed overthrow of the regime to economic boycotts. So, while our country seems to be united against apartheid and appears to be willing to use American influence in dismantling that system, there is by no means a consensus on an appropriate strategy of how to do so.

Another question is how any action we take will affect the lives of South Africans. For example, economic boycotts or disinvestment will not be meaningful unless they have a great impact on the economy of South Africa. That impact may well fall most heavily on those people in the Republic who are most disadvantaged and least able to absorb further economic strains. Our press and media have reported at length what Americans, South African exiles, and other outsiders think and propose, but rarely have I heard anything about what those in South Africa think that we, in America, should do.

My concerns in this matter are strong and I felt the need to adopt a position that will encourage nonviolent action leading to improvement of the situation there. Our own troubled history of race relations, and my work in the civil rights movement gave me, I trust, a special vantage point from which to investigate this problem. Accordingly, responding to an invitation from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to address his Inkatha Women's Brigade Conference in October 1983, I decided to visit the Republic of South Africa to find out what the people there actually think and feel about the situation. Accompanied by Charles Bloomstein and Walter Naegle, and sponsored by the New York Friends Group and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund[1], I embarked on a 23-day trip.

Our purpose was to meet with the broadest possible spectrum of people and to listen to their views on the issues which concern Americans. We prepared a brief statement of our purpose[2], stressing our role as listeners, asserting that we would not be making any public statements while there, and that we were anxious to talk with everyone possible. The questions we specifically asked dealt with sports, cultural, and economic boycotts; the Sullivan Principles and other comparable codes of business conduct; the trade union movement; official U.S. policy toward South Africa; and how South Africans saw the future of their country. In all, we held 50 meetings and talked with over 120 people.[3] We interviewed senior members of the South African government; English-speaking and Afrikaner journalists; religious leaders; student leaders of both Afrikaner and English-speaking organizations; officials of political parties; trade unionists; officials of Afrikaner and coloured peoples' sports organizations; leaders in the Indian, coloured peoples', and African communities; people engaged in welfare work through voluntary agencies; human rights lawyers; academics; South African and United States business people; and other members of the various racial groups as defined by the South African government. To encourage candor, we promised that our report would not quote individuals or make direct attributions of their opinions.

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[1] Charles Bloomstein and I are officers of both organizations. Walter Naegle is on the staff of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund.

We showed our itinerary to a number of knowledgeable people and were assured that we would be talking with representatives of the widest range of views. Despite the fact that we spent only 18 days in South Africa, I am confident that we encountered the most important areas of opinion.

We stopped first in London, where we met with journalists who are specialists on South Africa, with a white South African who had been banned and had chosen to leave the country, and with an African in exile who represented a political group. We then flew to South Africa, where we visited Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Ulundi, Cape Town, Pretoria, Crossroads, Soweto, and various small urban and rural sites, in addition to spending the major part of our time in Johannesburg.

This report reflects my opinions and those of my colleagues and is divided into three sections. The first provides background on the history of the special problems which beset South Africa. This is basically factual material included to provide some sense of the setting. The second section consists of our report of the views we encountered. Here we have tried to convey faithfully and objectively the opinions and feelings of the people with whom we met. Finally, in part three we state our observations and insights, and make what we hope are useful recommendations.

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[2] See Appendix A.
[3] See Appendix B.

Before departing for South Africa we met with a number of South African specialists in the United States. Although the information we gathered from those meetings is not included in the second section, it was most useful to us and contributed to the judgments and recommendations we make in the final section.

Our itinerary in South Africa was arranged by friends there to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude. We also thank all those who helped with local arrangements. Finally, we are deeply grateful to all those who met with us and shared their views.

Bayard Rustin

# Background

The Republic of South Africa consists of over 470,000 square miles. It is about twice the size of Texas. While many parts are arid, the climate is quite temperate and there are substantial quantities of superb arable land. The farming community, primarily Afrikaner, is becoming increasingly wealthy. South Africa is also blessed with significant mineral resources and some, like chromium, are of considerable strategic value. It is also famous for its gold, diamonds, and coal. So by any standard, South Africa is a naturally rich country.

There were no whites in South Africa prior to 1652, when the Dutch East India Company established a station at Table Bay, a sheltered harbor on the Cape peninsula. The Company was not interested in exploiting the land there and saw the settlement only as an important refreshment station for its ships plying the East India trade. As a consequence, when the settlers later began to farm and spread out from the Cape area, they were not provided with any substantial support as they entered into conflict with the various African tribes they encountered. The Company discouraged immigration after 1707, at which time the population of the Dutch settlement consisted of 1,779 white men, women, and children, and 1,107 slaves from more northern parts of Africa. There was a continuing influx of slaves during the 18th century, from Madagascar, India, Ceylon, and Indonesia, as well as Africa north of the settlements and south of the Sahara. The whites at that time were primarily of Dutch and German stock. Some French Huguenots had come to escape religious persecution. Due to the lack of significant immigration by the Company, the present day Afrikaner population consists almost wholly of the natural increase from these early settlers who, as a consequence of what they considered their abandonment by the Company and by Holland, felt no ties of loyalty to their original sponsors. The label "Afrikaner" was adopted to denote that separation.

The British conquered the Cape area in 1806, during the Napoleonic Wars, and they also initially saw it primarily as a stopping point on the way to the Far East. They did sponsor immigration, as a means of controlling the area, and the population grew. During the early 1800s, the liberal and antislavery movements expanded rapidly in England, leading to the emancipation of slaves in the colonies in 1834. The Afrikaners, already restive under English rule, were extremely unhappy with the emancipation and the following year began the great treks north, seeking independence. In all, it is estimated that during the next decade some 25 percent fled English domination, settling in the western part of Natal and in the Transvaal.

While the British opposed slavery, they nevertheless approved of white domination, which they codified into law in the areas they controlled. They were perhaps even more systematic in that endeavor than the Boers (the Afrikaans word for farmer). During this entire early period, men far outnumbered women among the whites. The result was that white men fathered illegitimate children from colored women. These children became known by white South Africans as the Cape Coloureds.[4]

The British took control of Natal in 1843, and began to import Indians as indentured laborers and servants. The descendants of these Indians reside primarily in Natal, while the coloured people remain mainly in the Cape Province. But wherever they were found, persons of color remained legally inferior, the codification of that status serving as antecedents to the present-day apartheid laws.

The Boer trekkers had set up two republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and these were recognized as such by the British in the 1850s. But the British also expanded north, and both Boer and English settlers were in continuous conflict with the African tribes whose land they were taking. One after another, these tribes were subdued and the whites took over. In 1899, British expansion led to the Boer War, which ended with a British victory in 1902, and the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. That Union did not end the conflict between the Afrikaners and the British, however, the former seeing themselves as ill-used and despised by their conquerors.

Jan Christian Smuts, an Afrikaner who accepted the British conquest, led the Union Party in South Africa, which governed the country until 1948. An opposition party, the National Party, composed primarily of Afrikaners and openly dedicated to apartheid, which they defined euphemistically as separate development of the races, won the election of 1948, in a stunning upset. United Afrikanerdom took over from the English-speaking people and immediately began passing laws implementing apartheid. These included the Population Registration Act of 1950, which requires that every individual in South Africa be classified as white, Coloured, or African[5]; the Group Areas Act of 1950, under which residential racial segregation was applied to Asians and coloured people, with the areas in which they could live to be designated by the government; the Mixed Marriages Act, which forbids marriage across racial lines; and various pass laws which require all Africans to carry reference books as identification papers through which influx control was established to regulate the movement of Africans throughout the country.

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[4] Today the government refers to these people of mixed racial stock as Coloureds. The people themselves consider this a pejorative term and prefer to be called coloured people, the term we have, therefore, chosen to use.

[5] Asians are included as coloured people in some laws, but in actual implementation they are treated as separate races. The term "black," in South Africa, may refer to all non-whites and is used in this paper in that way.

The present population of South Africa is estimated at about 30,000,000—estimated because accurate records are not kept on the number of Africans. There are approximately 5,000,000 whites, of whom 60 percent are of Afrikaner ancestry and 40 percent of English descent; about 3,000,000 coloured people; about 1,000,000 Asians, most of Indian background; and about 21,000,000 Africans. Except in farming regions, each race is required to live in segregated areas, and their children must attend schools limited to persons of their race.[6]

Apartheid philosophy does not consider Africans as members of a single race, but of different tribal groups, each with a distinct culture and language. Separate development, therefore, fosters continued tribalism, rather than African unity. The concept of grand apartheid has as its goal the establishment of independent homelands, called Bantustans, for each of the 10 major tribal groups. These are to be self-governing units in territories granted independence by the Republic. Ultimately, when this process is completed, no African will be considered a citizen of the Republic of South Africa—each will be a foreigner in the land of his birth and will be a citizen of an independent homeland. This, despite the fact that many Africans have never seen the land designated as his or her homeland.

Four such independent homelands have been established. The international community has refused to acknowledge the homeland policy and no homeland has been recognized as independent by any country except the Republic of South Africa. The designated homelands comprise about 13 percent of the total land area, and are designed to provide political rights for 70 percent of the total South African population. The territories are fragmented and discontinuous, some consisting of dozens of separate pieces of land. Furthermore, for the most part they are without mineral resources, with no industrial base, often barren, and so overpopulated that there is scarcely any viable agricultural land left. In reality, they serve as little more than detention camps for a population referred to by the government as "surplus." Rather than starve, the Africans migrate to the urban centers where they are considered "illegals" and may at any time be arrested. One interesting statistic is that an illegal able to work for three months before being apprehended and jailed for nine months, will actually do better economically than if he stays in a homeland.

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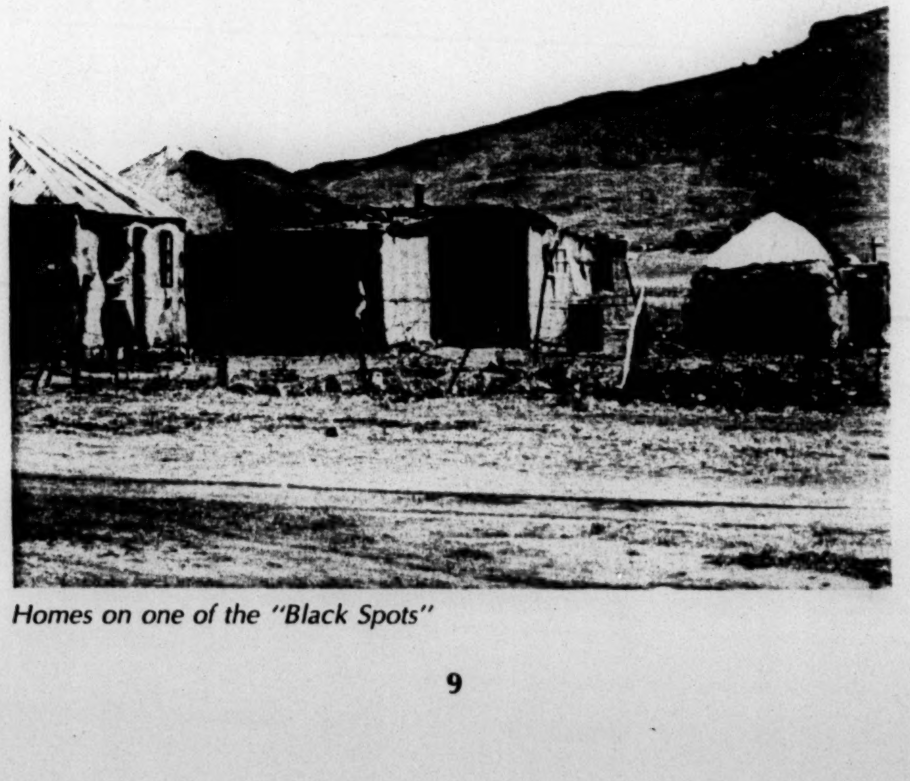
[6] Although both English and Afrikaans are official languages, whites are educated in schools based on the language spoken in the home. Thus, division in the white community begins at birth and continues through university level. The Asian, African, and coloured communities each attend separate schools.

Prior to 1913, Africans were permitted to buy land and they did this, usually as a community. In 1927, under English-speaking rule, a law was passed permitting the government to expropriate such land. However, that law was rarely, if ever, exercised until recently. Now, under pressure from whites who view the land as valuable or who simply want the Africans removed, there is an ongoing policy of expropriation and of moving the residents of these areas known as "black spots" either to homelands or to areas in which they are permitted to live. There is supposed to be compensation for such seizures, but generally that is paid only if the inhabitants leave voluntarily. Many refuse, and are forcibly displaced without any compensation. Those who have been compensated are often bitter about the small amounts received. In the past 20 years, the estimates are that 2 to 3.5 million Africans have been moved from such "black spots." The Afrikaners seem quite willing to suffer the high costs of these forced removals and are prepared to subsidize the cost of maintaining the various homelands.



*Homes on one of the "Black Spots"*

For the most part, the white community is composed of successful farmers, urban businessmen, or urban workers. The coloured people and Asians are also almost completely urbanized, either as workers or small businessmen; and now there is increasing pressure from the expanding economy for more skilled workers. The only realistic source for such workers is the African community. This need is now one of the great pressure points within South Africa, and is one of the factors that many think led to the recent liberalization of laws governing the establishment and registration of trade unions. Since 1979, black and racially mixed trade unions have grown under these new laws, making the labor movement one area where noticeable change is rapidly occurring.

Our visit ended just two weeks before the November 2, 1983 referendum on the new Constitution. Only whites were permitted to vote (coloured people had some voting rights prior to 1948 but these were taken away after the Afrikaner victory that year). At issue, essentially, was a tricameral legislature, with the addition of a House for coloured people and one for Asians. But numerical domination would rest with the whites, and enormous powers were added to the executive branch to determine what matters each House could consider. Those opposed to the new Constitution saw it as a move towards authoritarianism, as an entrenchment of apartheid, and as an attempt to thwart permanently any progress towards African political participation. Many who favored the "new dispensation" saw it as a step, even if meager and inadequate, which gave some recognition to coloured people and Asians and which indicated that at least some change is possible. Others reluctantly agreed that change was inevitable and saw this as a desirable step in dividing the opposition and maintaining white rule. The issue was very divisive and omnipresent—it penetrated every interview we had. In the end the affirmative vote was over 66 percent, despite the fact that some die-hard Afrikaners split off from the National Party to form the Conservative Party, under Andries Treurnicht, with the position that any change at all would open the floodgates to eventual majority rule. This they oppose vigorously. It should be noted that the 66 percent yes vote indicates that a substantial number of English speakers voted in favor of the National Party initiative.

# The Views We Encountered

Our meetings took place in a wide variety of settings and contexts. We had formal meetings with government officials, informal visits to offices of organizations working for change, elaborate luncheon meetings in corporate board rooms, fast-food lunches consumed in vans, lengthy discussions during automobile trips, social evenings at private homes, visits to squatters' camps, segregated townships, and proposed homeland sites, and even tea in a suburban garden setting.

Except for the representative of the white mine workers' union, who would not, on principle, meet with a non-white, we were received courteously by almost everyone with whom we met. However, the tone of our meetings was often influenced by the perception of the United States and its current policy towards South Africa. The government officials and business people, virtually all of whom support U.S. policy, were therefore less guarded than those who held more liberal or radical views. Many of the latter are angered by our government's seemingly cordial relations with the South African regime, and were suspicious of us merely because we were United States' citizens. We were often asked about our own views of U.S. policy, not only towards South Africa, but also towards the Middle East and Central America. The more radical elements seem to believe that any American who is not a tourist or in business must, in order to gain admission to South Africa, hold views which are, at the least, sympathetic to U.S. policy. We explore this assumption further in the section on attitudes towards U.S. policy.

As one might expect, we encountered a wide range of opinion on each of the specific areas we sought to explore. Given the diversity of people with whom we spoke, this was inevitable. There were, however, at least two themes which emerged as central to all the areas discussed. First, there is general agreement that, while U.S. policy can be helpful in stimulating South Africa to move toward more democratic policies, the ultimate responsibility for change lies with the South Africans themselves. Second, even among those most skeptical of U.S. motives, there is concern for America's image as a democratic country and the feeling that this image is being tarnished by its uncritical relationship to South Africa. There is a feeling that some day apartheid will end and South Africa will become a more democratic nation. In that event, the U.S. will be unable to play a very constructive role because of its past support of South African administrations. Despite this, there is general agreement, even among the radicals, that U.S. aid to educational opportunities and technical training for blacks should continue and be greatly expanded. Almost everyone finds such training to be perhaps the most constructive aspect of U.S. policy.

## Sports Boycotts

Athletics play an important role in South Africa, both as popular entertainment and as a source of national pride. Boycotts by portions of the international sporting community against South African athletes have, therefore, caused serious embarrassment. From our discussions, it was clear that this issue triggers emotional debate, and we encountered a wide range of thoughtful opinion pro and con on this issue.

Almost unanimously, people agree that the sports boycott has touched a nerve in the South African psyche and has drawn both domestic and international attention to apartheid. The boycott has been somewhat effective and has resulted in the integration of some athletic teams and their audiences. But the more liberal and certainly the more radical elements also feel that the effect on the society beyond sports has been minimal. The relaxation of petty apartheid for sports appears to be a fairly limited response to international pressure, with almost no spillover into the political arena. With the restrictive pass laws imposed on the African population, the "freedom" to attend multiracial sporting events can become a bureaucratic nightmare for those subjected to the humiliation of continually having to produce identification while traveling to and from such "integrated" events. Therefore the sports boycott is not seen as a useful tool to achieve the far-reaching change that is the objective of the black population.

Some of those who feel that the sports boycott has been somewhat effective now question the fairness of its continuation. They charge that athletes have been unjustly singled out and punished for governmental policies over which they have no control; and they warn of a right-wing backlash if the progress that has been made in integrating sports is not recognized and rewarded with some relaxation of the boycott. Continuation of the boycott, they argue, may convince many South Africans that the pressure is solely politically motivated and that no amount of integration in sports will be adequate to end the boycott. They will conclude that the sports boycott is simply one tactic to push for change in the society as a whole, and this they will not accept. It would appear that these suspicions do have a basis in fact. With the relaxation of petty apartheid in sports, some boycotters have adopted a new slogan—"no normal sport in an abnormal society." They argue that the boycott should not be lifted until there is an end not only to the daily humiliation of the majority of South Africans which takes place after they leave the integrated sports arena, but to apartheid itself.

## Cultural Boycotts

In general, the government and most of the business community oppose not only sports boycotts but boycotts of any kind. Among the liberals and radicals, we found a wider range of opinion and more selectivity concerning boycotts. A good deal of this opinion divided along black-white lines. Most of the blacks with whom we spoke approve of all kinds of boycotts. Whites, however, including many who favor the sports boycott, are concerned that all-out boycotts, especially of cultural exchanges, may lead to a further, counterproductive isolation of South Africa and will ultimately be most harmful to blacks. They express the hope that academic exchanges can continue for their obvious educational benefits, and that there can be importation of serious dramatic productions which could, in their view, serve to change attitudes among white South Africans. These artistic endeavors, they feel, will facilitate positive change. They argue that the extraordinary variety of cultural expression does not lend itself to a single or consistent strategy of boycott, and that those pursuing boycott as a tool might find selectivity more useful.

All the liberals and radicals agree on a complete boycott of Sun City, a resort in the "independent" homeland of Boputhatswana. Sun City is touted as a sign of liberalization by the South African government, but is viewed by those seeking change as simply more evidence of hypocrisy. It is a repository for gambling, risqué entertainment, prostitution, and other forms of vice which are not permitted within the borders of puritanical South Africa, but which draw large segments of South Africa's white population to its casinos and hotels. Foreign entertainers are offered very substantial fees for performing there, and many have accepted. These entertainers cite the rationale of the South African government. They claim they are not performing in a state dedicated to apartheid but rather in an independent country which has no racist laws. It should be stressed, however, that the only country in the world which recognizes these homelands as independent is South Africa. All others consider these territories to be part of South Africa.

Many blacks also feel that recording artists should not perform anywhere in South Africa, as well as in any so-called homeland. They perceive this as lending support to the government. While the relaxation of petty apartheid to permit integrated audiences may seem significant to the visiting artist, blacks feel that such changes are only cosmetic and do not really affect the quality of their lives. Once they leave the concert hall, Africans are subjected to all the humiliations of the pass laws and other oppressive statutes.

We might parenthetically add here that one of the most radical groups with which we talked is in favor of buying the recordings of pop artists, providing the recordings are produced elsewhere and the artist does not visit South Africa.

### Disinvestment and Codes of Business Behavior

A major campaign calling for United States companies to disinvest from their holdings in South Africa has been carried on here by the opponents of apartheid. They view this as an important tool to pressure the South African government for change. Our discussions of this issue elicited a wide range of responses and revealed the complexities of the matter.

The majority of whites we spoke with, as well as some blacks, are opposed to disinvestment, believing that those who would suffer most would be the very people who are already most disadvantaged and poor and unable to endure further hardship. Those favoring disinvestment, mostly blacks and radical whites, claim that the poor are already so badly off that a further belt-tightening would be imperceptible. Yet another argument is that complete disinvestment would force the South African economy to become more self-sufficient, which in the long run would make it immune to international pressure. Thus, they argue, disinvestment is a self-defeating strategy. But others argue that even if South Africa became more self-reliant, this would necessarily mean more jobs for non-whites in strategically placed industries, which would make economic threats of strikes and industrial action more potent and meaningful.

There are also those who argue that apartheid is so morally abhorrent that it is totally wrong for democracies to have any truck whatever with South Africa and that it is unthinkable that any business in a democracy should invest in so cruel and exploitative a society.

In many quarters there is a feeling that the mere threat of disinvestment is far more useful than disinvestment itself. Most people believe that disinvestment cannot have any real effect unless there is an international agreement binding all major nations to cooperate in such an effort. They all expect that should the U.S., for example, withdraw, other nations will be all too eager to step in and take over the investments the U.S. rejects. There would, in such case, be no real impact from U.S. unilateral action. Yet, even people who make this argument see usefulness in the threat of disinvestment as a form of pressure and, perhaps more importantly, as an organizing and educational tool.

As in the case of the cultural boycotts, there is also a substantial thread of thought which wants to examine the possibilities of selective disinvestment. Thus, since South Africa's primary need is for labor-intensive investment, these people argue against capital-intensive investment from other countries. Some companies, even though investment from them might provide jobs for non-whites, also manufacture products which strengthen the apartheid apparatus, and hence should be targets of disinvestment campaigns. Proponents of this position argue that computers, for example, make enforcement of the pass laws much easier, as do the photographic industries. They feel that industries of these kinds should be discouraged from establishing South African plants.

There is a very wide range of opinion about the various codes of business behavior, most prominent of which are the Sullivan Principles. The Reverend Leon Sullivan, after whom the Principles are named, developed them some years ago as a means of eliciting better working conditions for non-whites and some form of pressure against apartheid from U.S. controlled enterprises in South Africa. These codes are fairly simple, calling for desegregated facilities, equal pay for equal work, no racial barriers to advancement and upgrading, special efforts to upgrade blacks, special training for blacks, and other such benefits which cost the corporations part of their profits and help their black employees. There are a number of similar codes, emanating mainly from European countries, but in essence not substantially different from the Sullivan Principles.

When the Rev. Sullivan, a Baptist minister from Philadelphia, promulgated these Principles, he felt they would be most effective if adhered to voluntarily. After several years of soliciting support, some 40 percent of the approximately 400 U.S.-controlled corporations in South Africa adopted the codes. For the most part, these are the larger firms and they employ about 80 percent of the South Africans working for U.S. companies.

Radicals look upon the codes as illusory, serving only to obscure the fundamentally exploitative nature of apartheid. They admit that a small number of non-whites have been helped, but claim this is a pitifully tiny percentage of the total who need help. Therefore, they disavow any interest in improving or expanding the codes. To them, the Sullivan Principles are purely cosmetic and, worse, deceptive.

At the other extreme are American businesses which adhere to the Sullivan Principles and assert that they are meaningful, that they help blacks advance, and that they presage a real climate of change in South Africa. As evidence they submit that the American Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg has, since the Principles were promulgated, funded a school for Africans in Soweto which not only teaches business and technological skills, but also prepares students for entry and managerial level jobs into which they are placed. Many of the large companies have started training programs for their employees, to qualify them for managerial positions. These companies believe that it is the voluntary nature of the Sullivan Principles which make them acceptable in the first place and help them to be adopted by additional companies.

There is a broad middle range, composed of liberals, liberal business people, and even some radicals, who think that the Sullivan Principles and similar codes could be far more useful than they presently are. Therefore, they do not oppose the codes, but urge that they be expanded and made mandatory.

*In our talk with Rev. Sullivan before going to South Africa, he stressed that the Principles are constantly being expanded to include more obligations, and that acceptance of these modifications requires education of corporations, a process that he hopes to expand.*

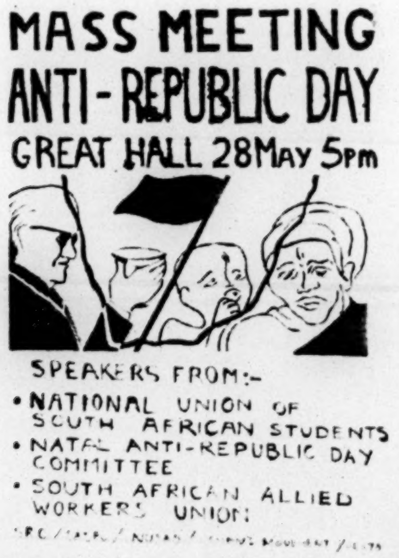
### Trade Unions

There is almost universal agreement about the significance of the newly liberalized trade union laws. Since 1979, when these laws went into effect, the trade union movement has grown rapidly, and there are now a number of multiracial trade union federations, as well as some large and important independent trade unions. Everyone, from business people to radicals, agrees that this development is perhaps the most significant thus far permitted by the South African government.

Under South African labor law, trade union agreements governing conditions of employment are arrived at industry by industry in what is called an Industrial Council, composed of representatives from business, the government, and the trade unions. Only registered trade unions may participate in these Industrial Councils. Registration involves regular reporting to the government on membership figures, officers, committees, etc. Many of the trade unions find this a reasonable requirement, but some, particularly the more radical ones, are so distrustful of the government that they have refused to register. In one of the most significant relaxations of the law, the government has permitted some non-registered unions to bypass the Industrial Councils and negotiate directly with employers to arrive at agreements.

There are, of course, trade unions which have restricted their membership to whites, and have ensured white dominance in jobs and wages, especially in the mining industry. There are also some new unions which have restricted their membership to blacks. But many of the newly formed unions are multiracial and seem to be breaking down old racial barriers.

Under law, the trade unions are barred from activities deemed political. Yet every trade unionist we spoke with agreed that there is no way the unions can avoid being political, a fact we believe the government is well aware of. In a society which lacks the ordinary means by which individuals seek human rights and political participation, the trade unions appear to be the only vessels available for political activity. This will ultimately lead to confrontation with the government, the outcome of which cannot be predicted, but the inevitability of which all agree on.


MASS MEETING
ANTI-REPUBLIC DAY
GREAT HALL 28MAY 5PM
SPEAKERS FROM:-
• NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS
• NATAL ANTI-REPUBLIC DAY COMMITTEE
• SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION

*Poster announcing public meeting with union participation*

The fledgling multiracial and African trade unions are extremely cautious in their relations with the international trade union movement. They welcome, and receive, funds from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and technical assistance from the United Automobile Workers (UAW) in the U.S., as well as from a number of unions in the Scandinavian countries, England, and elsewhere. However, they have been very skittish about direct aid from the AFL-CIO in the United States. Some assert that they cannot wisely use the volume of aid offered, and would rather grow more slowly, develop their own outlooks, and then request aid for specific projects. Generally, they acknowledge that they need technical help in trade union matters, and would like to solicit it as needed. In the meantime, they hope that unions in other countries will be sensitive to the special conditions under which they must operate and heed their fears that an abrupt move into cooperation with international trade unionism might result in governmental repression.

Many business people see the trade union movement as an important asset in helping provide the climate for stability during this period of industrial development. At least one of the schools funded by business for educating and training blacks includes in its curriculum courses in trade unionism.

## The Constitutional Referendum

On November 2, 1983, the white electorate approved, by a margin of about 2 to 1, the Constitution proposed by the National Party government of Prime Minister P. W. Botha. We left South Africa about 10 days before the actual voting, but were privileged to witness the vigorous nationwide debate over the issues. The subject was inevitably part of our interviews and, in addition, was widely covered in the press.

There are four major white political parties, and it might be useful here to provide a brief description of their positions.

- The *National Party* has governed South Africa since 1948 and is responsible for the institutionalization of apartheid. It is essentially an Afrikaner party devoted to permanent white rule. The Party presented the proposed Constitution as a signal of willingness to make some reforms, but many felt this did not presage a shift in its basic belief in white domination.

- The *Progressive Federal Party,* the official opposition, is far outnumbered in the Parliament by the National Party. Its supporters come mostly from the English-speaking white population. Formerly, it had supported inclusion of the black population in the political process without endorsing any particular method by which that could be accomplished. Under the pressure of the proposed Constitution, it made a major policy shift and came out for "one man-one vote" in a unitary state, with strong constitutional protection for the white minority.

- The *Conservative Party,* led by Andries Treurnicht, broke off from the National Party in 1982 over the issue of Asian and coloured participation in the political process. It totally rejects power sharing with nonwhites and claims to adhere to the original principles of the National Party. Joining it were 17 members of Parliament who had been elected on the National Party slate. The most significant aspect of this new party is that Afrikaner unity has been fractured, some say irreparably.

- The *New Republic Party* is the reconstituted United Party which had ruled South Africa until 1948, when it was defeated by the National Party. It still stands for white rule, but with some relaxation of apartheid.

There is also another Afrikaner party, the tiny ***Herstigte Nasionale Party*** which considers itself the sole repository of the original Boer values and wants a return to the time when Afrikaners were primarily farmers and when spiritual and religious values undergirded white superiority.

The proposal for the Consitution grew, in part, out of a recommendation by the President's Advisory Council that there be limited participation in government by coloured people and Asians. Presumably this proposal arose out of the recognition that economic expansion required increased participation by elements of the black communities, and that this, in turn, required some political concessions; the recognition that co-opting the coloured and Asian population might help stave off African power and preserve white domination; and pressure for political change by the international community, as well as from increasing numbers within South Africa.

When the proposals for a Constitution were challenged by Treurnicht and led to the formation of the Conservative Party, Prime Minister Botha decided that he would seek approval from the white electorate.

The Constitution establishes a tricameral legislature: the House of Assembly will be composed of 178 white members; the House of Representatives will have 85 coloured members; and the House of Delegates will have 45 Asian members. Each House will conduct its business separately and, while joint sessions may be convened, such sessions cannot adopt resolutions. Under the proposals, each House will legislate on so-called "own" affairs, that is, matters affecting that racial group. All three will be consulted on "general" affairs, affecting the nation as a whole. Power will be centered in an Executive State President, elected by 50 members of the House of Assembly, 25 of the House of Representatives, and 13 from the House of Delegates. The powers of the President will be extensive and include:

- capacity to decide what are "own" and what are "general" affairs
- control over African affairs
- power to declare war
- power to appoint Cabinet Ministers, who will not be responsible to Parliament
- power to dissolve Parliament

The numbers of members in each of the three Houses reflects, in rough proportion, the population of the race they represent. The whites remain a majority throughout. One implication of this arrangement is that it will not be possible to create a fourth House for Africans without giving that House an overwhelming majority over the other three

Houses combined. This is one reason why opponents of the Constitution charge that it permanently excludes Africans from any participation in government. In addition, the legal foundations of apartheid are incorporated into the Constitution, resulting in the further entrenchment of apartheid. Prior to the new Constitution a simple majority of Parliament could change the apartheid laws. After it is implemented, it will take a two-thirds vote to change them.

Without exception, the new Constitution was deemed faulty. Even the National Party, which proposed it, stated openly that it was simply the best that they could do at present, that it had many problems, but that it was a step in the right direction, and that rejecting it would mean no movement at all. The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party were totally opposed to it. The Progressive Federal Party declared that the Constitution was inadequate and should be rejected. Even the business community was split on the issue. Most were in favor, seeing it as a step in the right direction. Others were opposed on the grounds cited above.

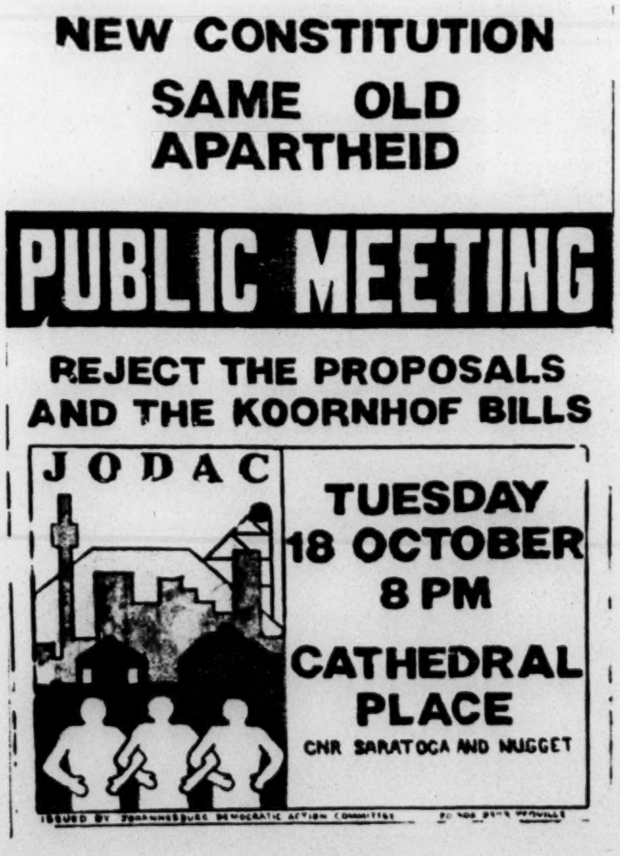
It is interesting that Harry Oppenheimer, retired Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation (which is neither English nor American), the largest corporation in South Africa, came out publicly against the Constitution, stating that it entrenched apartheid and gave no voice to the Africans. But the present chairman of Anglo-American supported the Constitution, believing that some change was better than none.

There was talk that the government had a hidden agenda which would become public in due course and provide some political participation for Africans. Pro-government spokesmen asserted that this agenda had to be hidden for fear of a backlash within the National Party which would strengthen the Conservative Party and lead to the defeat of the Constitution. During our stay, however, Prime Minister Botha issued several public statements denying a hidden agenda and asserting that the homelands policy was very much the policy of his government. This view was buttressed by the actions of some Cabinet Ministers during the campaign.

While the liberal community opposed the Constitution, much of the electorate was caught in a dilemma. A "yes" vote, intended as recognition that reforms were overdue and should continue, would be joined with the "yes" votes of the National Party, those wanting to maintain white domination and continue the homelands policy. Similarly, a "no" vote, rejecting the changes as insignificant and opposing the Constitution because it entrenched apartheid and excluded Africans from participation, would be joined with the "no" votes of the ultraconservatives and reactionaries who reject all change. A campaign for spoiled ballots might have been an effective way of expressing liberal dissatisfaction with the Constitution, but this idea surfaced fairly late in the discussion and lacked the organizational backing needed to become a meaningful alternative.

The referendum could not have been approved without substantial support from the English-speaking community. It is estimated that perhaps up to 20 percent of the Afrikaners voted "no," so that, despite the Progressive Federal Party's position against the referendum, many English speakers, including substantial numbers of PFP members, must have voted "yes."

If the intent of the government in presenting the Constitutional Referendum was to split the various components of the black community, it was at least partially successful. The Black Alliance, a group composed of leaders of the African, Asian, and coloured communities, was shaken by internal disagreement over the proper strategy for approaching the issue.



NEW CONSTITUTION

SAME OLD
APARTHEID

PUBLIC MEETING

REJECT THE PROPOSALS
AND THE KOORNHOF BILLS

JODAC

TUESDAY
18 OCTOBER
8 PM

CATHEDRAL
PLACE
CNR SARATOGA AND NUGGET

ISSUED BY JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC ACTION COMMITTEE [illegible]

*One view of the new Constitution.*

The leadership of the Labour Party, an organization of coloured people, decided to support the Constitution and to recommend that coloured people participate in the "new dispensation." They argued that participation in the government would give them a more potent position from which to fight for African rights and participation. They encountered strong opposition within the Party, and convened a series of community meetings to explain their position and try to win support. From newspaper reports, they were, on the whole, not successful, and many of the meetings were characterized by turbulence and even violence.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, hereditary ruler of the Zulus (the largest ethnic group in South Africa) and President of Inkatha, a cultural/political movement open to all Africans but comprised mostly of Zulus, charged that the Labour Party's action had betrayed the agreements of the Black Alliance and opened a deep rift. The Indian community was also split on how to react to the proposed Constitution. The Natal Indian Congress (founded by Mahatma Gandhi) came out in vigorous opposition, but the South African Indian Council, a government-created body with presumably little popular support, decided that it would be politic for it not to take a position. Therefore, they argued that the government should conduct a referendum within the Asian community to determine whether they would participate in the new Parliament.

*Chief Buthelezi in discussion with Bayard Rustin and Charles Bloomstein*

There was a good deal of speculation about what will happen should the new Parliament be set up and the Asians and coloured people refuse to participate. (As of this writing neither group has been consulted in any way about their positions on the issue.) There was also speculation that, having agreed to participate, the Asians and coloured people might prove to be so intransigent as to make the "new dispensation" a shambles. How Prime Minister Botha would handle such a situation cannot be predicted but he made it clear that he was determined to press ahead in any case.

### Attitudes Toward U.S. Policy Regarding South Africa

Attitudes towards the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" range from approval to disdain to outright hostility. Most people we interviewed now perceive the U.S. as being more favorably disposed to the South African regime than it was under the Carter administration. The relatively few, primarily in the business community, who feel that this change was desirable express the view that quiet diplomacy and a more conciliatory tone will, in the long run, be more effective in influencing the South African government. Some moderates had withheld judgment to see if the new policy worked, but they feel that it is now clear that it is not bringing about significant positive changes for blacks and, in fact, has increased the resentment of blacks and white liberals towards the United States. All the radicals are vehement in their attacks on the U.S., arguing that the new policy is perceived by the South African government as supportive, and indeed has made South Africa more intransigent in its basic policy, especially in regard to Namibia.

The issue may be largely one of style rather than substance. Except in the case of Namibia, no one could tell us specifically how current U.S. policy is operationally different than that under the Carter administration. The result of this perception, however, is that those working for change, black and white, feel abandoned by and alienated from the Reagan administration. The image that Carter, and Andrew Young, presented—that of the U.S. as a democratic nation seeking justice—has become tarnished. Virtually no one outside the business or government sectors has any kind words for "constructive engagement."

Furthermore, the very rhetoric of the Reagan administration is not designed to be appealing to liberals, white or black. The U.S. stresses the virtues of capitalism and free enterprise, and the evils of communism. The South African government does exactly the same, holding up its own system as a paragon of the virtues of free enterprise and declaring all those seeking change to be communists. Under the Suppression of Communism Act many dissidents are imprisoned, banned, or placed under house arrest. Since the exploitative system in South Africa, which keeps 80 percent of the population poor and disadvantaged, is the only capitalism these people know, the U.S. rhetoric is counterproductive. Why should black South Africans approve of capitalism? They see how it works in their own country, and that is enough for them to condemn it. In addition, when those seeking change are banned or imprisoned as communists, that label becomes a badge of honor. U.S. rhetoric reinforces its identification with the distorted capitalism and anti-communist position of the South African government and makes distinctions difficult for oppressed elements in South Africa.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that the struggle against apartheid is today the primary, but not the only, conflict in South Africa. Most people agree that eventually racial discrimination will end there. When it does, it is likely that a new conflict will become preeminent—whether to have an economy based on free enterprise or one based on some form of African socialism.

There is considerable misperception about the use of American power. Some of those seeking change see the U.S. as the most powerful country in the world and able, but for lack of will, to force change in South Africa. This notion has led to unrealistic expectations and, consequently, sharp disappointments and hostility towards the U.S. when the expectations are not met.

One of the most radical persons we met, when asked what he would have the U.S. do, stated that we should introduce a motion into the United Nations calling for a multinational army to forcibly eject South Africa from Namibia. This he stated shortly after asserting that South Africa has by far the most powerful army on the African continent. That he could perceive the U.S. as taking the lead in such a military effort, and could conceive of other nations joining in, was a measure of his unrealistic view of the world and his misconception about the extent of U.S. power. Although this view is unusual, there is a widely held view that the U.S. could use its power far more effectively for justice, and that the reason it refrains from doing so is because it wishes to support the present South African policies.

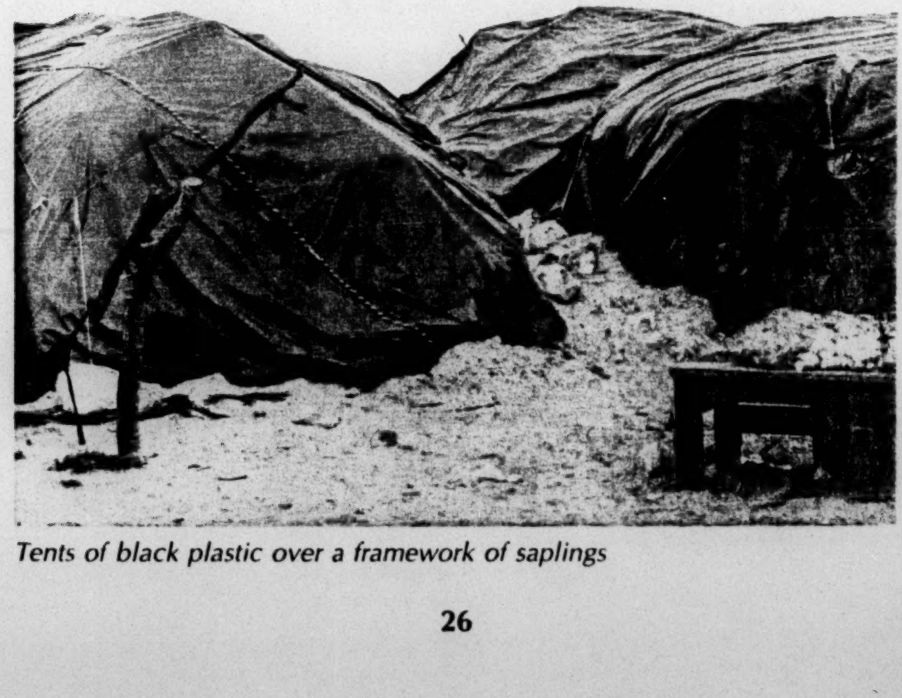
What is their future?

# Reactions and Recommendations

Although the primary purpose of our trip was to listen to the opinions of South Africans on issues of concern to Americans, and to make recommendations based on what we heard, it was inevitable that we would have reactions of our own. We open this section with our reactions to some of the places we saw, some of the people we met, and some of the things we were told.

## Visits to African Communities

On the outskirts of Capetown lies a community called Crossroads. It is a collection of ramshackle huts, tents, and row houses, with few paved roads, lacking running water, electricity, and sewers for its tens of thousands of inhabitants. This community provides a striking example of the government's lack of a consistent policy to deal effectively with the housing needs of its workforce. The community is composed of "legal" residents—those granted government permission to reside there and entitled to stay in government subsidized housing and dormitories—and "illegal" squatters, most of whom are gainfully employed, but whose housing needs are ignored by the government. These squatters, who number in the thousands, are reduced to living in shanty towns constructed of whatever materials they can find. Many live in tents made from black plastic sheets draped over a framework of saplings roped together. The squatter communities are subject to daily



*Tents of black plastic over a framework of saplings*

*Crossroads squatters with their belongings*

police raids, during which shelters are destroyed, property confiscated, valuables burned, and residents dispersed and beaten. The result is a daily struggle of will in which the residents arise early, sometimes at 4:30 A.M., take down their meager shelters, bury the flimsy materials used for their construction, and retire to the bush to await the end of the raid. After the police have gone, the residents return to reconstruct their shanties and prepare for the night.

The afternoon we visited Crossroads, the police had already left for the day. We saw residents busily re-erecting their squalid shelters, the remains of a makeshift tent that had been set afire that morning still smoldering nearby. Rickety furniture, clothing, and household supplies lay out in the damp and cold open air. Some squatters, obviously ill, huddled in blankets near open fires. It was clear that poor sanitation, inadequate water, and exposure to the elements created health problems which could only be eliminated with proper housing.

The people of Crossroads, legal and illegal, are mostly workers who support their families. They can afford a modest rent and actually could contribute as constructive citizens to the overall economy of South Africa. However, this prospect is prohibited by the government's enforcement of legislation which severely limits the number of Africans allowed to reside in suburban Capetown. Such legislation is not only inhumane, but is becoming increasingly economically unsound.

Another example of the inhumanity inherent in apartheid is the sprawling township of Soweto on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Soweto houses the vast majority of the workers employed in that urban center. Official estimates state the population of Soweto as 1.2 million, but unofficial estimates go as high as 1.8 million. Under law, only Africans may live in Soweto. Although it is, by virtue of its population, a city, Soweto is laid out in such a manner that it can be easily isolated by the South African security forces should the government determine a need exists. We were told by our escorts that there are few roads leading into and out of Soweto, and that these are frequently monitored by police who stop cars and search the passengers.

Driving through Soweto, one is readily struck by the monotony of the environment, row upon row of similar houses, the lack of trees, grass, lawns, and parks. Many of the roads are unpaved or in need of repair. From a distance one can observe a cloud of smoke hanging over the township, a result of the numerous open-fire stoves used for food preparation and heat. Electricity is limited to a small percentage of the houses in Soweto.

Soweto was designed to be a massive dormitory for African workers employed in the Johannesburg area, not an economically self-sufficient community. There are some local businesses—grocery stores, liquor stores, and fast-food enterprises which provide only take-out service, but no sit-down restaurants. *Shebeens,* beer parlors which serve both home-brew and commercial brands, abound. Some of Soweto's residents are entrepreneurs, who make a living providing services to their community. There are a few millionaires in Soweto, but the vast majority of the population lives in poverty.

Townships like Soweto are the government's response to the housing needs of the African population, without whose labor the country could not survive economically. The Africans who reside in these townships have, to a large degree, become urbanized and out of touch with the tribal life of their ancestors. Nevertheless, under the system of apartheid, they are classified as migrant laborers, and official citizens not of South Africa but of a homeland—an African land possibly far removed from where they were born or reared. In this way, South Africa removes what it considers excess population and, at the same time, reduces the black population in hopes of creating a white majority.

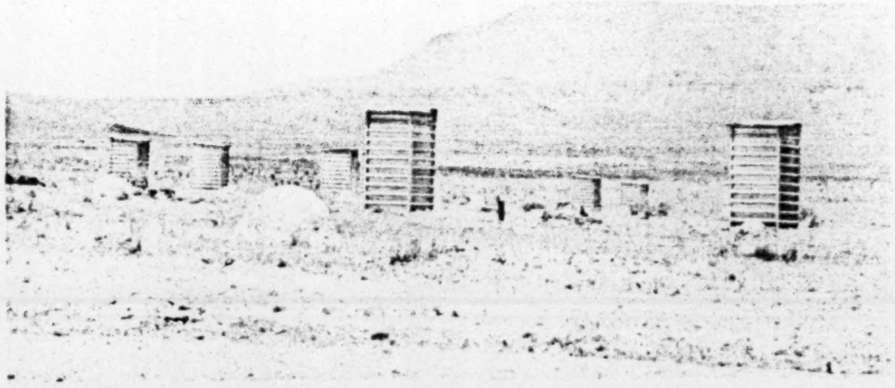
We visited one of the "black spots," whose population has been targeted for relocation under the homelands policy. Slowly, these areas are being stamped out without regard to the length of occupancy by the residents or to the fact that the land was legally purchased prior to 1913. The site we visited was adjacent to farmland owned by whites and had become a refuge for other African families who had been forced from land nearby. What was once an agriculturally viable community was falling victim to overpopulation which resulted in overuse of the land.

For several years the government has tried various methods for getting these people to abandon their land willingly, with little or no compensation, but the residents have peacefully resisted. The threat of removal was clearly terrifying: the uprooting of a viable community, the abandoning of ancestral burial sites, and the dim prospect of life in a remote and unknown homeland have all combined to strengthen the resolve of these people to stay on their land. Neither the violent behavior of the South African police nor the Government's determination to create homelands has deterred these people and their supporters in the black and liberal white communities from resistance to relocation.

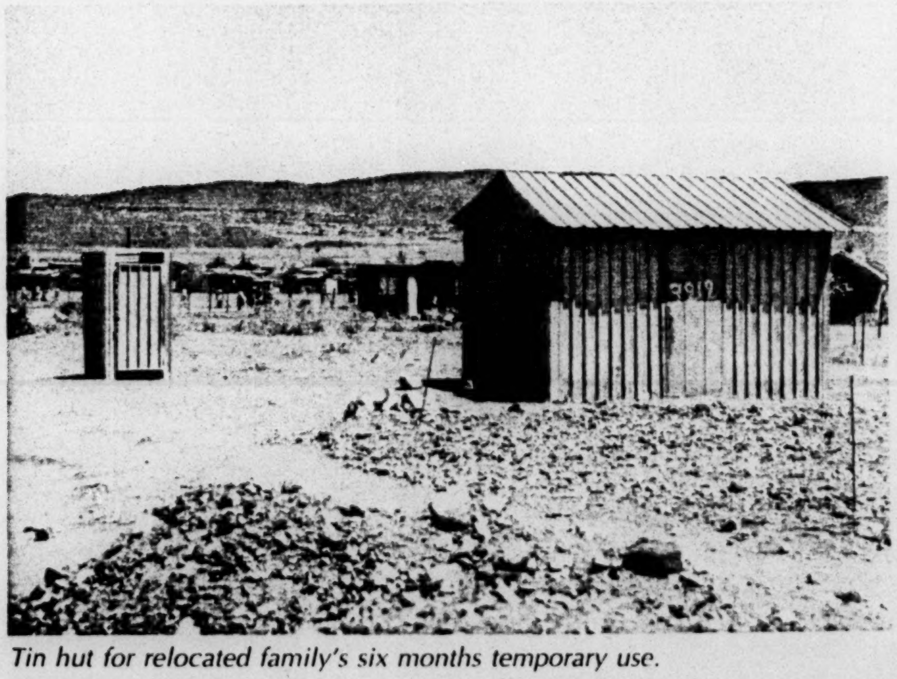
We saw the ruins of what was once an African community which had been destroyed by the government. This was done without warning, so that the residents had little time to prepare and often lost all their possessions when their houses were bulldozed. The land they had been occupying and which their ancestors had legally purchased was, under the homelands policy, being reclassified as white. Consequently, they were forcibly, often violently, removed.

We then went to see a proposed relocation site. The land was a barren plain with not a tree or a blade of grass in sight. The only buildings were row after row of corrugated tin outhouses, ironically juxtaposed to hundreds of anthills. Later, a small tin hut, about 12 feet by 12 feet, would be supplied to each family, regardless of the number of its members. These huts could be used for six months, during which time the families were expected to build their own houses. The huts would then be removed, stored, and used again when the next "black spot" was scheduled to be eradicated.

While visiting one relocated community, we spoke with the former mayor, now a fairly prosperous storekeeper. He recounted his tale of hardship in attempting to receive modest compensation for his relocation from a "black spot" to the new community. He admitted that he was one of the lucky ones who had fought tenaciously for several years before receiving a sum which he still considers inadequate. Others had their life savings wiped out and were forced to begin completely anew. The former mayor lived in an area which was already several years old, but it still lacked a sense of community. The fact that many residents refer to the area as the "location" (a derogatory term used to describe these government-created communities) is indicative of their true feelings. This is not a community where people have chosen to live, but a "location" where they have been placed by the government and where they must remain.



*Corrugated tin outhouses beside anthills on relocation site*



*Tin hut for relocated family's six months temporary use.*

## Reflections and Observations

Like most international visitors, we had few personal encounters with the apparatus of apartheid. Airlines and one special long distance train are not racially segregated, although local buses and trains frequently are, by custom if not by law. We stayed in what are known in South Africa as "international" hotels, which accommodate people regardless of color. Consequently our hotel in Johannesburg was racially integrated, with the lounge and restaurants filled with an interracial mix interacting amicably. The fact that we were an interracial trio was cause for curiosity wherever we travelled but resulted in little more than wide-eyed gazes, denoting amazement. It was clear to us that the government religiously attempts to shield foreigners from the indignities it inflicts on its own population. The entire experience was most uncomfortable for us, particularly since we could see how tourists, staying in hotels and traveling by private car or airplane, would be shielded from the daily humiliation and ugliness that pervades the society.

Such ugliness and humiliation was even clearly present in Durban, which has always been somewhat more progressive than most of the country. However, Durban was making moves to desegregate some facilities. One beach had been opened to accommodate all races, and there was a movement afoot to end segregation on city buses. The liberal community is naturally in favor of such developments, but even some conservatives approve, presumably because the costs of maintaining racially segregated facilities are becoming prohibitive. The worldwide recession has also had an impact on South Africa and made it more aware of the economic costs of apartheid.

Our diversified itinerary put us in touch with groups representing the most important opinions currently on the South African political scene, with the sole exception of the die-hard, ultraconservative right-wing parties who are convinced that the very modest changes introduced by the National Party will open the flood gates to majority rule. They want a return to *baasskap,* that is, absolute white domination. Without exception, every other group accepts the necessity for change, although they differ substantially on the course and degree, and the timetable by which such change is to be achieved.

The Afrikaner government representatives we met with are uniformly for change and see the proposed Constitution as a beginning. For motives which remain unclear, they are willing to give Asians and coloured people a voice in the political process, but want that voice to be controlled by whites. Some even appear willing to allow African participation, but in some as yet undefined fashion.

Although we were told by some liberals that Afrikaners of the younger generation believe in apartheid, our talks with leaders of Afrikaner student groups did not indicate unqualified support for apartheid policy. There is not only division among them, but also considerable confusion about the meaning of change. Yet among these students there is general agreement that some change is both needed and desirable. And again, the question is how much change and how quickly accomplished. We also spoke with adult Afrikaners and were surprised by their willingness to consider change. Indeed, a number of Afrikaners are members of the Progressive Federal Party.

White opinion we encountered tends to be divided into two groups: business people and liberals. The business people, whether South African or American, show an openness to change because, in their view, it is the only way to avert violence and assure a stable society. The question of the morality of apartheid is clearly secondary to the proposition that an extremely racially divided society is not conducive to stable economic development.

The liberals are for change. Here the moral issues emerge most clearly, but again within limits. The fact that many English speakers, among whom most liberals are found, voted for the Constitution, indicates that they wish to change very slowly and that they are reluctant to change if it means losing their privileged economic status.

Without exception, the Asians, coloured people, and Africans condemn apartheid in the strongest terms and want change as soon as possible. But they hold widely varying views in their assessment of whether progress toward a more democratic society is possible by nonviolent means.

On the whole, we found the society extremely divided, with groups presumably having the same goals lacking a common agenda or strategy. Such divisions make it easy for the government to impose its will on a confused and thus docile population. Prime Minister Botha's decision to hold a referendum among whites on the new Constitution may have, to some degree, altered that situation. Since the Soweto uprisings in the late 70s, we were told, South Africa has been relatively quiescent politically. An occasional act of violence by the African National Congress (ANC) would ruffle the surface, but by and large the opposition to apartheid seemed ineffectual. There were agencies in the white and black communities which did try to develop a strategy of struggle but their efforts lacked coherence and consistency.

The referendum on the Constitution prompted a national debate. Blacks revived some of their former joint efforts, and liberal whites became visibly active again. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the

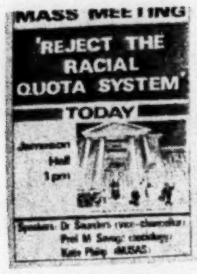
Zulus, was given enormous media attention as he argued against the Constitution before African, white, Indian, coloured, and mixed audiences. A new multiracial organization, the United Democratic Front, was created and soon claimed a membership of over 500 community organizations. That coalition was still growing rapidly when we left, although some of its meetings were being banned by the government. Now that the referendum is over and the Constitution has been approved, the question arises as to whether the opposition to that Constitution which held together the coalition can continue to do so.

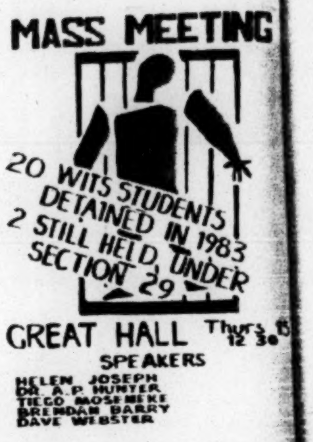
Chief Buthelezi, while extremely popular with the Zulus and many moderate whites, is suspect within the black communities because he has accepted leadership of KwaZulu, a homeland set up by the South African government as a precursor to an "independent" Zulu state. Buthelezi has consistently and unwaveringly refused to consider independence, claiming that the nation cannot be divided and that Zulus are South Africans. He is nevertheless attacked by some liberals as a collaborator and by radicals for being anti-Marxist and a defender of free enterprise. Since his emergence as a leader in the fight against the Constitution, it is possible that he may be able to surmount these charges, which have been kept alive by the ANC.

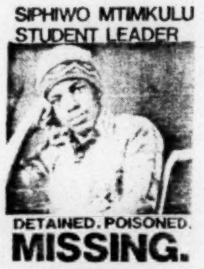
The African National Congress has been banned for some 20 years, but its spirit is alive and well; indeed it is flourishing in South Africa. Its leaders are in prison or exile, but it exists as an extensive underground movement. The external ANC has thus far not attempted any widespread guerrilla warfare but has restricted its violence to sabotage of official or economically important sites. While we were in South Africa, a major oil depot in Pretoria was destroyed in a bomb blast. Earlier in 1983 a police station was bombed. There has been relatively little loss of life in these attacks, and the ANC has succeeded in not alienating the civilian black population by damaging their services or means of livelihood.

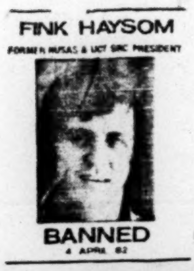
The government itself is a great recruiter for the ANC. When young Africans feel obliged to flee the country, they inevitably encounter a well-funded ANC group across the border which provides them with refuge and sanctuary. Before long they join the cause, as part of the military or civilian wings. Outside South Africa, the ANC is the only anti-apartheid alternative.

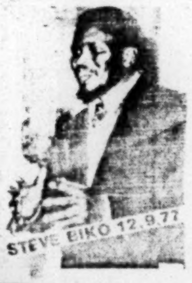
Since the ANC is a banned organization, we encountered no one who would openly admit membership. Yet it was clear that the group has extensive influence and is respected by almost all non-white groups. ANC ideology was visible in many of our encounters, and we were told that it is influential in a number of trade unions. This is not at

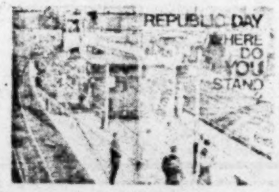

MASS MEETING
'REJECT THE RACIAL QUOTA SYSTEM'
TODAY
Jameson Hall 1pm
Speakers: Dr Saunders (vice-chancellor)
Prof M Savage (sociology)
Kate Philip (NUSAS)

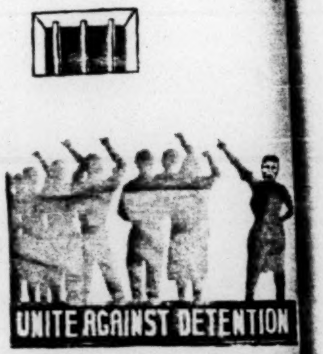

MASS MEETING
20 WITS STUDENTS DETAINED IN 1983
2 STILL HELD UNDER SECTION 29
GREAT HALL Thurs 15 12 30
SPEAKERS
HELEN JOSEPH
DR. A.P. HUNTER
TIEGO MOSENEKE
BRENDAN BARRY
DAVE WEBSTER

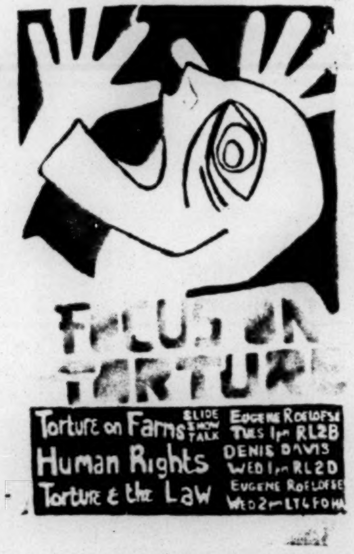

SIPHIWO MTIMKULU
STUDENT LEADER
DETAINED. POISONED.
MISSING.

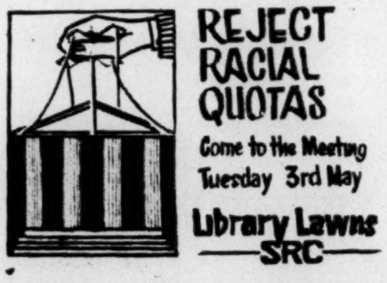

FINK HAYSOM
FORMER NUSAS & UCT SRC PRESIDENT
BANNED
4 APRIL 82

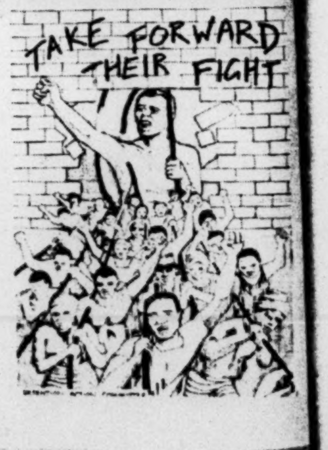

STEVE BIKO 12.9.77

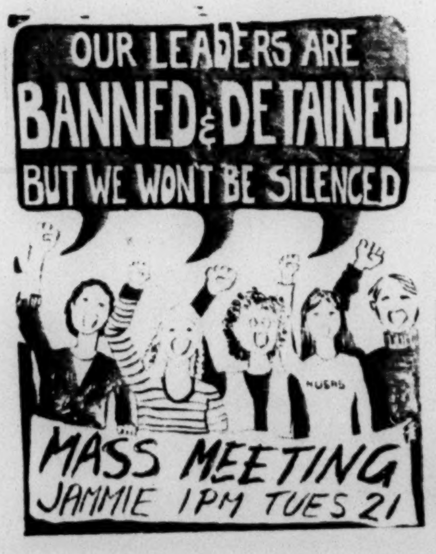

REPUBLIC DAY
WHERE DO YOU STAND

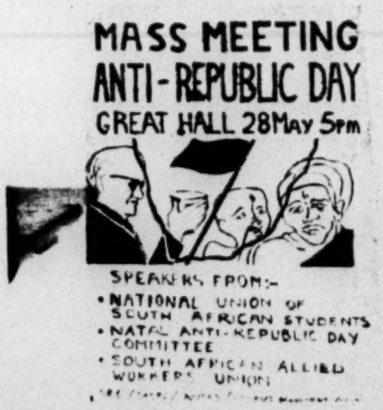

UNITE AGAINST DETENTION

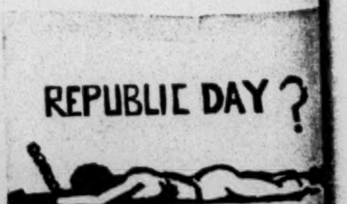

FOCUS ON TORTURE
Torture on Farms
SLIDE SHOW TALK
EUGENE ROELOFSE TUES 1pm RL2B
Human Rights
DENIS DAVIS WED 1pm RL2D
Torture & the Law
EUGENE ROELOFSE WED 2pm LT4 FO HA


REJECT RACIAL QUOTAS
Come to the Meeting
Tuesday 3rd May
Library Lawns
SRC


TAKE FORWARD THEIR FIGHT


OUR LEADERS ARE
BANNED & DETAINED
BUT WE WON'T BE SILENCED
NUSAS
MASS MEETING
JAMMIE 1PM TUES 21


MASS MEETING
ANTI-REPUBLIC DAY
GREAT HALL 28 May 5pm
SPEAKERS FROM:-
• NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS
• NATAL ANTI-REPUBLIC DAY COMMITTEE
• SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION


REPUBLIC DAY ?

all surprising since, as a banned opponent of the regime, the ANC is not obliged to develop either policies or programs. It is not required to deal with the realities of everyday existence in South Africa and thus is not required to compromise. It apparently needs only to remain in opposition and to keep its image alive by an occasional act of carefully planned sabotage.

We asked almost every person, both black and white, with whom we spoke who would win if there were free elections that included all racial groups. The results were almost unanimous: Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, imprisoned ANC leaders, and Oliver Tambo, the current leader of the ANC in exile. These men have almost legendary status among the black population and deep respect among many white liberals.

The ideology of the Pan African Congress (PAC) which is also banned, is much less visible. While we did not expect people to claim membership, and no one did, we did not get any sense that it is an effective force. Many there feel that it has little real contact with black people in South Africa or with their aspirations.

Anyone seeking change for South Africa must face the fundamental question of whether or not significant change is possible without civil war. Most of the people with whom we spoke expressed the hope that violence, while inescapable, will be held to a minimum. They generally foresee a long period of turbulence, possibly erupting into open war, but eventually leading to accommodations by white South Africa. Absolutely no one thinks that white hegemony can be maintained indefinitely. Even the Afrikaners seem to accept this, and their present strategy appears to be to hold off that eventuality until the last possible moment, meanwhile paying the minimum price necessary to maintain their privileged status. But the majority of them accept the need for some change, as evidenced by their support of the new Constitution.

The trade union liberalization is one concrete example of the willingness of the Afrikaners to offer some meager changes. While ostensibly nonpolitical, trade unions, it is generally thought, will be forced into political action as was Solidarity in Poland. For lack of any other institutional channel by which to release political and social energies stifled by the regime, Solidarity was forced to become a political agent. Almost all forces for change see the trade unions in South Africa as the major force that could be the center of significant action to bring change to the total society.

Historically, for the most part, the English speakers have been less resistant to change than the Boers. They have wanted to retain their privileged status for as long as possible, but have been more amenable than the Afrikaners to making what they perceive as unavoidable concessions. One reason for this, probably, is that the English speakers are much more heavily involved in business and commerce and they realize that the economy cannot grow without increased participation by skilled black workers. That cannot happen without education and training, both of which inevitably depend on some form of political participation.

This kind of economic reality is, perhaps for the first time, being accepted by the Afrikaner community. The government's Constitution is a recognition of the need both for skilled non-white workers and for some form of political power sharing. The proposal for power sharing, even though primarily cosmetic, led directly to the split in the National Party and the formation of the Conservative Party. We were told that this split in the formerly solid Afrikaner unity is one of ideology versus economic reality, and is irremediable. We can make no prediction about that, but it does appear that the National Party, in the face of harsh economic realities, is increasingly downplaying its former commitment to ideological purity and religiously-based right to rule. Once it begins to recognize economic imperatives as requiring political concessions, it enters the realm of relativism, of pragmatic politics, and of compromise.

This is not yet consciously recognized, although one Afrikaner close to government said that he feels that the government has lost confidence in its ability to handle any possible challenge. Conscious or not, it is clear that the government has not only permitted some change, it has also stimulated, intentionally or unintentionally, other forces for change. It has let loose a dynamic for change, which will ineluctably follow its own logic—and may become irresistible.

One other reflection that seems important concerns the issue of one man-one vote, a relatively new cry that is being raised in South Africa and one which became inevitable in the face of previous Afrikaner intransigence. It should be noted that in the United States, where blacks are approximately 10 percent of the total population, it took just about 100 years from the Emancipation Proclamation to the removal of the legal barriers to black participation in the electoral process by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In South Africa, blacks are over 80 percent of the population. One man-one vote, as in Zimbabwe, means overnight black rule. This is something even the liberal whites have difficulty facing, even though it is now the official position of the Progressive Federal Party. There have been attempts in the past to devise schemes for meaningful black voting short of one man-one vote. We were told by scholars that at least 50 schemes have been advanced in the past, all summarily rejected by the government, as was Chief Buthelezi's recent plan for an experimental system in the Natal Province, where KwaZulu is located. It may be that an interim plan can be worked out, with adequate guarantees for minorities provided. We feel that this is an area which requires very serious investigation if mass violence is to be avoided in the pursuit of majority rule.

### Agents for Nonviolent Change

There are many avenues and organizations through which one can work for nonviolent change in South Africa. There are branches of the universities, numerous church groups, the new trade unions, and other agencies committed to peaceful and progressive change. Many of these groups have found new vigor as a result of the recent referendum on the Constitution. An outstanding example is The Black Sash, a womens' organization which does exhaustive work both in the social service and political spheres. These women, mostly drawn from the white English-speaking community, have been active for almost 30 years. One cannot praise their commitment, courage, and persistence highly enough. When questioned about any personal hardships, specifically social ostracism, resulting from her work with The Black Sash, one member stated, "I could not live in this country unless I was active in The Black Sash." Life in South Africa clearly would be more difficult for her had she not this organization through which to work for change.

Another agency is the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, which litigates on behalf of blacks and has had some notable successes. However, prior to the new Constitution, Parliament was supreme and could write new legislation revoking even those meager rights which the Lawyers' Committee had succeeded in obtaining through the courts.

The Human Awareness Programme trains new groups in organizational techniques, publishes pamphlets and newsletters, and works to educate the public about misconceptions of different racial groups. This agency is devoted to changing the attitudes of whites. Its work is supported by a group of Trustees which include Archbishop Denis Hurley, President of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Sheena Duncan, the head of The Black Sash, and Bobby Godsell, an officer of the Anglo-American Corporation, as well as others active in the struggle for democracy and human rights.

In the black community strong leadership has emerged despite severe governmental repression. Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches has achieved an international reputation through his speeches and writings. Though he eschews any political role he clearly articulates the feelings of the black, and particularly the African, community. Rev. Allan Boesak, a coloured clergyman in the Dutch Reformed Church, has recently emerged as one of the driving forces behind the United Democratic Front. He is also President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, a prestigious international body.

*Bishop Tutu expounding his views to delegation members*

The transformation of South Africa into a majority-ruled democracy must involve the strengthening and development of democratic movements within the African, Asian, and coloured communities. In addition to black-led and multiracial trade unions, a number of black-led student and cultural organizations have emerged but have received little attention, support, or encouragement. There are also many religious and community organizations in the black townships which are proving grounds for future South African political leaders. Contact and support for these emerging leaders is essential for a variety of reasons. First of all, such groups provide the best hope for a nonviolent resolution of South Africa's dilemma. Secondly, these organizations function as democratically-based models and training grounds for a future South African polity. Finally, contact is essential both to give such black groups greater publicity and support and to expose black leaders to ideas and traditions with which they may not be familiar. Like all agencies working for nonviolent change, these groups welcome and need financial and moral support from liberal groups outside South Africa.

## Recommendations

Today Americans are asked by anti-apartheid activists to support disinvestment, sports and cultural boycotts, and other punitive measures against South Africa. Our interviewees seem to believe that these programs cannot be, to any degree, vital factors in the struggle for liberation. Either they are futile, as in the case of disinvestment, or peripheral, as with the sports and cultural boycotts. Nevertheless, such programs do serve a very useful psychological purpose and we have been urged to support them. Most liberal and radical South Africans see these actions as primarily educational foci which engage peoples' attention and reveal to the world the inequities of the system. It is important to people working for change in South Africa to know that others around the world are aware of their struggle and are supporting them where possible. Hence we recommend that boycott programs be continued but modified to stress their educational value.

Although there are changes that the U.S. should make in its South African policy, we should have no illusions that such changes will result in any immediate reversal of current anti-U.S. feeling. It would take something highly unlikely, such as the support by the Reagan administration for the ANC, for any change in U.S. policy to be startling enough to have impact. Measures short of such extreme action would be characterized as irrelevant or hypocritical. Nevertheless, we must face the almost universal conviction that someday in South Africa (15, 25, 50 years?) there will be majority rule. If the perception of the U.S. has not changed by then, we will be seen as an enemy, with no constructive role to play in South Africa.

Therefore we recommend that the U.S. should openly begin to disengage itself from the Botha government. There are any number of ways in which this could be done, including pressure for a settlement in Namibia. We should simultaneously expand a number of our existing programs which are generally seen by South African blacks as beneficial. These include providing funds for bringing blacks to the U.S. for advanced training, for improving educational opportunities within South Africa, and for other comparable activities.

The administration could also declare itself in favor of the Solarz Bill, which elevates the Sullivan Principles into law and includes sanctions for noncompliance. When we talked with Rev. Leon Sullivan before our trip, he stressed that the Principles were undergoing constant expansion to include increased obligations on the American corporations doing business in South Africa, and that this required an ongoing educational process involving these companies. He also informed us that he has come to the position that, for the Principles to be made more effective, a number of changes would be helpful. Until now, compliance has been voluntary and monitored by regularly submitted questionnaires, with little or no verification of the responses. The Rev. Sullivan now feels that compliance should be obligatory for U.S. corporations, that there should be constant on-site monitoring (a possible role for the South African trade unions) and that sanctions should be applied in cases of noncompliance. He has therefore testified in favor of the Solarz Bill, which embodies these features. In addition, he told us, he would support selective public disinvestment campaigns against those corporations which do not comply. He is now opposed to new U.S. investment and to bank loans from the U.S. to the South African government. As he sees it, the Principles have been an effective educational tool, have benefitted a significant number of blacks, and can be even more useful if adopted by corporations from countries other than the U.S. But, he says, such Principles cannot be the complete answer to apartheid and its injustices.

We agree in general with Rev. Sullivan and recommend that the Solarz Bill be passed. If the present administration were to come out in favor of the bill, that might send a signal to South Africa, to the government there and to those that seek change, that the U.S. is reviewing and changing its present policy.

Currently there is aid from individuals and agencies in the U.S. going to support those who seek change in South Africa. Most of this aid is going to the external opposition. Without challenging that position, we strongly recommend that individuals and agencies in the U.S. sharply increase their support and forward the bulk of that increase to those agencies within South Africa which are working for nonviolent change.

Almost without exception, the people we spoke with in South Africa were convinced that change must come from within, that it was the South Africans themselves who would, in the end, be responsible for establishing a more just order in South Africa. They did feel that pressure from other countries was valuable and useful, but they understood that, when push came to shove, change in South Africa depended on themselves. As we noted earlier, there are many agencies at work in

South Africa, agencies seeking to end apartheid nonviolently and replace it with democracy. They are fledgling in some cases, poor in general, and just beginning to make their opposition felt. But they are staffed and supported by women and men of extraordinary courage who know first-hand the difficulty of the task they have undertaken. And, they are not without hope.

The AFL-CIO has already made it clear that it plans to work with, and support in any way possible, the many trade unions that are springing up in South Africa. We see this as a very major and perhaps the most crucial sector for change, but there are other institutions that also need support. Religious denominations in the U.S. could establish contact with their counterparts in South Africa, learn what they are doing and support their work, even across denominational lines. The same is true for professional organizations of all kinds, academics, engineers, scientists, etc. There is a wealth of access points and each could prove productive.

In addition to supporting the work for change in South Africa, this kind of cooperation can be invaluable in helping develop a positive U.S. policy for change. We would have many lines of communication opened and could avoid dependence on purely politically motivated propaganda. That would enable us not only to work more creatively with our South African colleagues, but also with our own government.

Our conclusion therefore, and our strongest recommendation, is that individuals and voluntary agencies in the United States who seek a nonviolent end to apartheid in South Africa should begin to establish ties with their counterparts there. If change in South Africa can only come from within, then it is in supporting the institutions there that are committed to change that we can make a positive and creative contribution.

APPENDIX A

# BAYARD RUSTIN'S STATEMENT ON HIS GROUP'S PURPOSE IN VISITING SOUTH AFRICA

## October 4 through October 22, 1983

My involvement in the struggle for peace, civil and human rights has long been on the public record. My commitment to nonviolent social change has been expressed over five decades in my work in India in the late 1940's with the Gandhi movement, in African independence movements in the 1950's, and more recently in the U.S. with A. Philip Randolph, black labor leader, Norman Thomas, Social Democrat reformer, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights leader. As a black American, I have a deep interest in Africa, particularly in South Africa. For I believe what happens here may very well determine whether democracy and peaceful change will flourish in the whole of Southern Africa. I therefore welcome the opportunity to come here to try to find out what the people in South Africa really feel about their situation. I also bring greetings and warm wishes from those of us in America who believe in peaceful social change, to all individuals and groups in South Africa who share that commitment.

I have been convinced that, in the U.S., much of the information on the Republic of South Africa has been limited to propaganda emanating from persons who have, in one way or another pre-judged the situation. Many of these people have neither lived in nor visited South Africa. My interest and that of my colleagues, is to listen to people in South Africa of every color, ethnicity, and political persuasion. We seek the views of academics, students, religious and political leaders, workers, businessmen, trade unionists, and whomever else we are able to meet. During our stay we will be visiting Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, rural areas, and farms.

Our trip is a joint project of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, of which I am President, and the New York Friends Group, both dedicated to nonviolent social change. We are particularly interested in the attitudes of those here in regard to such matters as U.S. corporate investment, the Sullivan Principles and comparable codes, the sports and cultural boycotts, visiting artists, and, in general, how they perceive this country's future.

Here with me are Charles Bloomstein, my colleague on projects over many years, and Walter Naegle, an Educational Fund staff member. Both share my convictions.

Since the objective of our trip is to gather data about the thinking and feelings of people here, we see ourselves primarily as listeners. Thus, we will hold no press conferences and issue no further statements while in South Africa. Upon our return to the U.S., we will make every effort to be faithful in reporting the views and attitudes we encountered here.

APPENDIX B

## List of Persons with Whom We Met

**Academics**

Dr. Lawrence Schlemmer, sociologist, Univ. of Durban
Prof. Francis Wilson, Dir. of the South African Labour and Development Research Unit
Prof. Hendrik van der Merwe, Dir. of the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Univ. of Cape Town
Prof. John Barratt, Director-General, South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA)
Ms. Frances Firth, Secretary, Cape, SAIIA
Mr. G. T. Rackstraw, Membership Director, SAIIA
Mr. M. W. Spicer, Director of Programmes, SAIIA
Mr. Peter Vale, Research Director, SAIIA
Ms. Jennifer Dagut, Lecturer in History, Witwatersrand Univ.
Prof. Martin Nasser, School of Business Leadership, Univ. of South Africa
Mr. C.M.C. Hemson, Extra Mural Studies, Univ. of Natal

**Businessmen**

Mr. Merton Dagut, General Manager, Nedbank
Mr. Clark M. Else, Director, American Chamber of Commerce
Mr. William M. Patchett, Sentry Assurance (American)
Mr. C. T. Wood, Citibank (American)
Mr. William M. Magruder, Union Carbide (American)
Mr. Richard C. Ferris, Kodak (American)
Mr. M. B. Hofmeyr, Exec. Director, Anglo-American Corp.
Mr. W. G. Boustred, Exec. Director, Anglo-American Corp.
Mr. Michael O'Dowd, Manager, Anglo-American Corp.
Mr. R. M. Godsell, Industrial Relations Consultant, Anglo-American Corp.
Mr. E. P. Gush, Exec. Director, Anglo-American Corp.
Mr. Ivan S. Rudman, General Manager, Barclay's Bank

**Church-Affiliated People**

Mr. Brian Brown, Africa Secretary, British Council of Churches (banned in S.A., in voluntary exile in London)
Dr. Beyers Naude, former Dutch Reformed Church Minister, Director of Christian Institute until it was banned in 1977. Recently his banning order was renewed for another 5 years.
Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary, South African Council of Churches
Rev. Robert Robertson, International Fellowship of Reconciliation
Ms. Anita Kromberg, International Fellowship of Reconciliation
Ms. Olive Gibson, Quaker
Mr. Duncan Brown, Quaker
Eight members of Quaker Meeting

**Journalists**

Mr. Joseph Lelyveld, correspondent for *The New York Times*
Mr. Rex Gibson, Editor, *Rand Daily Mail* (English)
Mr. Tertius Myburgh, Editor, *Sunday Times* (English)

Mr. Ken Owen, Editor *Sunday Express* (English)
Mr. Harvey Tyson, Editor, *The Star* (English)
Mr. Otto Krause, *Perskor* (Afrikaans)
Mr. Benjamin Pogrund, Deputy Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*
Mr. Raymond Louw, former Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, now Editor, *Southern Africa Report*
Ms. Pat Tucker, Reporter, *Rand Daily Mail*
Mr. Patrick Lawrence, Political Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*
Mr. Ben Gertenbach, diplomatic correspondent, *Die Transvaler* (Afrikaans)
Mr. Xan Smiley, *The Economist*, (in London)

## Lawyers

Ms. Felicia Kentridge, Co-Director, Legal Resources Centre
Mr. Raymond Tucker, Attorney For The Black Sash

*Lawyers for Human Rights*

Mr. Jules Browde, Chairman,
Mr. Godfrey M. Pitje
Mr. Abe Allison
Mr. Gilbert Marcus
Mr. William Lane
Ms. Pat Leiburn
Ms. Claire Bewes
Ms. Karen Blum
Mr. John Dugard
Mr. Barry Jammy
Mr. Ronnie Selvam
Mr. Levison
Mr. Oscar Shuh
Mr. Arthur Chaskalson
Mr. Sydney Kentridge

## Political Leaders and Civil Servants

Dr. Piet van der Merwe, Director-General, Ministry of Manpower Development
Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development
Mr. Hans van Dalsen, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Information
Mr. Ray Swart, Member of Parliament, Progressive Federal Party (PFP)
Mr. Peter Gastrow, Member of Parliament, Progressive Federal Party
Ms. Sybil Hotz, Mayor of Durban
Dr. Alex Boraine, Member of Parliament, Progressive Federal Party
Chief Mongosuthu G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha, hereditary Chief of the Zulu Nation
Dr. Nthato Motlana, Committee of Ten, Soweto
Mr. Miley Richards, Deputy Leader, Labour Party
Mr. Mahomed Dangor, ex-member of Labour Party
Ms. Molly Kopel, PFP member of Johannesburg Central Council
Mr. J. B. Patel, leader of the Democratic Party (opposition) of the South African Indian Council
Dr. Farouk Meer, Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress
and colleague

## Sports Officials

Mr. Hassan Howa, Pres., Western Province Cricket Association
Dr. Danie Craven, Pres., South African Rugby Board

**Students**

Mr. Paul Grobler, National Chairman of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (for students at Afrikaans-speaking universities)

Mr. Francois Erasmus, member of Students' Representative Council, Univ. of Pretoria

Mr. Alwyn Roussouw, member of Students' Representative Council, Univ. of Pretoria

Ms. Janet Cherry, General Secretary, National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) (for students at English-speaking universities)

Mr. Ian Macun, Research Director, NUSAS

Mr. Francois duBois, founding member of Political Students Organization (POLSTU)

**Trade Unionists**

Mr. Alec Irwin, National Education Officer, Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU)

Dr. Anna Scheepers, former President, Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)

Mr. Desmond Brown, Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and colleague

Mr. Mike Roussos, official of the Joint Union Education Project (JUEP)

Ten members of JUEP who requested anonymity

Mr. Cyprian L. Mahlaba, Inspector of Schools, member, teachers' union

**Voluntary Agencies**

Mr. Ian Donald, Director, Association for Rural Development

Mr. Trevor Manual, Secretary, Cape Areas Housing Action Committee; Secretary, United Democratic Front

Mr. Brian Bishop, Chairman, Civil Rights League

Mr. Robin Lee, General Manager, Urban Foundation

Mr. John Kane-Berman, Director, South Africa Institute of Race Relations

Ms. Sheena Duncan, President, The Black Sash

Ms. Joyce Harris, former President, The Black Sash

Prof. Marcus Arkin, South African Zionist Federation

Mr. Mahomed Valli, United Democratic Front

Mr. Popo Molefe, United Democratic Front

Ms. Marian Nell, Director, Human Awareness Programme

Ms. Janet Shapiro, Staff Member, Human Awareness Programme

**U.S. Diplomats**

Mr. Herman Nickel, U.S. Ambassador

Mr. George Trail, Consul-General, Johannesburg

Mr. Charles Daris, Deputy Consul-General, Johannesburg

Mr. Frank Lattanzi, U.S. Information Service

Mr. Robert Gosende, Counselor for Public Affairs

Ms. Elizabeth P. Spiro, Political Officer

**Miscellaneous Others**

Ms. Ingrid von Schirnding

Mr. B. Tommy

Mr. E. Daniels

Mr. Eliot Mngadi

Mr. Aubrey Mokoena

# HOW AMERICAN BLACKS VIEW ISRAEL

By BAYARD RUSTIN

MR. RUSTIN is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a frequent contributor to THE CRISIS.

The persistence of the debate over the relationship between black people and the State of Israel is a perplexing and troublesome phenomenon. For one would think that the historic bonds which link blacks to Jews — the common heritage of discrimination and oppression, the cooperation during the protest campaigns of the civil rights movement, and the fact that blacks and Jews occupy pivotal roles within the liberal coalition — would be sufficiently powerful and enduring to preclude serious differences over Israel's fate. Added to this is Israel's democratic and egalitarian character, which stands in marked contrast to the conservatism and authoritarianism of the Arab regimes.

Yet one cannot dismiss the existence of a controversy even if, as I believe to be the case here, its relevance and magnitude are of questionable dimension. Since her establishment 25 years ago, Israel has enjoyed a remarkable level of support from the leadership of the black community, including elected officials, civil rights leaders, and church and labor figures. Nor is there any significant evidence to suggest that this support diminished during the most recent outbreak of fighting. Quite the contrary. Shortly after the Yom Kippur War began, 13 of the 15 black members of Congress agreed to co-sponsor a resolution urging the U.S. Government to resupply Israel's hard-pressed military forces. In addition, 75 black trade union leaders issued a statement which was published in the Sunday **New York Times** (October 21, 1973) calling on black Americans to stand with Israel in its struggle to live and be free." A similar statement was issued by a group of leading black elected officials.

### INVALID CRITICISM

But while traditional black leadership has been generous in embracing Israel's cause, the same cannot be said for black nationalists or separatists. Following the Six Day War in 1967, the Black Panthers, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and other such organizations denounced the "imperialist" and "genocidal" nature of Israel and proclaimed the necessity of black-Arab solidarity. Others, employing language that avoided the coarseness and irrationalism which marked the Panther rhetoric, equated black support for Israel with subservience to Jewish interests in the United States. Thus in criticizing black Congressmen for their endorsement of military aid to Israel, Robert S. Browne, who is the director of the Black Economic Research Council, asked whether "black leadership is so intimidated by its ties to the Jewish community that it cannot articulate positions which might collide with Jewish aspirations." What Browne is suggesting is obvious: that not only is there no validity to the Israeli cause, at least insofar as blacks are concerned, but that black politicians, by supporting Israel, are placing the wishes of American Jews above their own sense of what is right and wrong.

To express such strong doubts about the principles of black elected officials is to tread on dangerous territory. One might as easily ask whether the voting records of Senators Javits and Ribicoff, both of which are impeccably pro-civil rights, reflect nothing more than a bowing to black "aspirations." Only the most cynical or the most foolish would deny that Javits and Ribicoff have demonstrated an abiding, personal commitment to racial equality during their public careers. It takes equal cynicism to impugn the motives of black elected officials, as Browne and others have done.

**Israel's black critics have misrepresented Israel's policy towards black African nations. The suggestion, for example, that Israel has systematically supported and aided Portugal against the liberation forces in its African colonies is simply not true. Israel has in fact been a consistent supporter of the freedom movements in Angola and Mozambique and has demonstrated this support through her anti-colonialist votes in the United Nations and through technical aid extended to the liberation forces themselves. The Afro-Asian Institute,*** for example, has from the outset **carried out a policy of recruiting trainees from the freedom movements in nations still under minority white dominance.**

Furthermore, the critics generally fail to analyze in any depth the nature of Arab and Israeli societies. To propose, as some have, that the Arab nations in general and the Palestinians in particular represent a revolutionary vanguard for the underdeveloped world is simply to ignore the realities of the Arab social structure. And to assert that there are historic ties of brotherhood linking black Africans to Arab Moslems requires both a substantial rewriting of history and a disregarding of the tensions between blacks and Arabs which exist to this day.

The conflict between Africans and Arabs dates back many centuries; Moslems were in fact one of the first outside forces to enslave and uproot tribal Africans on a wide scale. As John Hope Franklin, the distinguished black historian, has noted:

> When the Mohammedans invaded Africa, they contributed greatly to the development of the institution of Negro slavery by seizing Negro women for their harems and Negro men for military and menial service.
>
> By purchase as well as by conquest, the Moslems recruited Negro slaves and shipped them off to Arabia, Persia, or some other land of Islam . . .

Long before the extensive development of the slave trade in the hands of the Europeans, many of the basic practices of the international slave trade had already been established.

### SLAVE TRADE CONTINUES

It is true, of course, that the slave trade as practiced by the Moslems was not as severe or extensive an institution as it later became under the Europeans. A much more serious indictment of the attitudes of Arab society is its continued tolerance for the slave trade at a time when the rest of humanity has condemned and abandoned the practice. The Anti-Slavery Society, headquartered in London, an organization committed to the eradication of slavery around the world, reports that Arab nations are the most flagrant violators of the 1956 United Nations Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Practices Similar to Slavery. In Saudi Arabia alone there are 500,000 persons living in slavery or enforced bondage, according to Society estimates, and slavery is known to exist in a number of other Arab lands, including Kuwait, Oman and Muscat, Yemen, Algeria and Lebanon.

The pattern of modern slavery, according to journalist Noel Mostert, "is the age-old one. The source is still mainly Africa, the essential difference being that the routes of the slave traders run eastward instead of westward."

One of the most disturbing aspects of modern slavery is that despite its almost universal condemnation and the sanctions of the United Nations, it has undergone a steady increase during the past 25 years, a period which coincides with the era of growing wealth for the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. The Anti-Slavery Society believes that chattel slavery has increased three fold since 1947, and it ascribes the increase to the growing affluence of the oil nations.

The world reaction to the phenomenon of modern slavery is a textbook case of how the dictates of **realpolitik** drown out the cries of the oppressed. The United Nations, the only agency with jurisdiction sufficently broad to provide an effective policing mechanism, has treated the slavery question with the utmost care. The Big Powers — the United States and the Soviet Union, in particular — are unwilling to risk a confrontation with the Middle Eastern states with which they hope to form economic and political alliances. In addition, Russia fears that opening the question of slavery might ultimately lead to an examination of its own political trials and slave labor camps.

**The myth of Arab-African brotherhood is further belied by Moslem oppression of non-Moslem blacks in Nigeria and the Sudan. During the war of Biafran secession, Egyptian pilots flew bombing missions in which the principal targets were inhabited villages rather than military installations of Biafrian troops. In the Sudan, the Moslem north carried out a near-genocidal campaign of terror against the black pagans and Christians of the South. The Sudanese civil war was provoked by the efforts of the Moslems to force their language, religion, and culture on the non-Moslem blacks. Between 500,000 and 1,000,000 Sudanese were slain in the conflict; countless others, after watching their villages burn, fled to the bush or sought sanctuary in neighboring countries. The Sudanese government was able to conduct its military campaigns because of a $5,500,000 gift from Kuwait, and because of arms shipments from Algeria, Egypt, and the Soviet Union. Thus we had an example of Arab unity in which black people, not Jews, were the victims.**

For their part, African nations are aware of the long history of conflict between Arab and black; they recognize that forming alliances with the Arabs is a matter of pragmatic politics, not the result of "brotherhood." African leaders, moreover, do not share the sentiments of black nationalists here who look on Israel as imperialist or racist. Until the Yom Kippur War, African nations enjoyed close and often beneficial relations with Israel, which for years had provided aid and technical advice that was of considerable value to states just emerging from colonialism's yoke. Thus the fact that all but a handful of African nations have broken off diplomatic ties with Israel in the past few months must be evaluated in the light of the shifting political forces in the Middle East, rather than in terms of political ideology.

### OIL AS A WEAPON

Just as oil is in large measure responsible for the upsurge of slavery in the Middle East, so is oil a principal cause of the shifting political alliances of African nations. One must keep in mind that oil was a powerful enough weapon to evoke anti-Israel responses from Great Britain, France, and other European countries. Small wonder that the same weapon is sufficiently imposing to bring about a reversal in the foreign policies of the struggling, impoverished, and often politically unstable nations of Africa.

The power of oil — particularly as wielded by Lybia since the ascension of Colonel Maummar el-Gaddafi as chief of state — becomes evident upon examining a chronology of recent Arab-African relations. In 1967 nearly all African nations retained diplomatic ties with Israel. And when the United Nations debated the question of which side was the aggressor in the Six Day War, most black African nations supported Israel.

But in 1970, after Gaddafi had assumed power, support for Israel began to wane. Lybia promised aid to economically unstable countries, such as Uganda, and threatened to finance Moslem revolutionary movements in militarily weak nations, like Chad, but only if the governments would quickly sever relations with Israel.

Israel also had the growing influence of Mohammedanism to contend with. Many African countries have sizeable and ever-increasing Moslem populations that represent a potential source of unrest. It is far simpler, in the view of African chiefs of state, to appease the Moslem communities by denouncing Israel than to risk internal disorder or an insurgent movement financed by Lybia or Kuwait.

The African nations were also motivated by the promise of the Arabs to extend the oil boycott to Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. As we shall see, however, the boycott, and the ensuing spiral in oil prices, threatens the economies of African and other underdeveloped nations far more seriously than countries which practice colonialism or apartheid. In the case of South Africa, furthermore, it is the blacks who will suffer most severely; one of South Africa's most respected tribal leaders, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has already asked that the boycott be called off, asserting that "it would end up being the blacks in South Africa who would end up bearing the brunt if the taps were turned off."

Of the African leaders who have publicly criticized Israel, the most widely publicized has been Uganda's General Amin, who once asserted that Hitler had not gone far enough in his annihilation of the Jews. Amin's voice, however, finds few echoes. (It should be noted that Amin broke off relations with Isrrael only after Israel had refused to provide Uganda with military aid which, it is believed, was to have been used for a war against neighborhood Tanzania.) As **The New York Times** reported: "Amin . . . was the only one to accompany the break with a diatribe against Israel, to expel all Israelis, and to terminate all economic relations. Those African countries that followed said more or less clearly that they hoped to continue trade and economic relations. . . Some African leaders told Israel that the ruptures should not be interpreted as breaches of friendship."

### IMPERIALIST BLACKMAIL

Under a different set of circumstances, the intense pressure that Arab governments have applied to African lands would be called imperialist blackmail." But there seems to be an almost conscious desire by many blacks and liberals to believe in the unity of underdeveloped nations, and any evidence to the contrary is ignored or dismissed.

And yet in raw economic terms, it is the world's developing nations that will suffer most severely from the oil embargoes and price increases which have been imposed by the Arabs. The **Development Forum,** which is published by the Centre for Economic and Social Information of the United Nations, notes that prior to the energy crisis the poorest countries were already paying 2 per cent more for imported fuel than the industrialized world. The **Forum** further observed:

> The recent price rises have greatly aggravated their (the underdeveloped nations') plight. Unless the upward spiral in the price of oil is halted, or

(Continued on Page 9)

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*The Afro-Asian Institute is operated by Histadrut, the general labor federation of Israel. It offers training and work study programs to those active in the labor and co-operative movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

### DAY OF INFAMY

# MA'ALOT REMEMBERED

## STATEMENT BY I.D.F. CHIEF OF STAFF, LT. GENERAL MORDECHAI GUR TO PARENTS AT MAALOT, MAY 15, 1974

A quarter of an hour before the school building in Ma'alot was to be blown up together with its occupants, we decided to act to save the lives of the children.

Despite the fact that we announced to them our decision to free the terrorists as they demanded, and despite the fact that the ambassadors of France and Rumania approached them and asked them not to carry out their threat, the terrorists repeated their announcement that they would blow up the building and its occupants at exactly 6 P.M. if they did not receive their code-word.

When we asked them whether they have direct communications with their headquarters, they answered "No." We tried to soften their position.

At 4:30 the terrorists brought out a few children who asked that they be freed as soon as possible. We answered that we are doing everything possible to release them.

But the terrorists repeated their announcement very sharply that at 6 P.M. they would blow up the building if they did not receive the code-word. To our statement that the French Ambassador was coming to them with a letter, they responded that if he comes without the code-word, they will kill him. They gave a similar answer to the Rumanian Ambassador who asked them not to carry out the murder.

This was at 4:45, and we knew that everyone, including scores of soldiers in the area, would be blown up. Without any alternative, we decided to save as many children as possible.

The first objective of the operation was to disconnect the electric cable that was connected to the explosive charges that would blow up the building. And one of the soldiers from the task force was able to disconnect the cable and prevent disaster.

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Today's attack by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) General Command — in Ma'alot, is an additional link in a virtual chain of murder and carnage carried out recently, both in Israel and abroad.

This most recent act of barbarism proves once again that the terrorists are not brave soldiers fighting against enemy troops, nor are they guerilla commandos engaged in harassing enemy military units. They are merely gangs of murderers whose victims are defenseless civilians and children.

The activities of these gangs would be impossible without the material and moral support of various Arab Governments who are financing the terrorist organizations and providing training and operational facilities on their territories.

Outwardly, this support by Arab States is camouflaged by the ambiguous slogan expressing support for "fulfilling the rights of the Palestinian people," but among themselves the Arab leaders hardly bother to conceal their support for the terrorist organizations and for these organization's self-proclaimed aim of destroying an independent Israel and her people.

Syria's active support of the PFLP-General Command and Lebanon's responsibility for permitting the existence of terrorist bases and the launching of terrorist attacks from its territory receive encouragement from the international community as evidenced in the U.N. Security Council Resolution following the Kiryat Shmona attack. Instead of condemning such horrible crimes the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution condemning Israel for her reprisal without even mentioning the mass murder which necessitated it.

The silence of the international community as well as the surrender to previous terrorist demands by various Western governments and failure of the U.N. to adopt sanctions against those nations which harbor and support terrorists has only encouraged Arab Governments and terrorist organizations to continue their murderous actions.

## AMERICAN BLACKS . . .

(Continued from Page 2)

some measure of relief provided, it could bring development of the Third World to a dead halt.

### NO THIRD WORLD

**The reason for exposing these differences is to address, as directly as possible, the myth of a cohesive, universally progressive "Third World" of underdeveloped countries. In that the term connotes a group of governments with which black people should identify, the Third World does not exist. Some developing nations are profoundly militaristic and reactionary; others are feudalistic; still others, although they call themselves socialistic, are headed by brutal and dictatorial regimes which differ little from the most repressive authoritarian states.**

It is, ironically, Israel, with her socialistic society and expanding democratic institutions, which most nearly has achieved the egalitarian ideal. Israel has already established a pattern of society and government which could serve as a model for other Middle East Nations in their struggle to reduce widespread poverty and to bring democracy to their people.

I am not uncritical of some of Israel's policies and particularly deplore the continued plight of the Palestinian refugees. But it is important to keep in mind that the misery of the refugee camps is as much a result of the unwillingness of the Arab to agree to a permanent solution to the Middle East situation as it is of Israeli policies. One cannot be certain if the Arab vow to "push Israel into the sea" is mere rhetoric designed to arouse the patriotism of the masses, or an acknowledgement of their ultimate objective. But there can be no doubt that the Arabs have exploited the refugee problem as a means of legimatizing their aggresion. The refugee camps, with their squalor and overcrowded conditions, are for the Arabs a means of mobilizing moral opinion against Israel. And while liquidation of the camps and resettlement of the refugees might serve the cause of humanity, it would also deprive the Arabs of an effective propaganda weapon.

One hopes, above all, that a just and permanent peace emerges from the current negotiations. The achievement of that peace, however, requires a recognition of the legitimacy of both forms of nationalism — Arab and Israeli — that are now competing in the Middle East. Both have their historical roots in the Middle East, and are capable of co-existing, as indeed they did co-exist in the years between World War I and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

Until these rights are acknowledged and accepted, however, there will be no peace, nor justice for the Palestinian refugees, nor social progress for the impoverished of the Middle East. Society cannot be remade while governments are in a perpetual state of military alert. If there is to be true progress for the people of the Middle East, it must come about because peace is achieved, and because both Arab and Israeli accept and cooperate with each other. Social progress cannot be won in the battlefield.

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# Orthodox Teachers

**By PHIL KIPSUT**

Close to 500 persons, including numerous dignitaries from education, government and the Jewish community participated in the recent AOJT Dinner marking its Tenth Anniversary and honoring the C.O.L.P.A. organization.

The entire audience was particularly moved when two Akiva Club representatives from Tilden and South Shore High Schools in Brooklyn made an impassioned plea to have extra-curricular activities in the public high schools eliminated on Friday nights and Saturdays.

Unfortunately, while we are gradually succeeding in our attempts to reduce and eliminate public school and professional activities on the **Shabbat**, there are forces in New York State that are actively attempting to expand such school programs. For the past three years the AOJT has successfully fought against attempts at legislation in Albany designed to permit regular classes in the public schools on Saturdays. We even opposed the various compromise proposals, purportedly designed to help only small upstate districts or minority group students, for fear that they would open a Pandora's box and smooth the way for future expanded legislation and programs. Our fears were justified.

Last year, two bills were introduced in Albany to permit schools to provide regular classes on Saturdays in connection with programs for the disadvantaged. One bill would permit such classes throughout the state and a second would permit them only in school districts having a population of less than 600. Although we were successful in having the first bill defeated the second bill was passed. The proponents argued that districts with less than 600 pupils applied only to small suburban communities upstate.

### SABBATH CLASSES

This year, as we fearfully anticipated, another bill was introduced (S-7221 — Padavan et al; A-8523 Margiotta at al) to permit any school district to provide classes on any day of the week. The passage of this bill could have had grave consequences for the Jewish community. Fortunately we were successful in having this bill killed in committee. We must, however, continue to be vigilant in this area.

A summary of all the general problems or issues which AOJT has attempted to resolve during the past 10 years, and a statement listing the fundamental principles guiding the organization follows.

"During the past 10 years, AOJT has in a sense also been grappling with 10 plagues or special problems, if you will, that have been confronting the observant Jewish educational community. In addition to the general problems common to all educators and citizens, AOJT has concerned itself with these **special** problems facing the Orthodox Jewish students and teachers.

1. Late session classes primarily in the high schools that end on Friday in the winter months well into the Sabbath.
2. Loss of pay suffered by teachers for mandatory absence on religious holidays.
3. Student examinations scheduled by teachers or schools even N.Y. State Regents on Jewish holidays.
4. Professional and promotional examinations and interviews scheduled on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays.
5. Evening high schools classes that were scheduled on Friday nights.
6. School calendars that don't take into account the Jewish holidays.
7. Discriminatory hiring practices for teachers and supervisors based upon criteria other than merit, which fall harder upon the Orthodox Jews.
8. Extra-curricular activities in the schools that are scheduled for Friday nights and Saturdays.
9. Professional meetings, seminars, conferences, and conventions that are scheduled for Saturdays and Jewish holidays.
10. The alienation and Jewish cultural ignorance of so many of our Jewish youth and adults.

"Therefore as we enter the second decade we rededicate ourselves to the following basic ten AOJT principles.

1. To declare our unequivocal committment to G-d and Torah as our ideal way of life.
2. To reaffirm our allegiance to this great country and government, perhaps the greatest citadel of freedom, democracy and opportunity in the entire world.
3. To actively oppose any forms of racial or religious discrimination in education, against students or faculty.
4. To support a system of appointments and advancements in education based upon criteria of merit in accordance with the laws and spirit of democratic government.
5. To provide programs of professional, cultural and social activities for educators in accordance with the religious requirements and ideals of our Torah.
6. To help eliminate obstacles and pressures which interfere with the religious observance of students and faculty.
7. To help further the Jewish education, identification and pride of our students and faculty.
8. To keep the officials in government and education informed and aware of the Orthodox Jewish community's special problems and needs.
9. To work together with other organizations and individuals, altruistically, without motives of personal gain, in order to achieve our goals and for the welfare of our community.
10. Through our activities, behavior and principles, to help foster greater recognition and respect for the Orthodox Jewish Community, the Torah and the sanctified name of Heaven.

Amen."

# Histadrut and the New Africa

**By BAYARD RUSTIN**

NOW as you all know, Histadrut was founded 50 years ago. But rather than talk about its founding or its anniversary, I should like to go back to 1960, a year of a tremendous development in Histadrut. Some may find a different high point, but to me 1960 is important because it was in that year that the Afro-Asian Institute was founded in Tel Aviv.

Many of you know that the Institute gives courses in labor and cooperative studies. More than 1500 students from 70 developing countries have come to Israel to learn, and many people from Israel under Histadrut have gone to these nations to aid in their development. This was a good while before the United States Peace Corps was doing anything similar.

But there is something more meaningful here. What is significant is not *what* Histadrut did for the developing nations, but *how* it did it. Other nations have set up programs of study or aid of some kind, very often with strings. I believe it is significant that what Histadrut did was to go back to the 11th century, to the teachings of Maimonides who established a "Hierarchy of Charity." The best form of charity, according to Maimonides, is that which takes away the need for charity. And that is what Histadrut is trying to accomplish. It is giving in such a way that its assistance will someday become unnecessary.

I should, therefore, like to say something about what is happening in the underdeveloped parts of the world and the genius of what Histadrut did. First of all, it is very necessary for Africans and Asians to come to Israel, just to be there. All over Africa today we are being faced with one military coup after another. That is to say that Africans are losing faith in democracy. And if you talk to them and say: "Why are you losing faith?" they will tell you it is because of the difficult circumstances in which they live. But those who have been in Israel have seen democracy maintained in the face of a world which is dedicated to her destruction. If one can see a democratic government maintained under such conditions, one cannot lose faith in democracy.

## Freedom and Independence

Second, as Histadrut did in the beginning, it is important to distinguish between freedom and independence. Histadrut helped in the struggle for freedom. But simultaneously it developed an economic and social program for what was to occur if and when freedom came. Many African nations, however, have not given as much thought to what independence meant. Only now are they confronting the full magnitude of the problem of nation-building which independence has thrust upon them. The Institute can provide them with great assistance in meeting this problem.

Thirdly, my friends this is a very tragic period for aid to Africa, for technical assistance, for trade. Britain is turning her back on Africa; France has begun to turn her back; sadly, my own country, the United States, in regard to aid to the world, has put Africa at the very bottom. It is our lowest priority. We are doing almost nothing. And it is to Histadrut's credit that at this point, when Israel is surrounded by people prepared to destroy her, and has many social and political problems of her own, not the least of which is the assimilation of hundreds of people who come from some of the most disadvantaged areas in the world, at this point Histadrut finds time to establish this Institute. In doing so Histadrut is following the precepts of Hillel who said "Who am I, if I do not love myself, but what am I if I do not love and help my brother?"

The trade unions of Africa and Asia can also learn a great deal from this center, for they can see that the working conditions which Histadrut achieved by collective bargaining can through political action be made the law of the land. The 8-hour day, paid vacation, severence pay, and other reforms have become law in Israel and are an example of intelligent political action for African trade unions.

When I was in Africa last year, a group of Africans who were living in a small village asked the Prime Minister to visit their community. He decided to go and asked me to go along with him. When we were approaching the village, we reached a little road that had been flooded by four feet of water. It was impassable. We finally crossed the road in small boats, and when we reached the village the people said to him, "You have fooled us, you told us that when the British left we would have decent roads. The British have been gone almost five years now and we still have no roads."

One of the young men who had studied at the Institute said to the Prime Minister: "Why do you not ask these villagers now to help up build a bridge, and then we can build a road?" And the Prime Minister said, "Let us get stones now, and build some kind of bridge." It was a very shaky bridge, and I was half afraid to walk over it, but it was up.

I want you to know that the spirit of hard work, self reliance, and cooperation is something which this young man learned from the Institute. I said to him later, "You know, this was a very imaginative idea, how did you come by it?" and he said, "This is what they would do in Israel."

Another thing they learn from Israel is courage. Courage to exist, to be democratic, regardless of what you have staring you in the face.

In Israel there are men with guns at their hips, planting trees to make a desert into a beautiful place. If Africans and Asians need anything today, it is the example of people against insurmountable odds, who continue to hold on to democratic concepts and to build through cooperation a decent and just society.

## Cooperation Between Groups

Perhaps the most important thing of all which they learn is cooperation between different groups of people. Today tribalism threatens to tear Africa to bits, in Nigeria, in Kenya in Somalia and in other lands. Yet in Israel, while Arabs from other countries are saying "we will destroy you"—Histadrut is working with the Arabs living in Israel to build a decent society. The Israeli Arabs are provided full citizenship rights, including health care and education. It is important for Africans to see this kind of cooperation.

There are only about three languages on earth in which there is a single word for "Charity" and "Justice." One of these languages is Hebrew.

"Tzadakah" does not only mean charity, it means justice. Histadrut and Israel understand this word. They are trying to make it a reality for the inhabitants of Israel—Arab and Jew—for African and, hopefully, some day—for those who threaten to destroy them. For where there is "Tzadakah" there will be no hatred and no injustice. When there is "Tzadakah"—charity and justice—men will live in peace with each other.

*The pamphlet is based on an address delivered at the annual convention of the National Committee for Labor Israel in New York City on November 29, 1969 by Bayard Rustin, exec. director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

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# We Must Never Forget Shcharansky

By Bayard Rustin

Anatoly Shcharansky sits in the Soviet prisons for all of us. He is "doing time" for us, because our fates—the fates of all people who cherish liberty and democracy—are interwoven in an inextricable way with Shcharansky's fate. He does not sit alone, deserted and stripped of every shred of human dignity. In his cell, he has companions, fellow inmates of the Gulag. Sitting there with Shcharansky we can find the principles of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and freedom of emigration. These freedoms, which we in the Western democracies take so lightly, are today prisoners in the Soviet Union. They have been locked away for so many years that the Soviet people, especially the youngsters, have no recollection of what human rights are. Indeed, people have become forcibly anesthetized against the pain and spiritual agony of political slavery.

Shcharansky's crime, of course, is that he became involved in the human rights movement, a movement that could very well become a powerful antidote to the spiritual numbness—should I say spiritual death?—so carefully cultivated by the Soviet elite. He and his friends in the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, though a tiny and fragile minority, became like a sharp pin in the well-trained hands of a doctor, probing for some feeling, some sensation in the limbs of a paralyzed patient. To the surprise and horror of the Soviet leaders, the Helsinki Monitoring Group stimulated a reaction, ever so slight, within the Soviet body politic. The Group found that not everyone had been seduced and lulled into a blissful silence. But in making the discovery, Shcharansky acquired the trappings of a criminal rather than the honor accorded to a prophet.

Shcharansky's "criminality" is one of the great ironies of the modern world, coming as it does when children are shot down like animals in Afghanistan, and when the regimes of Cambodia, Vietnam, and now Cuba treat their people like refuse to be dumped into the seas. But the fact that Shcharansky bears the title criminal while his jailers are known as statesmen is more than ironic—it is indecent; it is perverse. Nevertheless, the tendency to identify good people with evil, and evil people with goodness or at least harmlessness is a sign of the times. Ignazio Silone, the Italian socialist who opposed both fascism and communism, recognized this over twenty-five years ago in his brilliant essay called "The Choice of Comrades." "The nihilistic cult of force and success," Silone remarked, "is today universal. Nihilism is the prevalent tendency to identify history with the conquerors..."

The conquerors, most especially the barbaric ones, violently lay claim to history; they monopolize and shape the collective memory; they arrogantly label people as productive or parasitical, loyal or treasonous, deserving of life or deserving of death.

### Power Worship

By the standards of the Soviet Union, and by the standards of all those who worship brute power and venerate the secret police, Shcharansky is a loser, a weakling, a misfit, a malcontent, a person who is unworthy of freedom. In the eyes of the cynics and nihilists, Shcharansky is not to be pitied but scorned. He is a bad example, a man who would not—or could not—manipulate the levers of power for his own advancement, his own narrow interests. Worst of all, he is a failure, a disgraced failure.

To some extent, the cult of nihilism, to use Silone's phrase again, has spread to the West. More than a few Americans and Europeans will agree with the Soviet elite that Shcharansky is indeed a human failure. Still others will claim that Shcharansky is no concern of theirs, that his case is no more novel or significant than the cases of common criminals who populate the prisons of the West.

But even as we admit that many people have lost their sense of duty to their fellow human beings, we must also realize that a strong sense of decency continues to survive, enough so that in fact the crys for justice and compassion are still heard. Despite the powerful influence in the West of what Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has called "soulless and smooth legalism" and "the current of materialism," a man like Shcharansky can still inspire and can still move people to action. In a way, then, we must be thankful for the Shcharanskys, for the Orlovs, for the Slepaks, and for the Sakharovs of this world. For in suffering untold indignities at the hands of their jailers, they unselfishly give something precious to the West—they give us a warning about the incredible inhumanity of totalitarianism, and they give us reassurance that the human person cannot be crushed by force. Imprisonment, yes; annihilation of the spirit, never.

For me, Shcharansky has special significance, even though I have never seen or met the man. From what I understand of his life, he seems to have recognized early on in his struggle, something which the American civil rights movement came to understand: the interrelatedness of all oppressed groups and the inherent solidarity of the minorities, the dispossessed, and the weak of this world.

A. Philip Randolph was the most lucid and most brilliant spokesman for this viewpoint. He lived it passionately. He was concerned about people like Shcharansky, and even in his last years, he took a lively interest in ending the captivity of Soviet Jewry.

In line with Mr. Randolph's tradition, American blacks and trade unionists understand clearly that the imprisonment of Shcharansky and other Soviet dissidents is not an issue to be left to foreigners or diplomats. Quite the contrary, black people and workers in America realize that Shcharansky is a civil rights issue and a labor issue. We have learned that America is not an island; we have learned that moral responsibility has no borders.

Shcharansky will not be forgotten, because we can never abandon a brother, even a brother we have never seen.

*Bayard Rustin Says:*

# Growing Soviet Intervention Poses Major Threat to Africa

**THE SOVIET UNION** is up to something new and dangerous in Africa. It is adopting a belligerent and aggressive policy that threatens the independence and development of Africa.

A recent report by the Library of Congress called attention to unprecedented Soviet involvement in Angola. After having won its independence from Portugal, Angola is increasingly falling under the influence of the Russians. Their influence is neither indirect nor subtle. In fact, it is so direct and pervasive that it is nothing less than neo-colonialism.

**There are 25,000 Cubans in Angola, which is close to 10 percent of the Cuban army and more than were present during the height of the Angolan civil war. In addition, there are as many as 2,000 East Germans. The Soviet secret police have established effective control over the important departments of information and security.**

Angola is not an isolated case. Cuba, which does the Soviets' dirty work in Africa, has troops in six other African countries and possibly in three or four more. In Sierra Leone, the Cubans are training an internal security unit. They are also active in Equatorial Guinea, where President Macias has established one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the world. About one-fourth of that country's original inhabitants have fled into exile. Fifty thousand people have been killed without trial or charges and Macias has reportedly introduced a system of slavery. A Cuban military mission recently visited Uganda. The Soviet Union is already helping to keep Idi Amin in power by supplying him with at least 50 MIGs and other weapons.

The Soviet Union has built naval and air bases in Somalia and through generous military aid has won over the military junta in neighboring, strife-torn Ethiopia.

Soviet actions are destructive to moderate African regimes and dangerous to Africa itself. Their aid to Uganda, Ethiopia, and Somalia appears to be part of a long-term strategy against Kenya, which has the smallest army in the region because it has invested its resources in education and development rather than in arms.

The recent invasion of the mineral-rich Shaba province of Zaire could not have taken place without the support of the Angolans and Cubans, who supplied arms and training to the rebels and planned the attack. If the national integrity of Zaire is undermined, the whole continent of Africa could be wracked by separatist conflicts.

The Soviet Union and Cuba have little interest in a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa. Their goal is to increase their own power by frustrating the American effort to negotiate a settlement. They are actively encouraging a military solution, regardless of the cost to black Africans. Because of the superior training and fire power of the whites, it is estimated that the violent liberation of Rhodesia and Southwest Africa would cost from ten to twenty black lives for every white one. Moreover, if white minority rule in Rhodesia is ended by military force, there is a great danger that a civil war will break out between the rival black nationalist factions. But this does not disturb the Soviet Union. In fact, they would welcome such a development, because it would provide them with the opportunity to establish control over the winning side.

**UNLIKE THE LEADERS** of black Africa, the Russians aren't particularly interested in seeing black Rhodesians with majority rule by their own efforts. They hope that in a "war of liberation," the nationalists will be compelled to ask for "assistance" from the Cubans. Thus, Angola will be repeated in Rhodesia.

The manner in which majority rule is established in Rhodesia will determine the future course of South Africa. If it is by war, there will be increased repression of the 18 million blacks in South Africa.

**The worst impact of increased Soviet influence in Africa is on the people themselves. Without exception, the growing number of African states which have declared themselves to be Marxist-Leninist, including Angola, Mozambique, Benin, and Ethiopia, are brutally repressive and dictatorial regimes. They run roughshod over traditional ethnic and social interests. Any attempt to impose a political system on African countries which does not recognize the force of tribalism can only result in severe repression. Communism is alien to Africa; it will do nothing to improve the lives of average Africans.**

It is not surprising that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and other African leaders are becoming increasingly concerned about the growing Soviet intervention in Africa. Americans should recognize that the Soviet Union is a threat to the future progress of Africa.

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# STATEMENT OF BAYARD RUSTIN ON SOVIET JEWRY--June 29, 1971

When I am asked why I, as a black American, speak out against the oppression of Soviet Jewry, my reply is that as a black person, how can I not speak out, how can I not be sensitive to the oppression of a national minority.

What was slavery in the United States if not a form of cultural genocide in which our history, our language, our identity were brutally stamped out? We can understand the meaning of the spiritual death that accompanies such oppression, and we can appreciate the overwhelming power of the rebirth of the spirit that is part of the struggle against oppression. Black Americans, therefore, ought to be the first to be concerned with the effort of the Soviet Union to destroy the identity of Soviet Jews and to crush their struggle for freedom.

Just as the white abolitionists fought for the liberation of black slaves, people in the United States, Jewish and non-Jewish, white and black,must fight for the liberation of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The issue is not black or white, Jew or gentile, but man's responsibility to fight injustice. Our efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry will not detract from the struggle for racial equality in American but will make it more compelling by gracing it with a universal dimension.

# JEWS and ANTI-SEMITISM

Jewish Digest Rustin Article
11, 1968

# The Roots of Negro anti-Semitism

By BAYARD RUSTIN

## A NEGRO LEADER ANALYZES THE HATE-LOVE SYNDROME IN THE GHETTO

*Condensed from THE ADL BULLETIN*

Mr. Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, is one of the ablest analysts of Negro problems. This article is condensed from Mr. Rustin's address before the 1968 annual meeting of the Anti-Defamation League Commission.

I AM NOT ONE who goes about apologizing for or explaining away Negro anti-Semitism. It is here, it is dangerous, it must be rooted out. We cannot say it is somehow different or not really important. We cannot sweep it under the rug. What we can and had better do is to understand it if we are in fact to deal with it.

The first thing about those who are frustrated is that their frustration causes them to adopt a psychology, an economics, and a sociology which are frustrated. It goes like this. The United States is no longer viable. All institutions must be destroyed and new ones established. Negroes are never going to get their rights.

Secondly, if the society is not viable, then no program needs to be projected because to project a program is to fool the masses of Negroes. Thirdly, if the nation is not viable, and no program is needed, then all those people who have worked over the years for civil rights, and are still working for integration in this society, become the enemy. Not the Ku Klux Klan, not the John Birch Society, but those closest to you.

This is what Jews need to understand: that in the list of whom you attack, those you love come first. You attack those you love first. You attack those you expected something from. You attack those who have in fact carried the banner. So before Martin Luther King's death, King and his non-violence were the first enemy of Negro extremists precisely because he had done the most. The argument went that if after all the bloodshed, the bombings, the tear-gassing, the water-hosing and the dogs, King could not produce real victories, then he had fooled his

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people, he had exposed them to useless sacrifice. After his death, of course, a new situation was created. Now they had the opportunity to shift gears, to say that the greatest Negro was killed by a white. But when King was alive, it was a different story.

Next in the list of enemies of the frustrated come Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph. They are now the traitors to the cause.

Listed, too, are the liberal community which has fought side by side with us and the Jews who made greater contributions than anybody else in the liberal community. Because of his reverse hate-affection syndrome, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, the liberals, the Jews, the labor leaders who lifted almost two million Negroes out of the *lumpenproletariat* into the working classes, are all bastards now.

The point is that if Jews are under attack by the extreme left in the Negro community, they are in the same basket with Negro leaders and even the most progressive political leadership. Jews are not likely to feel better simply because others are also under attack, nevertheless there ought to be an understanding of what the problem really is.

In the anatomy of frustration, the long-time leadership is rejected. The tactics of the frustrated, or the anatomy of frustration, are that the only thing left to do, since the society is not viable and program is unrealistic, is to give everybody hell, to denounce everybody and to call for revolt.

Consider the question of the Jew in the ghetto. If you happen to be an uneducated, poorly trained Negro living in the ghetto, and particularly if you live by your wits selling numbers, selling dope, engaging in prostitution, then you only see four kinds of white people. One is the policeman, the second is the businessman, the third is the teacher and the fourth is the welfare worker. In many cities, three of those four are predominantly Jewish. Except for the policeman, the majority of the businessmen, the majority of the teachers, the majority of the welfare workers are Jewish. Here again is the hate-love syndrome.

Ninety percent of the crime that Negroes commit is against other Negroes in the ghetto. Negroes, therefore, both hate and depend on policemen. To have to depend on someone you dislike and who often brutalizes you is ghastly.

Then comes the businessman. Many ghetto Negroes know nothing about capitalization. The fact is, if you walk up 125th Street you will see what they say you will see — a television set that sells in department stores for $79.50 costs $132 in Harlem. But the ghetto dweller does not calculate that the department store is able to sell the TV set at $79.50 because he has made a considerable down payment and is required to finish payments within one year; while in the ghetto he is often given, with no down payment, three or four years in which to pay. He often does not understand that as the length of time for payment is increased the interest is increased. He does not alway understand that only such long-term capitalization makes it possible for him to have a TV set at all.

Many people are kept alive for three and four weeks at a time by local businessmen who let them pile up the debt until they hit the numbers and can pay for what they bought. But if you hit the numbers once in a year and have to give most of the money to the groceryman for things you have already eaten, when there are still more things you need, you hate him for taking your money even though you know it belongs to him.

Next comes the teacher. She's Jewish. In the ghetto one does not analyze that the Board of Education and the whole system is corrupt, that no matter how much that teacher wants to teach she cannot teach in those conditions. One does not bother to analyze that it is not the teacher's fault that the child had no breakfast, and may not have lunch, that he may have to go to the poolroom to bum money for potato chips and an orange soda and that may be all he eats that day. How can you teach that child? How can you teach children when you have forty in a class and two disruptive children who need psychiatric care? To the ghetto mother, there is the teacher and she is Jewish. And she doesn't think the Jewish teacher cares whether her child gets to learn or not.

Then you come to the welfare worker. If you know anything about welfare you know that spying is part of the system. To sneak around on weekends to find out if there are men's shoes or pants hanging in the closets, whether a man has been in the house for the weekend, is part of the job. One method by which the relief rolls are decreased is on the basis of finding a man in the house.

We must get at these problems not on the basis of urging people merely to change their attitudes or of misinterpreting the Kerner Report on civil disorders. That report didn't say that Americans are racist. What the Kerner Report really was saying was that the *institutions* of America brutalize not only the Negro but also whites who are not racists, and who in many communities have to use racist institutions. When it's put on that basis, we know that the fundamental problem is not sitting around examining our innards, but getting out and fighting for institutional change.

I am all in favor of Jewish businessmen doing what they can to find a job here and there for the Negro. But if the choice were between putting energy into finding a job here or there for a Negro as against putting the weight of the affluent Jewish businessman behind fundamental social change in which the government becomes the employer of first and last resorts for the hard-core poor, then I would propose the latter choice. The problem is that neither individuals nor the private sector of the economy have, or can take, the responsibility for full employment in American society. This is the responsibility of all segments of the society and thus, the government.

I am all for private enterprise doing what it can, but there are extreme limitations. For example, we need a national land-use policy. We're not going to find homes for the poor until we have a national land-use policy, as well as a national migration policy. There is all the talk about urban crisis, while in Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama, Negroes are being run off the farms and being forced into Chicago, St. Louis and New York. We will never catch up so long as the present farm policy continues to drive them into the cities. The more of them that we find homes for, the more come in. For those who don't take the trouble to find out, that is how the ghettos grow larger, with more frustration and more despair.

Here are some of the things we are going to have to do in order to deal with white fear and Negro frustration. We're going to have to have a $2 minimum wage in this country. And if there are small businessmen frightened by that, let me reassure them that I am for government subsidization of those who cannot afford to pay just as the government subsidizes millionaire railway men and millionaire farmers with price supports. Why not the small businessman if he can't afford to pay?

We are going to have to have public works to put these people back to work and to do it without a lot of talk about pre-training. These people don't have to be pre-trained. All they need to know is that there is a job. In World War II we did not ask whether people were too black, or too old, or too young, or too stupid. We simply said to them this is a hammer, this is a tool, this is a drill. We built factories and sent these people into the factories. We paid them extraordinarily good wages and in two months they created the miracle of making planes that flew. We can find a peacetime method for doing this. And the method is in public works — for all the schools, all the hospitals, all the psychiatric clinics, all the new modes of transportation, of cleaning the air, of cleaning the rivers. All of these improvements could benefit not only the poor but also the affluent. Furthermore, for those who cannot work because they are too old, too young, too sick, or who are female heads of large families, we must have guaranteed income. In addition, we must have free medical care and we must pay a salary to those capable of going through school. Beyond this we must see that the ghettos with their high density of people per room cannot be improved. We must create new towns and destroy the ghetto, providing work through construction and human services to humans. Nothing short of this will be effective.

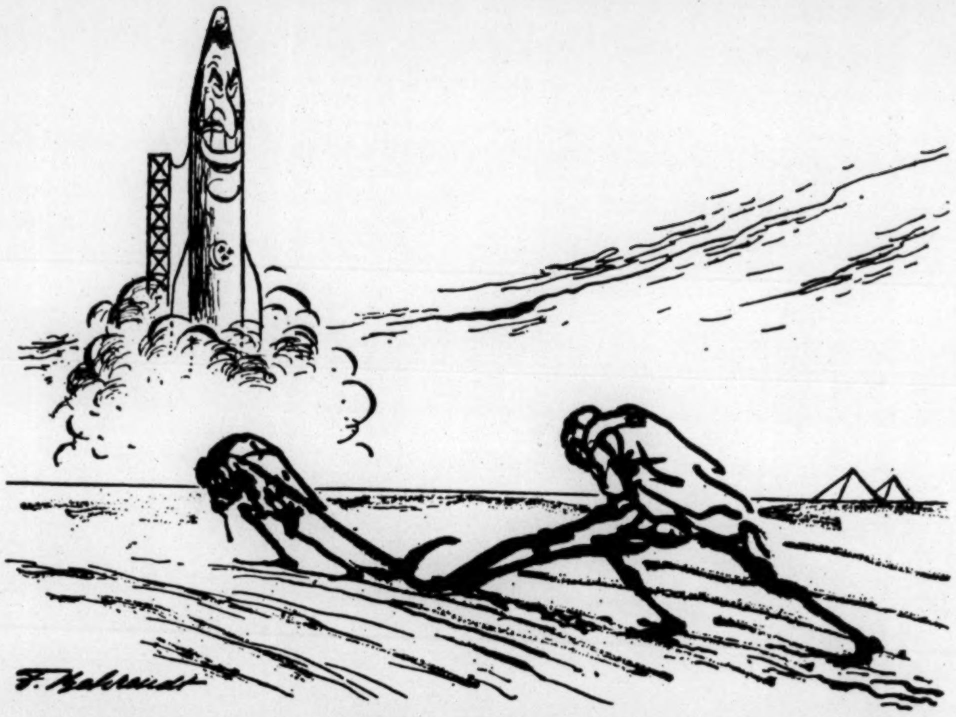
These programs will cost us $18.5 billion a year beyond the present level of expenditure and that money can come from the Gross National Product. These people are not going to sit on the money when they get it. They're going to act like Americans. They're going to go out and buy all the junk that is advertised, thereby raising the GNP, raising the economic production and growth of the country, and fundamentally adding to the economic stability of the nation.

The way things are now, we are twice damned. We are paying $15 billion a year for the support and misdeeds of those who cannot find work and end up in prison or on welfare. If they are provided with work and improve the economy, then we have additional growth plus the $15 billion we are now paying for keeping them on welfare and in jail.

For the things which must be done, I request the understanding, the cooperation, and the aid of Jews. I do so knowing that there is Negro anti-Semitism and knowing how Jews must feel when they hear some Negro extremists talk. To hear these young Negroes spouting material directly from *Mein Kampf* must bring up terrible memories, shocking inner turmoil. But in times of confusion, I recommend to Jews what I do for myself in times of confusion. I go back and read the Jewish prophets, fundamentally Isaiah and Jeremiah. And I want you to know that if every Jew in the United States — not just a small minority of extremists — called me a black nigger and said we don't need you to speak out against anti-Semitism in Poland, we can handle it ourselves. I would not stop speaking out against anti-Semitism in Poland, I would continue to speak because I could do no other, because Isaiah and Jeremiah have taught me to be against injustice wherever it is, and first of all in myself.

There is a moral problem in abandoning the fight against injustice merely because less than two percent of the Negroes in this country are engaging in anti-Semitism. It is a problem which Isaiah and Jeremiah would be the first to point out — and it may even be a dirty cop out for those Jews who have other reasons for wanting to abandon the struggle. I urge Jews to be aware of that and at the same time to remember that the issue never was, and never can be, simply a problem of Jew and gentile or black and white. The problem is man's inhumanity to man and must be fought from that basic principle regardless of race or creed.

Jews ought not to fall into a trap. I hope that the Jewish people, who have been among the staunchest liberal forces in this society, will continue to be a part of the coalition of forces necessary to meet this challenge. ✡



"What do you mean, underdeveloped? We already have rockets."—Haagse Post, Haag

# challenge to young Americans

### BY BAYARD RUSTIN

Last June 28, an advertisement appeared in *The New York Times* under the heading, "An Appeal by Black Americans for United States Support to Israel." The ad was sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Institute and was signed by over 60 of the most prominent black leaders in the country. It urged the US government to guarantee Israel's right to exist as a nation and to help bring the Israelis and Arabs to the conference table to "work out among themselves a just and negotiated settlement."

The ad came as a surprise to many Americans, both Jewish and non-Jewish, who had become convinced from the highly publicized words of a vocal minority that the majority of black Americans were opposed to Israel's existence. But the ad proved that the very contrary is true since it was signed by the most representative leaders of the black community.

## EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY

Why did these black leaders sign the ad? Not out of a sense of national solidarity with the people of Israel, a feeling which naturally motivates many American Jews. They did so, as the ad declared, "for the same reasons that we have struggled for freedom and equality in America." The ad, in other words, was an expression of solidarity with the progressive ideals and values which a nation like Israel represents. Since it voices so well my own feelings about Israel and about the Middle East crisis, I shall quote some of its message:

> *While we are aware that Israel, like any other nation, has its shortcomings, it is by far the most democratic country in the Middle East. . . . In contrast, countries like Iraq, Syria, and Egypt are dictatorial one-party states where the press and the courts are rigorously controlled and non-Moslem minorities are severely persecuted. Moreover, Israel has made tremendous strides toward achieving an equalitarian economic order. Its sophisticated system of educational, health, and welfare services is more advanced even than in our own country and has enhanced the quality of life for Arab as well as Jewish Israelis. The incidence of poverty in the Arab countries, on the other hand, remains appalling. The income from oil has been used to sustain wealthy sheikdoms — and often terrorist organizations as well — but rarely to alleviate the suffering of the poor.*
>
> *We are deeply concerned about the plight of impoverished Arabs, particularly those who have been made refugees as a result of the three Arab-Israeli wars. But we do not feel that the continuation of the conflict serves the real interests of these people. . . .*
>
> *Some Americans, including a small minority of blacks, have expressed the feeling that the Middle East conflict is fundamentally a racial conflict between nonwhite Arabs and white Israelis. We think that this point of view is not only uninformed but dangerously misleading. It ignores the fact that approximately half the Jewish Israeli population consists of immigrants from Asia and Africa. And it also implies that there is an inherent solidarity of nonwhite people. This notion should have been laid to rest not only by the tragic Nigerian civil war, but also by the continuing brutal persecution of black Africans by the Sudanese government which, it must be emphasized, is militarily allied with and assisted by the Egyptian government. . . . Israel, with its impressive program of foreign technical aid, has contributed far more than any of its Arab enemies to the development of black African nations.*

## EXPLODING MYTHS

It should be clear from these excerpts that the purpose of the ad was not only to urge US support for Israel in a time of grave crisis; it was also to explode the myths about Israel which are being circulated by some people in the black community — myths which try to show that the Arab-Israeli conflict is a black-white

## about the author

*Bayard Rustin is one of the nation's most thoughtful and articulate spokesmen on behalf of democratic social change and integration. He is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York.*

encounter, or that the Arab nations are leading a left-wing assault on imperialism and colonialism.

Such views have also gained some popularity among white youths who have been attracted to the New Left. Looking at the world through ideological blinders, these youths (a good many of whom are Jewish) think that they are furthering "the revolution" by supporting the Arab cause. The Palestinian guerrillas have, in fact, become culture heroes to these disaffected young Americans.

Their romantic fascination with guerrilla bands roving the countryside is not the result of a political analysis of the Middle East situation. It derives, rather, mostly from their boredom with their middleclass lives here at home. In the minds of these young people, the Palestinian guerrilla is striking a blow not only against Israel but also against their parents and the affluent environment from which they come. If these young people were only willing to examine their position closely, they would find that they are on the same side as the wealthy oil interests which are the real imperialist forces in the Middle East. One can hardly call this a radical position.

### OBJECTIVE THINKING

One should not, therefore, form an opinion about the Arab-Israeli conflict through slogans. What is required is objective political analysis, something in which the New Left, to its great detriment, has not shown much interest. Looking at the Middle East situation from this perspective, the Arab governments appear as proto-fascist dictatorships using radical rhetoric only for purposes of image-building, while Israel is a progressive, democratic country and, in my view, one of the most socialist societies in the world. Russia and some of the Arab countries may talk about socialism, but Israel is making socialism a reality.

### NEEDED: A REVOLUTION

I will be the last person to deny that a revolution is required in the Middle East. But it is not a revolution that will involve the destruction of Israel; rather, it would be aimed at the overthrow of the conservative and oil-rich Arab governments which have done little or nothing to liberate their people from poverty and misery. One of the reasons why these governments are constantly whipping up popular fervor against Israel, in fact, is to divert the attention of the Arab people from their suffering. Karl Marx once said that religion is the opiate of the masses. In the Middle East, Israel is the opiate of the Arabs. What is preventing the social transformation of the Middle East is not Israel, but the Arab preoccupation with Israel's destruction, to the exclusion of all other social and economic concerns.

An Appeal by
BLACK AMERICANS
For United States
SUPPORT to ISRAEL

**Ad in** The New York Times, **June 28, 1970. Among the signers were Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Jackie Robinson, Whitney Young, Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher, the mayors of Cleveland and Gary, and 8 of the 9 black congressmen.**

### PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

I think it is essential that young Americans who are committed to social justice begin to organize to educate their peers about the Middle East crisis. They should do this to counter New Left distortions and, equally important, to build a youth movement that is dedicated to the ideals embodied by a country like Israel. Such a movement would have a beneficial effect upon our own country as well as on the Middle East situation. The emergence of a strong movement of young people who repudiate terrorism and are willing to struggle democratically for social justice would immensely improve our political climate.

There are already signs that such a movement is taking shape. One organization, the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East, is composed of young liberals and democratic radicals who are trying to educate high school and campus youth about the Middle East, particularly with regard to the progressive nature of Israel. The organization is made up of both Jewish and non-Jewish young people who are united by a common belief in democratic principles and a commitment to building a just world. They are courageously standing up on campus against bitter opposition from the New Left and Arab students.

Young people should not only join the Youth Committee, but they should also set up chapters at their schools and begin to circulate the committee's literature and sponsor speakers who can clarify the complex issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict. (The Youth Committee is located at 112 E. 19th St., Room 1105, NYC 10003.)

As black leaders who signed the statement of support for Israel pointed out, the Middle East conflict involves more than the Israelis and the Arabs since it poses a threat to world peace. A youth movement in America dedicated to the just and peaceful settlement of that conflict would thus be making a great contribution to building a world in which violence and man's inhumanity to man will be things of the past.

**African students learning soil chemistry in agricultural research center, Rehovot, as part of Israel's aid to developing nations.**

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, N.Y. File: 11 Rustin

To: 15

JEWISH PRESS

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# Rustin Scores Black Resolution

NEW YORK (JTA)—A major Black civil rights leader believes that Israel's survival is important to Blacks because Israel is a democracy and "all minorities, including our own, need democracy in order to attain economic, political and social justice." Those sentiments were expressed by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philips Randolph Institute, in an article in the New York Amsterdam News, an influential Black newspaper.

Rustin scored a resolution calling for the dismantling of Israel, passed by voice vote in the closing minutes of the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana on March 12. "It sould be emphasized that its contents did not reflect the thinking of the majority of delegates to say nothing of the majority of Black people in this country," he wrote. "It was passed because of the concerted efforts of a small group of nationalists who took advantage of a confused and disorganized convention floor to muffle the voice of saner minds."

Rustin devoted his article to clearing up "misrepresentations and distortions" about Israel "which enabled the conference of Black people to even consider' 'a proposal to dismantle Israel. "The oft-repeated myth is that Israel is the enemy of Black Africa," Rustin wrote. 'Historically, Black nations were exploited not by Hebraic peoples but by the Moslem kingdoms that plundered the continent's wealth and enslaved and murdered its inhabitants well in advance of the European colonial expeditions. Nor have racial and religious hostilities between Moslems and Black Africa disappeared with the passing years."

Rustin referred to the recent civil strife in the Sudan where "hundreds of thousands of Black Sudanese were slain and several hundred thousand others displaced or forced into exile" by the Moslem majority. "Israel, in contrast, has established ambitious programs of cooperation with and assistance to Asian and African nations" Rustin wrote.

He also attacked the "widespread misconception" that racial and religious minorities enjoy equal status in Arab nations while an Arab minority is persecuted in Israel." Noting the persecution of Copts in Egypt, of Kurds in Syria and Iraq and of Palestinians in Jordan, Rustin observed: "While the conditions of the Arab minority in Israel are not ideal, they in fact enjoy a measurably higher standard of living than the people of Arab nations. They are permitted to vote, participate equally in a free labor movement and in fact enjoy more freedom than do Arabs in Arab lands."

Finally, Rustin stated, "We must consider the fundamental issue of democracy. In the Middle East, Israel is a democratic society in a sea of feudal sheikdoms and military dictatorships . . . Rather than calling for the dismantling of Israel, Black people all over the world should take an active interest in Israel's survival."

# Black Links to Israel

Rustin column
Amsterdam News
and 25 black and
12 union papers

3/29/72

By Bayard Rustin
*Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute*

How should black Americans view Israel? Is she, as some nationalists assert, an uninvited imperialist threatening African solidarity? And do her minorities suffer discrimination in law and custom similar to those with which Negroes here are so familiar?

Black people have in recent years been subjected to serious, often unanswered myth-making concerning Israel and her relationship with Arab and African neighbors. Unfortunately, a number of these myths were translated into an ill-conceived resolution to "dismantle" Israel adopted at the recent black political convention in Gary. By "dismantle" we assume that the resolution's sponsors would dissolve Israel as a nation and partition her territory and people among the surrounding states.

Before discussing the issues raised by the resolution, it should be emphasized that its contents did not reflect the thinking of the majority of delegates, to say nothing of the majority of black people in this country. It was passed because of the concerted efforts of a small group of nationalists who took advantage of a confused and disorganized convention floor to muffle the voices of saner minds. Subsequent to the convention a number of responsible black leaders, such as Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, and the Congressional Black Caucus, repudiated the anti-Israel resolution.

But the issue here is not an essentially meaningless convention document but the misrepresentations and distortions which enabled a conference of black people to even consider such a proposal.

One oft-repeated myth is that Israel is the enemy of black Africa. Historically, black nations were exploited, not by Hebraic peoples, but by the Moslem kingdoms that plundered the continent's wealth and enslaved and murdered its inhabitants well in advance of the European colonial expeditions. Nor have the racial and religious hostilities between Moslem and black Africa disappeared with the passing years. During their recent civil strife with a Moslem majority, hundreds of thousands of black Sudanese were slain and several hundred thousand others displaced or forced into exile.

Israel, in contrast, has established ambitious programs of cooperation with and assistance to Asian and African nations. Part of this help comes in the form of economic and military aid. Israel also maintains the Afro-Asian Institute, for labor and cooperatives studies, a pioneer effort to open the lines of communication and mutual aid between the peoples of Africa and Asia.

The Institute brings together young people from some 80 African and Asian nations to study trade unionism, political development and various other aspects which contribute to a healthy, integrated society. Significantly, the Institute does not deal with the minority white ruling elites such as in South Africa, nor with colonial governments as in Angola, but with the black liberation forces struggling for self determination.

Another widespread misconception is that racial and religions minorities enjoy equal status in Arab nations while an Arab minority is persecuted in Israel. In Egypt, the Copts, a Christian denomination, suffer severe persecution, as do the Kurds in Iraq and Syria. Nor have the Palestinians fared well under Hussein's government in Jordan.

While the conditions of the Arab minority in Israel are not ideal, they in fact enjoy a measurably higher standard of living than the people of Arab nations. They are permitted to vote, participate equally in a free labor movement and in fact enjoy more freedom than do Arabs in Arab lands.

There is no denying that the problems facing those Arabs displaced when Israel was formed some 25 years ago are still severe. A resolution calling for a just settlement of their plight might have been in order. This alternative, however, was never considered since the resolution sponsors were seeking not justice, but a forum for the airing of anti-Israel prejudices. And to have introduced the question of refugees would have revealed that the Arab governments, anxious to keep the refugee issue alive, have been primarily responsible for the plight of the Palestinian refugees.

Finally, we must consider the fundamental issue of democracy. In the Middle East, Israel is a democratic society in a sea of feudal sheikdoms and military dictatorships.

Moreover, blacks must know that democracy, wherever it is, must be supported, because all minorities, including our own, need democracy in order to attain economic, political and social justice. Thus, rather than calling for the dismantling of Israel, black people all over the world should take an active interest in securing Israel's survival.

**BAYARD RUSTIN**

# The PLO: Freedom Fighters Or Terrorists?

One of the most distressing reflections of the unhappy state of world politics is the ease with which words can be perverted, stripped of significance, and made to mean their opposite.

Acts of murder and terrorism are transformed into gestures of "liberation." Hijacking and the slaughter of innocent children are carried out in the name of "peace." The word "racism," once so meaningful to the oppressed of the world, has lost all objective value as it is as often applied to democratic, interracial societies as to those which practice the most extreme forms of apartheird.

The distortion of language is, however, but a symbol of a fundamental surrendering of political and humanitarian principles, typified most dramatically by the warm reception accorded Mr. Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Liberation Organization by the United Nations. For Mr. Arafat to have shot his way into the General Assembly with a machine gun, only to be greeted by an overture of applause would have been almost as ridiculous — and deplorable — as the cheers which greeted his triade of misrepresentation.

What is, after all, the "legitimate struggle" Mr. Arafat and the PLO is conducting? It is a struggle being waged with the tactics of calculated violence, where military targets are avoided, but women, children, athletes, diplomats, airline passengers — the defenseless and uninvolved — are sought and struck down.

By embracing the PLO, the U.N. has given a solemn amen to organized brutality, encouraging along the way no one knows how many other extremist organizations with a grudge against society.

It should be noted that the PLO's terrorism is practiced on dissidents within the Palestinian community as well as on Israelis and their supporters. Mr. Arafat likes to talk of the PLO goal of establishing a "democratic" state, but here again we must distinguish between a word's actual meaning and Mr. Arafat's definition. The PLO is certainly no model of democracy: no one elected Arafat to represent the Palestinians; its authority is guaranteed by the "freedom fighter's gun" to which Mr. Arafat referred at the U.N.

What, then, of the PLO's charge that Israel is a "racist" nation. This accusation has been repeated so often — Arafat made numerous references to Israeli "racism" and "colonialism" in his U.N. address — that it has achieved a measure of acceptance worldwide, and in the American black community.

The question is what do the Arabs mean by "racism?" The standard definition is the systematic oppression of an ethnic or racial minority, very often justified on the grounds that the minority is inherently less intelligent, less clean, less pure or in some way inferior to the majority.

Applying this measurement, it is apparent that some of the most blatantly "racist" regimes are in Arab lands. In Iraq, Jews were hanged in a public square, while today napalm is employed against the dissident Kurdish minority. Syria rivals Nazi Germany in its brutal treatment of its Jewish citizens, who are confined to a cramped quarter of Damascus, prevented from emigrating, and from time to time murdered with official sanction. And in the Sudan, it was non-Moslem blacks who were the target of a genocidal war in which 500,000 were killed and many thousands more forced to flee their homes.

I would not pretend that the racial situation in Israel, where some 400,000 Arabs live as citizens, is perfect. But given the enormous problems confronting her, this small nation has achieved a level of racial tolerance that is indeed remarkable. The Arabs within Israel enjoy rights and a standard of living unknown to the masses in Moslem nations. They participate politically; elect their own representatives to parliament; receive public education; and belong to Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation. They are, in other words, a part of the progressive institutions of Israel society.

I believe that the Palestinian people have the right to a homeland, to self-determination, to the resolution of their state of uncertainty. The Jewish people, historically an oppressed people, have the same right. And given the rhetoric and actions of the PLO, there can be little doubt that to accede to the demand of a bi-national state would result in the Jews of Israel being dealt with much like the Jews in Iraq and Syria.

In her brief history, Israel has forged an enviable record of social achievement. At a time when so many appear willing to accept lies as the truth, to reach dishonest conciliation with terrorists, to barter away the most basic ideals of justice and compassion, Israel more than ever deserves the support of people of good will and common decency.

May 4, 1975

# BAYARD RUSTIN ON THE PLO

By Rabbi A. James Rudin

Bayard Rustin, President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, recently condemned the United Nations for recognizing the PLO: "By embracing the PLO, the UN has given a solemn amen to organized brutality....What, then, of the PLO's charge that Israel is a 'racist' nation...it is apparent that some of the most blatantly 'racist' regimes are in Arab lands. In Iraq, Jews were hanged in a public square, while today napalm is employed against the dissident Kurdish minority. Syria rivals East Germany in its brutal treatment of its Jewish citizens, who are confined to a cramped quarter of Damascus, prevented from emigrating, and from time to time murdered with official sanction. And in the Sudan, it was non-Moslem blacks who were the target of a genocidal war in which 500,000 were killed and many thousands more forced to flee their homes.

"I would not pretend that the racial situation in Israel, where some 400,000 Arabs live as citizens, is perfect. But given the enormous problems confronting her, this small nation has achieved a level of racial tolerance that is indeed remarkable....Israel more than ever deserves the support of people of good will and common decency."

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Rabbi Rudin is Assistant Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, New York City.

# Freedom Knows No Color

**By Bayard Rustin**

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE OF INSIDE ROCHDALE NEWS)

For Mr. Amin in Uganda, I have no hatred — only hope that G-d will somehow redeem him. This man, who dared to build a hut with a door so low that one of the ministers from England literally had to crawl on his knees to get in, who sent thousands of Indians out of the country with the clothes on their backs, who named a great park in the capital of Uganda Hitler Park — this man of intense prejudice now describes the Jews as racists. One ought not let color interfere in the denunciation of such a brutal man. There are black people who have fought against prejudice in this country for 400 years, now to find the Arabs importing it into America. We have enough racism; we do not need theirs.

Let me point out to you the danger for all minority people in the world in that November 10 resolution. We all knew on the ninth of November what racism was. What these men have now done is to confuse the definition of it. Therefore, they have distorted the tactics by which we rid ourselves of it. They have most grievously harmed the black people of South Africa who are fighting against apartheid, the people in India who are fighting untouchability, every black in this country, and most of all, the Jewish people. Any future dictator no longer needs to attack Jews. He need only announce a decree against all racists, and that means Jews. Martin Luther King put it very well: he said that if anybody talks about Zionism, they really mean Jews.

However bad this all may be, there is reason for us to have faith and courage. I worked for two weeks at the U.N. before November 10, and we changed some votes. The Africans, now for the first time in the last few years, did not stand united — they split their vote, and that is important. But beyond this, look at who voted — we are not alone. We had every democratic state voting against that resolution, and the military dictators, the Communist bloc, and the confused Africans were against us. I feel very strong when I am surrounded by democrats. The others ought to feel very weak — even though they won the vote, they did not win the hearts of their own people. Every African delegate, with the exception of those who had large Muslim populations, said to me, "Mr. Rustin, we have nothing really against Israel — in fact, the Israelis were very kind to us." Two of them even said that they were at school in Israel, at that great Afro-Asian center. "But we're over a barrel..." and I said, "I know: oil." As bleak as it looks, however, their plan will not work and I predict that within eight to ten years, it will be changed. It is a long time, but you who have known 2000 years of persecution and I who have known it for 400 years can stand it.

Now let us see what else they have done by this resolution. They have made racists of all kinds of people. The only voice in the Parliament of South Africa which daily fights apartheid is that of Mrs. Sussman, a Jewish woman. This woman who fights racism is now a racist. The men who made the greatest contribution to the thought and behavior of mankind in the 19th and early 20th centuries were Marx, Freud and Einstein, who are now racists. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Amos, the men who explained for all mankind the importance of social righteousness, are now racists. Other newly-defined racists include Kivvy Kaplan, who raised $27 million for the NAACP; two of the seven people (Jews) who founded the NAACP; the two Jewish boys from New York who were murdered in Mississippi while fighting racism; and thousands of Jews who gave Martin Luther King over $3 million. What have we done to the people and to the language?

When we blacks came from Africa, our language was torn away from us and our religion was stamped out. From the day we came, we wanted freedom, and we had no book. So we picked up the Jewish Bible, and we thank you for it. Our entire fight out of slavery, against segregation and discrimination, was based on it. Of the 500 Negro spirituals, 200 of them are about the Jewish experience: "Go Down, Moses", Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho", "Little David, Play on Your Harp". Because your book defined freedom for us, there is an abiding mystical spiritual relationship between our two peoples.

# To Blacks: Condemn P.L.O. Terrorism

By Bayard Rustin

Amid the heated controversy following Andrew Young's resignation as the United States delegate to the United Nations, some black people have suddenly embraced the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As I see it, some black leaders have turned to the P.L.O. in an effort to act as conciliators between Israel and the Palestinians.

Other blacks, I believe, met the P.L.O. representatives in New York to demonstrate their independence from official United States policy.

And still others viewed such meetings as a way of striking back against Israel and the American Jewish community for their supposed involvement in engineering Mr. Young's ouster.

But regardless of motivation, I think black people must clearly understand the moral — yes, moral — issue involved here.

For in seriously considering links with a group like the P.L.O., the black community is moving beyond the realm of mundane "politics as usual."

We are moving into an area where we face three enormous risks.

First, we risk causing serious divisions within our own ranks; second, we risk the forfeiture of our own moral prestige, which is based on a long and noble tradition of nonviolence; and third, we risk becoming the unwitting accomplices of an organization committed to the bloody destruction of Israel — indeed of the Jewish people.

Some people have pointed to a few superficial parallels between the the P.L.O. and American civil rights movement. Naturally, this talk about the P.L.O. as a "civil rights" group or a minority movement within Israel has generated sympathy for the Palestinians among black people. But this identification and even solidarity with the P.L.O. is based on a terrible perversion of the truth, not only the truth about the P.L.O. but the truth about our own movement as well.

Looking back on the history of the P.L.O., one thing has become abundantly clear: The P.L.O., from the day of its creation in 1964, has never once uttered a word in support of any form of nonviolent resistance, peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians, or a political solution to the complex problems in the Middle East.

By contrast, black leaders in America, especially central figures like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, never once in the long history of the civil rights struggle countenanced violence or terrorism.

American civil rights leaders, of course, chose nonviolence for many political and tactical reasons, but Dr. King once identified the key source of the movement's strategy when he noted that the black American rejected physical force "because he believed that through physical force he could lose his soul." In short, the choice of nonviolence was based on deeply-held moral principles. It was based on a desire to build community, to unleash the creative force of love, and to protect and enhance the God-given human dignity of all people, be they friend or foe.

The P.L.O., however, espouses the opposites of all these principles.

In word but more importantly in deed it expouses violence, hatred and racism. It repeatedly scorns reconciliation. While Dr. King frequently spoke of nonviolence as "the sword that heals," the P.L.O. exalts the sword that kills.

My description of the P.L.O. here is no exaggeration. Its tactics, values and goals are candidly set forth in its national Covenant and other official documents. Its legacy of terrorism is written in innocent blood across Israel and Western Europe, and even across the Arab lands of Jordan and Lebanon.

Between 1967 and 1977, for example, the P.L.O. was directly responsible for killing over 1,100 unarmed men, women and children; its terrorist activities maimed nearly 2,500 people; and it held over 2,700 hostages. Moreover, this organization has trained and armed other terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy.

Considering this record, I fear that individuals who see similarities between our struggle and the terror campaign of the P.L.O. are ignoring or twisting the facts.

By harshly criticizing the P.L.O., I do not mean to suggest that black leaders have no business concerning themselves with Middle Eastern problems. Nor am I arguing that blacks should shun the P.L.O. so as to ingratiate themselves with American Jews. Rather, I am saying that if black Americans are to play any constructive or conciliatory role in shaping American policy in the Middle East, we must do so in a manner totally consistent with the moral and spiritual tradition of nonviolence.

We must therefore reject hasty and expedient moves; we must reject any formal or organizational relationship with the P.L.O.

Any links with the P.L.O., no matter how limited, would give legitimacy and tacit approval to the rule of the gun.

Dr. King, in his letter from the Birmingham jail, included a story to illustrate the rewards of perseverance in the nonviolent tradition. He wrote about 72-year-old black woman who walked a long distance every day during bus boycott. Frequently she was jeered by hostile whites; she was tired and physically weak, but she refused to use the buses. Someone asked her why she continued to support the nonviolent protest. Her response, I believe, will always be precious; "My feets is tired," she said, "but my soul is at rest."

By shunning and condemning the terrorism of the P.L.O., we too can be assured that our souls will be at rest, as we preserve our tradition of nonviolence.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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August 30, 1979

**A. Philip Randolph Institute**
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010

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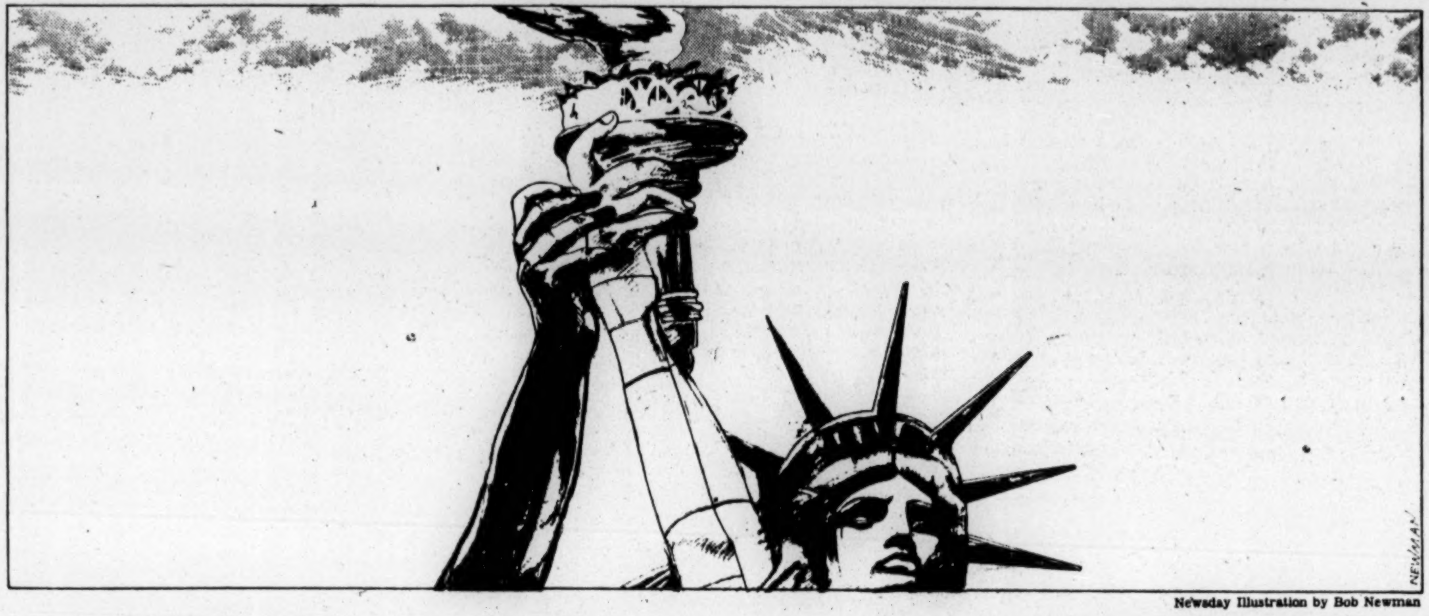
IDEAS

**books** *Norman Mailer's 'true-life novel' on Gary Gilmore, Page 24. Mysteries, Page 23. Brats, Burglars and poet Stephen Spender, 20-23.*

**Newsday/October 7, 1979**

# Blacks and Jews Still Need Each Other



Newsday Illustration by Bob Newman

**By Bayard Rustin**

> *The historic friendship of blacks and Jews has been strained by recent events. Despite this, they must move beyond common enemies to common goals in American society.*

Scarcely a day passes without some new evidence of a so-called rift between blacks and Jews. To listen to some people, one might think that all blacks have embraced the cause of Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization, while all Jews have been transformed into political conservatives who view the civil rights movement as a menancing enemy.

These exaggerated—and misinformed—assessments of the moods of both the black and Jewish communities are, of course, eminently "newsworthy."

For example, when the Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front demonstrated last August in front of the Israeli consulate to protest what he called "the Zionist racist pressure which resulted in the dismissal of Andrew Young," the picket line of 200 blacks with "Zionism equals racism" placards received prominent coverage on local TV stations and in the newspapers.

Similarly, when a few dozen Jews called the headquarters of several black organizations to announce that Jewish contributions to the civil rights cause would end, one leading New York newspaper ran a headline proclaiming: "Black rights groups losing Jewish contributions." Buried in the four-column story was a quote from Hyman Bookbinder, president of the American Jewish Committee, who disavowed any efforts to organize an economic boycott against black organizations.

By citing these two instances of "media hype" I do not mean to suggest that the conflicts between blacks and Jews are fabrications of the press. There are—and always have been—real tensions between blacks and Jews. But in the rather bitter aftermath of the Young affair, those traditional strains and disagreements have been accentuated and aggravated to the point where the common bonds between blacks and Jews have been obscured, perhaps even forgotten.

In the New York area, however, most particularly on Long Island, one shared experience, one common bond linking blacks and Jews has become all too vivid, all too much a part of daily life. That common bond is, of course, a common enemy—an enemy whose tactic is fear, whose favorite symbol is a blazing cross and whose fundamental philosophy consists of the crude dogmas of white supremacy, anti-Semitism and racism.

Each cross-burning, be it at the home of a black family in Valley Stream or a Jewish nursing home in the North Bronx, acts as a poignant reminder that blacks and Jews, after years of supposed assimilation by the great "melting pot," still have enemies who act on the twisted tenets of racist ideology. Indeed, blacks and Jews are the only groups in American society systematically targeted by the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis and other extremist sects.

While the fear and disgust generated by the KKK and similar organizations unintentionally serves as a basis for black-Jewish unity, a permanent alliance cannot be built solely on occasional joint actions against fanatics. As terrible as the Ku Klux Klan is, its acts of terror and proclamations of racist rhetoric are not, thank God, everyday occurrences.

Rather, the KKK and Nazis appear and disappear as quickly as a shooting star. In short, they are not permanent features of our society; they are not real forces in politics, except perhaps in some isolated locales.

If blacks and Jews hope to sustain a cooperative relationship, they must look beyond common enemies to common goals within the broader context of society. They must extend their cooperation to the debates and conflicts in the mainstream of American politics.

As an example of this type of black-Jewish cooperation, I point to some remarkable, but largely forgotten, features of the 1976 elections in New York.

In November of that year, Sen. James Buckley, an antiquated conservative, sought re-election as New York's representative in the U.S. Senate. During his six years in office, Buckley consistently voted

—*Continued on Page 7*

*Bayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

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Leadership

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## Blacks and Jews

—Continued from Page 1

against public job programs, food stamps and a host of other proposals potentially beneficial to poor people.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a man who was not very popular in the black community at the time, ran against Buckley as the Democratic-Liberal candidate. Moynihan, it should be remembered, won the Democratic nomination only after a bitter and closely fought contest against Bella Abzug. In the Democratic primary, a few blacks voted for Moynihan while thousands of Jewish voters enthusiastically suppported him because of his strong support for Israel.

Considering the voting trends in the primary, one might have expected that blacks would have abstained in the Buckley-Moynihan race. After all, Moynihan's margin of victory over Abzug came in large part from the Jewish districts. But when the blacks were faced with the stark choice of a socially-conservative Buckley and a potentially liberal Moynihan, blacks voted overwhelmingly for Moynihan.

Meanwhile, as blacks were holding their noses and pulling the Moynihan levers, Jews were reluctantly casting their ballots in large numbers for Jimmy Carter, the candidate favored by many blacks but opposed by many Jews.

In 1976, then, blacks voted for Moynihan not because they loved him or liked his support for Israel, but because Buckley had amassed a horrendous record. And Jews voted for Carter not because he fired them with enthusiasm, but because President Ford had equivocated on some Mideast questions and had performed rather poorly in the White House.

My point here is elementary: In New York politics, as well as in national presidential politics, black-supported candidates cannot win without Jewish votes and Jewish-supported candidates cannot win without black votes. If blacks and Jews had not voted together in 1976, it is probable that Ford would have won New York's electoral votes and that Buckley would still have his Senate seat.

To preserve the kind of working political cooperation that proved so successful four years ago, I believe blacks and Jews must do several things. To begin with, when Jews see black leaders like Jesse Jackson or Joseph Lowery embracing Yasser Arafat, they must avoid jumping to essentially racist conclusions. Jesse Jackson, while certainly a respected and popular figure in the black community, does not speak for all blacks. To think of Jackson's meeting with Arafat as a "black-PLO alliance" is, to be frank, an expression of racism.

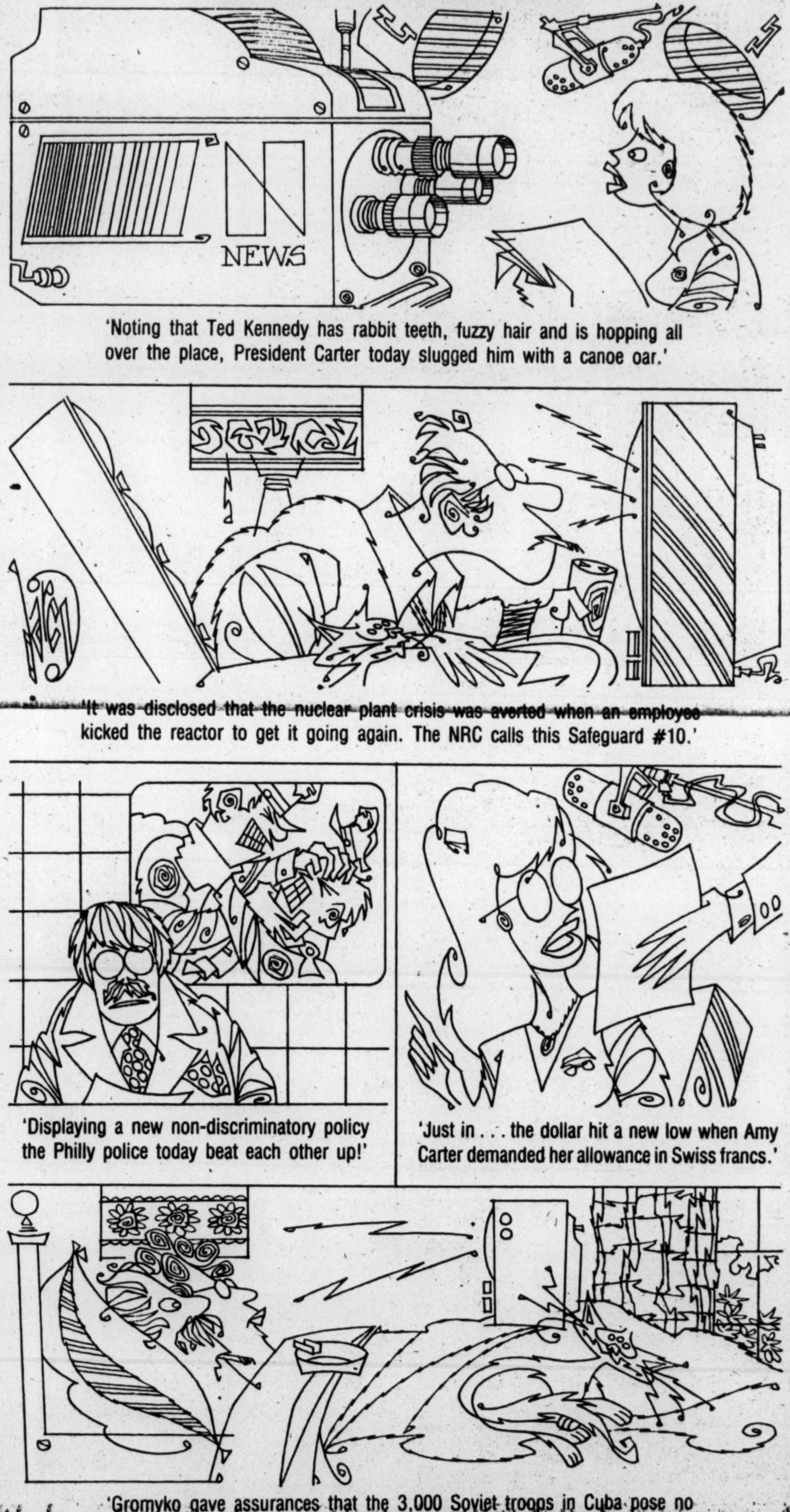
Just as Jewish people must understand the diversity of the black community, and think of blacks primarily as individual human beings rather than as a great racial monolith, black people, I believe, must develop the same attitude with regard to Jews. It is always distressing, for instance, to hear black people, even some of my friends, speak of "the Jews" as some sort of disciplined, conspiratorial mass of people with uniform ideas and uniform interests. It is high time that both blacks and Jews stopped thinking in terms of faceless groups.

Second, I believe that black people, who legitimately demand sensitivity and understanding from Jews on matters of black self-interest, must be willing to develop the same sort of sensitivity toward Jewish concerns. The fact that several prominent black leaders have attempted to establish a relationship with the PLO—the most bitter enemy of Jews today—suggests to me that the kind of sensitivity I am calling for is lacking within some black circles.

Finally, blacks and Jews must constantly emphasize the substantive interests and concerns which bind both minority groups together. An alliance based exclusively on the fear of a common enemy, namely the cross-burners and their friends, will always be somewhat shaky and dependent on the continuing idiocy of fanatics. □

## DARCY/*News in Review*

### And now for the weekend update . . .



'Noting that Ted Kennedy has rabbit teeth, fuzzy hair and is hopping all over the place, President Carter today slugged him with a canoe oar.'

'It was disclosed that the nuclear plant crisis was averted when an employee kicked the reactor to get it going again. The NRC calls this Safeguard #10.'

'Displaying a new non-discriminatory policy the Philly police today beat each other up!'

'Just in . . . the dollar hit a new low when Amy Carter demanded her allowance in Swiss francs.'

'Gromyko gave assurances that the 3,000 Soviet troops in Cuba pose no threat to America. 'They eat yogurt and are all over 103 years old.'

# Blacks and The PLO: Setting Back Peace and Civil Rights

**By Bayard Rustin**

IT IS TIME for more blacks — as well as many others — to speak out about what has become known, misleadingly, as the "black-Jewish rift."

I do not mean they should complain about the circumstances surrounding Andrew Young's resignation as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, which triggered the whole affair. A great deal has been said about that already, and it turns out that blacks have little to complain about on that score.

It is time, instead, for more blacks to question efforts by some black leaders to forge new links with the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is time to make it clear that these efforts probably won't help bring about peace in the Middle East — but rather hurt those prospects. It is time to let it be known that those efforts aren't likely to help the U.S. civil rights movement or American blacks in particular — but possibly damage them both.

Perhaps most of all, it is time to impress upon the country that the Young episode and the ensuing events are not really a "black-Jewish" issue after all but one generating far broader emotions and consequences at home and abroad.

This entire episode has been misunderstood partly because of misguided reporting by the media, because of concentration on the rhetoric of some black leaders who do not speak for all blacks. Black America is no longer monolithic, and it is a serious mistake — a racist mistake — to assume that any one or two black leaders speak for all.

In part, it also has been misunderstood because many have been eager to avoid giving even the slightest hint of offense, real or imagined, to any black leader. But such false "fairness" can only be regarded as racially patronizing and itself offensive. If Jesse Jackson or Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or anybody else cannot be criticized in a civil and intelligent manner by Jews, Catholics, journalists, other blacks, union leaders or whomever, then America has misunderstood the meaning of racial equality, indeed of democratic politics.

At the heart of most mistakes about the dispute is this false "racial" quality it has taken on, beginning with Young's resignation. Contrary to the widespread belief in the black community, racism had little or nothing to do with Young's departure. Young quit because he was caught breaching the generally accepted code of behavior for diplomats. As more facts have become known in the past few weeks, it has become evident that anyone who shouts "racism!" or blames Young's departure on Jewish pressure must be regarded at best as ill-informed.

It is, of course, easy to understand the depth of black anger over the Young affair. As the Carter administration's most visible "reward" for black support, the Young appointment carried immense symbolic importance. For many blacks, his resignation under pressure seemed to signal the end of black influence in Washington. But while such a perception may be understandable, it has no basis in reality.

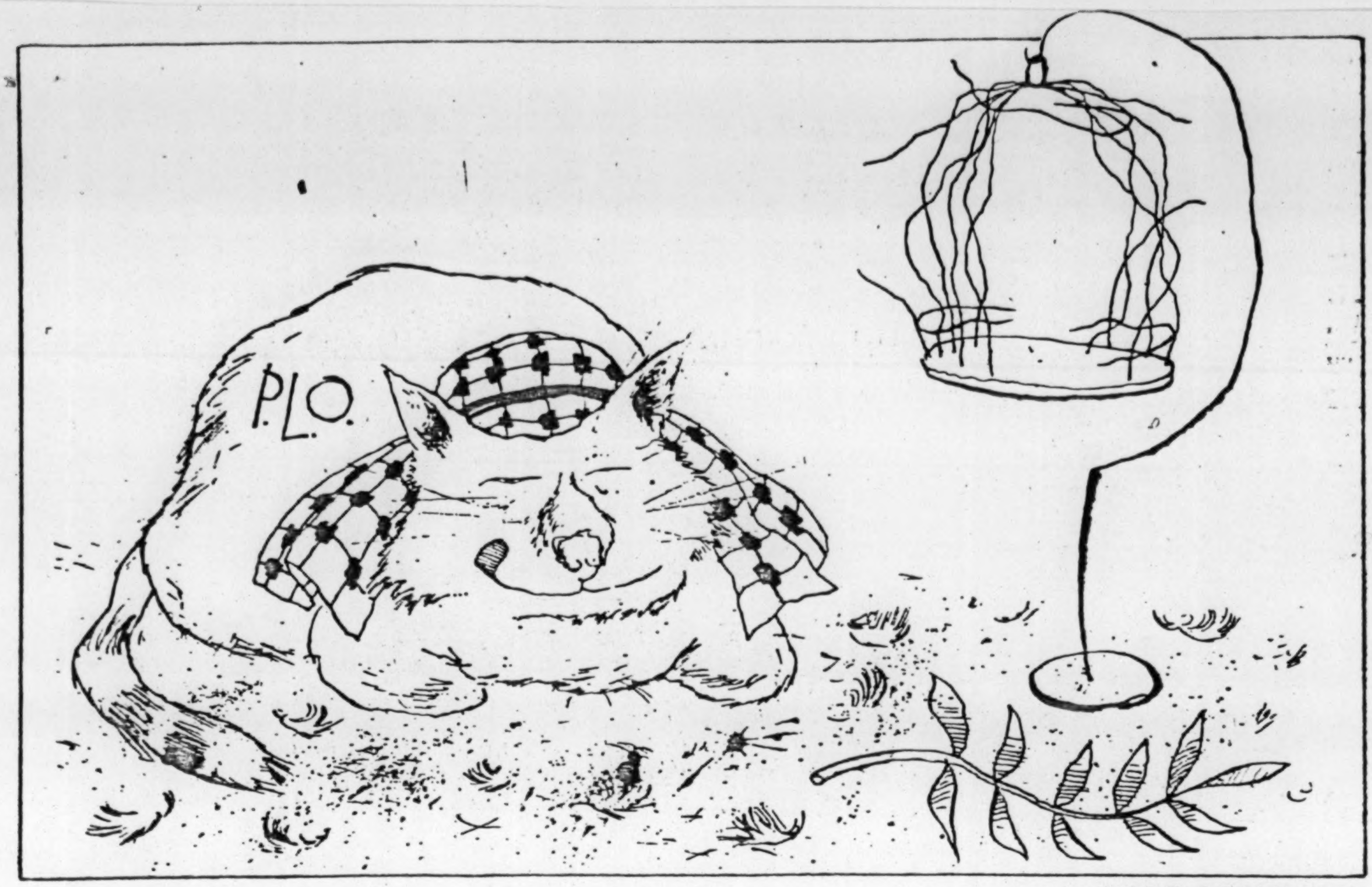
**See PLO, Page C5**

*Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was deputy director of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington and an assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He also is a member of the Black Leadership Forum and chairman of the executive committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.*

United Press International

***Jesse Jackson and Yasser Arafat.***

THE WASHINGTON POST Sunday, October 7, 1979



Auth in The Philadelphia Inquirer

# Blacks and PLO: Everybody Loses

PLO, From Page C1

Nor is there any reality to suggestions that the issue is whether blacks should be involved in foreign policy. Some black leaders reacted to criticism of their new PLO contacts by claiming themselves that Jews and other critics sought to silence the black voice in foreign affairs. But so far as I am aware, no one in the Jewish community, the State Department or anywhere else ever suggested that. The appropriateness of black leaders and organizations adopting foreign policy positions — and not just on Africa — has been so well established since Dr. Martin Luther King spoke out against the Vietnam war in the 1960s that nobody could take such a suggestion seriously if it were ever made.

This unjustified attention to racial and ethnic considerations thus has ripped the debate out of context and, among other things, needlessly polarized many in the black and Jewish communities. If one relied solely on press reports, in fact, it might be possible to conclude that, within American society, Jews are the only supporters of Israel and all of them back the more hardline factions there, while blacks all embrace Yassar Arafat and are the only proponents of moving more in the Arab direction.

### Hindering peace efforts

What has become obscured are the more far-reaching and potentially dangerous consequences of black relations with the PLO.

The principal danger is simple: The private diplomacy of some black leaders, including contacts with the Palestinian terrorists, jeapordizes the fragile peace process begun in 1977 with Egyptian President Sadat's historic meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Begin.

This process offers the best hope yet of resolving the Mideast conflict. It is a tortorously slow and delicate process, but important progress has been made. Now, however, the so-called "rejectionist" elements of the Arab world, those, led by the PLO, who would destroy the peace process, have found an unwitting ally in sections of the U.S. civil rights movement.

To listen to Jesse Jackson and some other black figures, one might think that the Camp David accords were never agreed to, that no movement toward peace has occurred anywhere in the Mideast for years. While touring the West Bank several weeks ago, for example, Jackson declared: "Someone must have the strength to break the cycle of terror and pain. America must become a partner in peace." He apparently is under the illusion that neither Sadat nor Begin, both of whom risked a great deal at Camp David, has displayed any "strength to break the cycle of terror and pain."

Jackson and SCLC president Lowery also seem to believe that the long-festering Mideast problem is rooted chiefly in some communications breakdown, or perhaps in stubborness born of human pride. Therefore, they say, they have attempted to act as mediators and peacemakers between the PLO and Isreal. Addressing worshippers at a Lutheran church in Jerusalem, Jackson said: "I shall appeal to the PLO to stop their tactics of terrorism, to recognize Israel's right and need to exist, to articulate its own goal for self-determination and a homeland and to fight for peaceful coexistence."

While Jackson's appeal to the PLO to shun violence has a genuine quality about it, it is largely meaningless. Yassar Arafat and other PLO leaders are not people who have taken to the gun with great remorse. They are not peaceful, gentle souls who might someday consider assaulting Israeli society with picket lines, choruses of "We Shall Overcome" or voter registration drives. The PLO is a terrorist movement whose tactics are little different from those of America's Ku Klux Klan, Germany's Baader-Meinhoff Gang and Italy's Red Brigades.

The PLO, moreover, is clearly a Soviet client, not an independent entity. If Arafat, as the result of moral argument, should miraculously experience a conversion and disavow terrorism, it is doubtful that the Soviet Union would allow PLO control to remain for long in the hands of a born-again pacifist. To approach the Mideast problem as a problem of "hard-heartedness," then, is at the least unproductive, no matter how well meaning.

I have little doubt that the PLO leaders are chuckling as they recall lectures on non-violent protest and hands joined to sing "We Shall Overcome." While they can hardly take Jackson's mediation efforts seriously, they do understand the enormous political benefit to be reaped from their demonstration of PLO solidarity with some American black leaders.

Sadly, the visits of some black leaders to PLO strongholds are bound to strengthen the resolve of the PLO as well as the hard-line "rejectionist" states as they resist — and, as they have stated, hope to destroy — the peace process started by Sadat and Begin. The sight of U.S. civil rights leaders chanting "We will be free, we can win, we ought to win" can only lead some Arab and PLO leaders to believe in the fantasy that a mass-based pro-PLO constituency will emerge someday in the United States. That hope alone might well help keep moderate Arab states away from the peace process.

Similarly, on the Israeli side, any indication of a growing PLO constituency in the United States, a constituency that might further tilt U.S. policy toward the PLO position, strengthens the hard-line bloc in Begin's own Likud Party. On both sides, in other words, the inflexible factions stand to gain the most from the black leaders' efforts. That is a good way to damage the peace process, not to advance it.

Some blacks, of course, has cited as their concern the suffering that might result from any new Arab oil embarago. While it is certainly true that blacks would be hurt disproportionately if Arab countries again attempted to blackmail the United States and other Western nations by cutting off their oil supplies, it is also true that the Arabs have granted few if any economic concessions to nations that support the Arab cause.

Democratic Rep. Cardiss Collins of Illinois, who chairs the Congressional Black Causus, made exactly this point last July in a speech to the Zionist Organization of Chicago.

"Investment in Africa has not been forthcoming [from Arab states]," she stated. "The oil states have failed to provide promised price breaks of preferential treatment. Indeed, many of Africa's poorest countries have been pushed towards economic disarray by the unremitting, uncompromising and unconscionable price increases imposed on rich and poor alike by oil-rpducing states."

In light of the Arab treatment of African nations — almost all of which severed their diplomatic ties with Israel — there is little reason to hope that they would have great compassion for America's blacks.

## Hurting the movement

In addition to the profound consequences in the Middle East, the actions of Jackson, Lowery and some other black leaders will, in all probability, harm the entire U.S. civil rights movement.

Already, the spectacle of leaders committed to non-violence embracing avowed terrorists has led some people — mistakenly, I believe — to question the sincerity and motives of all civil rights activists. Although those like Jackson and Lowery carefully explain that they are seeking to establish a dialogue between the PLO and Israel, their bouyant enthusiasm and warm embraces of Afarat leave many people mainly with those memories and with only vague recollections of appeals for non-violence. While these popular perceptions admittedly results from the peculiar practices of the media, those black leaders who traveled to the Mideast should have been more concerned about the inevitable damage that would be done.

Similarly, those blacks who met with PLO representatives should be prepared to respond to accusations that their trips were in fact deliberately intended as "media events." Philip Blazer, a Jewish leader who organized anti-Nazi marches in Skokie with Jesse Jackson, has already openly accused Jackson of using his Mideast voyage as a publicity stunt. "Jackson's one constituency," Blazer said, "is the media."

While I do not necessarily agree with that charge, I must admit that to many Americans — blacks and well as others — the Jackson and SCLC delegation trips do indeed appear to be calculated to produce immense visibility. Correct or not, this widespread impression is there, and it does tend to place the entire civil rights movement in a bad light. Worse, it makes the civil rights movement — or, more correctly, what is taken to be the civil rights movement by most Americans — appear to be frantically grasping for a new issue, a new rallying point, and to distract attention from other urgent issues, from full employment and energy to tax policy and cuts in social welfare funds.

Finally, the links of some blacks with the PLO threatens to undermine the liberal coalition, the political alliance of minority groups, trade unions and liberals that is responsible for almost all the advances made in civil rights and social reform. Indeed, it is already clear that some important non-Jewish coalition elements, most notably the trade unions, have been profoundly angered by black gestures to the PLO.

John Lyons, president of the Ironworkers Union and a prominent member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, made this clear late last month in an address to the Jewish Labor Committee. "I can imagine a no more disgusting sight than the beaming face of Yassar Arafat surrounded by SCLC leaders singing 'We Shall Overcome,' " Lyons said.

While stressing the democratic values that for so long have bound together the liberal coalition, Lyons also issued an unambiguous warning: "If any elements in our coalition of interests, however sincere and well-motivated, should be shortsighted enough, in the pursuit of short-term goals, to give aid and comfort to the enemies of democracy, then we have an obligation to point out to them that they are hurting all of us."

Lyons' points were later echoed in a statement by Thomas R. Donahue, executive assistant to retiring AFL-CIO president George Meany. Donahue called overtures by some blacks toward the PLO an "obscenity."

The Rev. George G. Higgins of the United States Catholic Conference, who has been in the forefront of civil rights struggles, expressed other pertinent concerns when he wrote: "To cut the black community away from its longest and strongest ally in the struggle for equality at a time of crisis is, in the long-range view, self-defeating. Before going down the road of legitimizing the use of terrorism as a political tactic, the heirs of Martin Luther King's doctrine of non-violence might well want to reflect on who, ultimately, will be the beneficiaries of a split in the black-Jewish coalition."

Self-interest, always an important and justifiable consideration, should not be the sole or even principal argument against black links with Arafat. Instead, blacks, having won their rights through nonviolence and organized pressure, should speak out against the PLO because that terrorist group continually flaunts the political power of violence and openly mocks the values and goals that American blacks have fought for and cherished.

If blacks remain silent on the PLO, they will have gone a long way toward forfeiting the enormous moral prestige won by their firm and courageous allegiance to nonviolence and democratic principles. Without this moral prestige, further economic and social progress for black people will be difficult, if not impossible, in an increasingly hostile and conservative society.

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# BAYARD RUSTIN REMARKS
# AT THE OPENING OF AN EXHIBITION
# IN MEMORY OF
# --RAPHAEL LEMKIN--
# ON THE OCCASION OF THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY
# OF THE ADOPTION OF THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION
THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1983 - 1 P.M.

Raphael Lemkin, like Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, challenged the world to rexamine the human condition following the two monstrous expressions of human violence which occurred in our century -- the use of the atomic bomb and the Holocaust.

He forced us to remember that indifference to injustice creates brutality and that to ignore the anguished cries of those who are hunted makes hunters of us all.

Like Gandhi and King, Lemkin has frequently been referred to as the "unofficial man" in tribute to his lonely persuasiveness and his continuous persistence. Like them he

-Never was elected to office
-Never served in an official capacity
-Never possessed a treasury
-Never commanded troops

and he died, like Gandhi and King, feeling himself a failure in that his vision for humanity had not been realized.

Yet "failure" is a word we might more aptly apply to the "official men" we place in charge of our affairs because 35 years after Lemkin's brainchild, The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was approved by the United Nations General Assembly, it remains unratified by the "official men and women" of the U.S. Senate.

This failure indicates the continued need for such visionaries as Gandhi, King, and Lemkin. Men who acted on the basis of their own deeply held beliefs and in their "unofficial" capacities did more to ensure the betterment of humanity and the advancement of freedom than the countless "officials" who have held high sinecures to so little effect.

The contributions of these "unofficial men" have been lasting for they have flowed out of an unselfish dedication to the betterment of the world. They continue to influence ideas which transcend any age. In Lemkin's case, his deep commitment to the Jewish concept of one God, one humanity inevitably produced in him the profoundest respect for all human personality.

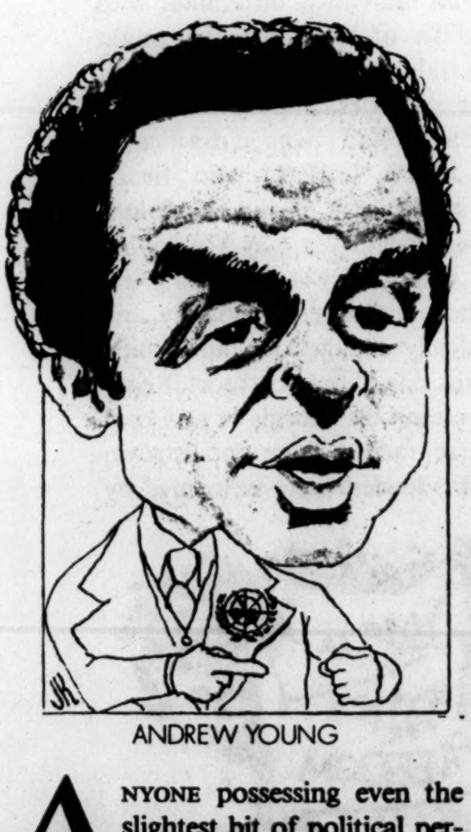
Raphael Lemkin, a man who acted alone for a great and noble cause, is still largely an unsung hero. That would not disturb him. What would disturb him is that the United States has failed to ratify his treaty.

Let us honor him by doing so.

THE New Leader
REPRINTED FROM THE ISSUE
OF SEPTEMBER 10, 1979

# ANDREW YOUNG, THE PLO AND Black-Jewish Relations

### BY BAYARD RUSTIN



ANDREW YOUNG

ANYONE possessing even the slightest bit of political perceptiveness knows full well that relations between blacks and Jews have become increasingly strained during the last 15 years. Now, in the wake of all the rather ugly rhetoric and outright foolishness following the resignation of Andrew Young as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, tensions between blacks and Jews have been further aggravated. What is perhaps worse, these tensions have been inflamed needlessly at a time when the state of both domestic and international politics is highly volatile.

To begin with, the racial aspect of the whole Young affair has been vastly overplayed. Contrary to what many blacks and journalists choose to believe, Andy Young was not a vicitm of racism on the part of the Carter Administration, the Israelis, or the American Jewish community. Young resigned because—as has been true of many other diplomats and public officials before him—he reached the point where his own personal beliefs conflicted radically with the policies of his government. The fact that the Ambassador happens to have black skin should have been an irrelevant consideration.

But when Young submitted his resignation, the cries of "foul" began immediately: We heard charges that he was sacrificed to appease American Jewish power; that the Israeli government spied on him and engineered the entire incident; that the Carter Administration was telling him what he could and could not do because he was a stupid black man incapable of acting on his own. All these claims, of course, had no substance. Yet many people eagerly and thoughtlessly accepted them as gospel truth.

That the Young affair so quickly and almost inexorably evolved into an exceptionally unpleasant black-Jewish conflict is for me a clear indication of how the divisions between the two groups have significantly widened. I say this because it seemed that some black people, including several highly respected leaders, welcomed the opportunity to vent their long repressed anger, and to press their grievances.

As initial outbursts against "Jewish arrogance" turned into warm—and unprecedented—embraces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), however, the situation also acquired new political and moral significance: The chronic yet usually civilized debates between blacks and Jews about

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**BAYARD RUSTIN**, *a past* NL *contributor, is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a member of the Black Leadership Forum.*

quotas and a number of other domestic issues gave way to a life-and-death dispute over American policy in the Middle East—for the shape and direction of that policy has a very real bearing on Israel's ability to survive as a nation. With this far-reaching change in the scope of the overall black-Jewish encounter, the stakes have been raised enormously.

To more fully understand the present situation, it is useful to examine the somewhat mercurial relationship between blacks and Jews dating back for nearly a century. Until fairly recent times, both groups had similar characteristics and problems: Both were frequently poor; both faced overt discrimination in a society dominated by white Protestants; both were more or less compelled to live in ghettos; and both had a strong interest in supporting political leaders, almost all of them Democrats, who promised an expansion of social welfare services.

In the light of these common concerns and needs, it was not surprising to find many Jews involved in the civil rights movement, especially in the '50s and '60s. Jews gave generously of their money, time and talent in the struggle against segregation. Some, like Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, actually gave their lives.

But even as Jews joined the picket lines and marches, there were blacks, especially the urban poor, who regarded them with deep distrust and hostility. In the eyes of black consumers, Jews seemed to control most of the local groceries, pharmacies, corner stores, and even the schools. Being the innocent front-line troops of the American economic system, lower-middle-class Jews frequently bore the brunt of black rage during urban riots. They were, by virtue of their presence in the black community, the easiest and most vulnerable targets.

Despite such black-Jewish confrontations at the street level, though, at the leadership level relations remained good, indeed cordial. Tensions did not start to emerge until the late '60s, when the New Deal consensus began to collapse under the weight of many unfulfilled expectations and the Democratic majority, so ably reinvigorated by Lyndon Johnson in 1964, began to splinter over the Vietnam War.

IN ADDITION, the '60s saw an astonishing growth in the influence of the New Left and other extreme political ideologies. This prompted some elements of the civil rights movement—especially younger activists—to adopt the strident slogans and ideology of black nationalism. As part of their reorientation, so-called Black Power figures began to stress what they saw as the common struggle of all the world's oppressed people. In naïvely internationalizing the struggle, black nationalists began to stress identification with any group in the world that seemed to be even vaguely Leftist or "Third World." Thus groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panthers came to support the PLO, which cleverly used the language of liberation and democracy, as well as other groups, almost all of them aligned internationally with the Soviet Union or China.

Since the flamboyant black leaders of the day received an abundance of media attention—Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Huey Newton come to mind—an individual unfamiliar with the realities of black America might understandably have concluded that the attitudes of black people and civil rights leaders had changed drastically. Many Jewish leaders, who firmly trusted men like A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, began to feel uneasy—and rightly so, since the nationalists frequently and ritualistically engaged in anti-Semitic rabble-rousing of the worst sort. Regular and strong disavowals of this kind of reverse racism from mainstream civil rights leaders were welcomed by

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Jews, but the statements did little to calm their growing fears.

As the '70s approached, blacks and Jews found themselves in honest disagreement regarding the nature of affirmative action. Whereas the two had been firmly united in opposing all forms of discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities, and had supported the advancement of equal opportunity, controversy developed when most black organizations as well as groups representing women, Hispanics and other minorities began to narrowly redefine affirmative action in terms of numerical quotas. For Jews, who had painful memories of exclusion by quotas, this new emphasis of the civil rights movement was a source of serious concern. Yet while Jewish organizations actively opposed quotas, they also continued to speak out forcefully—much more forcefully than virtually any other white group—in favor of school desegregation, open housing laws, and social and economic reforms long favored and needed by the black community.

It should be noted, too, that Jews were not alone in voicing dissent on quotas. Some blacks charge that Jewish organizations and intellectuals precipitated the Bakke and Weber cases, but nothing could be further from the truth. The Jewish attitude toward quotas mirrored the attitude of the overall white community. To single out Jews as the vanguard force opposing quotas is therefore absolute nonsense.

Moreover, although the important debate over the nature of affirmative action continues to be a source of tension, blacks and Jews have been able to "agree to disagree." In fact, this mutual accommodation has encouraged some blacks now to hope a similar arrangement can be worked out with regard to the PLO. But there are fundamental differences between the two issues. For one thing, the acceptance or rejection of quotas does not threaten the very existence of either blacks or Jews. By contrast, the legitimization of the PLO, a group that has as its principal objective the destruction of the State of Israel, could alter the precarious international balance and set in motion forces capable of eventually producing a catastrophe in the Middle East. In such circumstances, it seems to me that no one, be they black or Jewish, should consider any type of compromise on the PLO question.

UNFORTUNATELY several prominent black leaders today seem to be attempting to link the question of the PLO with other underlying black-Jewish disputes. Perhaps their strategy is to win concessions from Jews on the other issues by threatening to build a constituency for the PLO in the United States. Yet even though this approach may initially appear rather shrewd and potentially beneficial to the black people, I believe it is tactically disastrous: The arrogant demand for negotiations on what has to be a nonnegotiable item for Israel will do irreparable damage to the black community—first, by causing serious internal divisions; and second, by further weakening the liberal coalition, whose components—especially labor—will be alienated by the slightest involvement with the PLO.

Furthermore, any black relationship with the PLO, especially if it leads to the formation of a pro-PLO, pro-Arab black constituency in the United States, will become a permanent and insurmountable obstacle to the improvement of black-Jewish relations. Blacks who ignore this are, quite frankly, out of touch with the basic political realities in America, and have little or no understanding of the Jewish instinct for survival. To hope for continued cooperation and friendship in these circumstances strikes me as the height of wishful thinking.

While I fear the result of a collapse of the black-Jewish alliance, let me stress that I think the current debate about blacks and the PLO goes far beyond mere considerations of political expediency. Indeed, if blacks were to refrain from dealing with the PLO merely out of the self-serving desire to ingratiate themselves with Jews, my point would have been missed entirely. The ultimate issue, I believe, is not one of tactical wisdom, but of basic morality. For in acting as a catalyst for building support for the PLO, black leaders, no matter what their motivations, would be providing aid and comfort to an organization committed to racism, terrorism and authoritarianism.

As for the immediate question of how the severe damage done to black-Jewish relations can be repaired, in my view there is only one answer: We blacks, who legitimately demand sensitivity and understanding from Jews on matters concerning black self-interest, must be willing to develop the same sort of sensitivity and understanding about Jewish concerns. The fact that many of us are at present entertaining the notion of fostering some type of black-PLO friendship suggests to me that this necessary sensitivity is desperately lacking among blacks. In any case, we ought now to be speaking out *against* the PLO—not simply to ease black-Jewish tensions, but because having won our basic rights through nonviolence and organized pressure in a Democratic nation, we have an obligation to oppose those forces in the world, like the PLO, which flaunt the political power of the gun and openly mock the values and goals we have fought for.

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# HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD
## SPEECH TO THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
## IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOSEPH PRIZE
## DALLAS, TEXAS, OCTOBER 25, 1980

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

I AM DEEPLY MOVED BY THE GREAT HONOR YOU HAVE BESTOWED UPON ME, BECAUSE I AM PROFOUNDLY AWARE OF WHO THE PREVIOUS RECIPIENTS OF THIS AWARD HAVE BEEN. I AM LIKEWISE HONORED BECAUSE THE JOSEPH PRIZE IS GIVEN BY AN ORGANIZATION WHICH IS AN UNFLAGGING AND CONSISTENT ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY IS WELL-KNOWN THE WORLD OVER: YOU ARE MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING IN THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

### THE LINK BETWEEN BLACKS AND JEWS

BLACKS AND JEWS ARE MEMBERS OF THIS PARTY AS WELL. THEY KNOW BETTER THAN MOST OTHERS THE MEANING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED ITS DENIAL.

BLACKS AND JEWS ARE THEREFORE INEXTRICABLY LINKED IN A WORLD OFTEN HOSTILE TO THEIR INTERESTS. THEY ARE LINKED BY THEIR COMMON SUFFERING AND THEY ARE LINKED BY THEIR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM.

THOSE OF US WHO ARE OF THE PARTY OF HUMAN RIGHTS, OF THE PARTY OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM, SHARE A VISION OF A TRULY JUST SOCIETY. WE ARE MOTIVATED BY AN IDEAL OF A WORLD IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS PARTICIPATE FULLY IN ALL ASPECTS OF THEIR LIVES AND ARE ABLE TO MAKE CHOICES FREELY. WE ARE ADVOCATES OF A VISION OF SOCIETY WHICH SEEKS TO MAKE THE LIVES OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN COMPLETE.

## THE DENIAL OF RIGHTS

YET, TODAY, AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST YEAR OF THE NEW DECADE, WE ARE CONFRONTED BY THE REALITY OF A WORLD IN WHICH OUR GOAL OF DEMOCRACY SEEMS EVER MORE DISTANT. IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH OVER TWO-THIRDS OF MANKIND LIVE IN CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THEY ARE DENIED THEIR ELEMENTARY RIGHTS. FOR THE LOT OF HUMAN BEINGS, LIVING IN OUR TROUBLED TIMES, IS ONE IN WHICH CHOICE IS DENIED, SELF-EXPRESSION STIFLED, PARTICIPATION FORBIDDEN.

BUT THIS IS NOT ALL. WE LIVE IN A WORLD IN WHICH FOR MANY THE STATE IS OWNER AND EMPLOYER, EDUCATOR AND INDOCTRINATOR, COMPANY BOSS AND UNION LEADER. WE LIVE IN A WORLD IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN ARE RENDERED INCOMPLETE, IN WHICH LIMITS ARE PLACED NOT ONLY ON THE WORDS THEY CAN WRITE AND UTTER, BUT ALSO ON THE VERY IDEAS WHICH THEY DARE TO THINK.

UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES ONE MIGHT CONCLUDE THAT OUR VISION OF A WORLD MADE COMPLETE AND OF A DEMOCRACY THAT IS VITAL AND EXTENDS TO ALL SPHERES OF LIFE IS MERELY A UTOPIAN REVERIE -- A DAYDREAM FROM WHICH MOST OF THE WORLD HAS ALREADY WAKENED, TO RETURN TO ITS DRAB AND OPPRESSIVE REALITY.

## THE RELEVANCE OF DEMOCRACY

YET SUCH A PESSIMISTIC VIEW, I SUBMIT, CAN BE HELD ONLY IN THE ABSTRACT. FOR REALITY IS DAILY TEACHING US SOMETHING PROFOUNDLY DIFFERENT. IT IS TEACHING US THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC VISION, OUR COMMITMENT TO WORLD-WIDE HUMAN RIGHTS, HAS A RELEVANCE FOR THE WORLD AND IS ITS BEST AND PERHAPS ITS ONLY HOPE.

WE ARE TAUGHT BY WEI JINSHENG THAT EVEN IN THE PERMAFROST OF MAOIST OPPRESSION, IT IS POSSIBLE TO SAFEGUARD THE DEMOCRATIC DREAM. WE ARE TAUGHT BY HUBER MATOS THAT EVEN IN THE DARKNESS OF CASTRO'S PRISONS, IT IS POSSIBLE TO PROTECT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY. WE ARE TAUGHT THAT EVEN AFTER

DECADES OF RACIST OPPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA, IT IS POSSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES TO SURFACE. WE ARE TAUGHT BY ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY AND IDA NUDEL THAT DESPITE A REGIME'S ANTI-SEMITISM IT IS POSSIBLE TO DEFEND PROUDLY THE HONOR OF ONE'S PEOPLE. AND WE ARE TAUGHT, MOST DRAMATICALLY BY THE WORKERS OF POLAND, THAT LABORING MEN AND WOMEN HAVE AS PROFOUND A COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND DEMOCRACY AS WRITERS, SCHOLARS, AND SCIENTISTS.

WE SEE IN THE EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA, SOUTH KOREA, AND IN THE USSR, THAT SAME DRIVE, THAT SAME COMMITMENT WHICH ANIMATES THOSE WHO ARE PART OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS. WE SEE IN THE VLADIMIR KLEBANOVS AND THE LECH WALESAS AN UNWILLINGNESS TO LIVE LIVES WHICH ARE HALF-REALIZED, LIVES WHICH ARE INCOMPLETE. WE SEE IN THEM A DESIRE TO BROADEN THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL PEOPLE IN THE PROCESSES OF SOCIETY. WE SEE IN EACH OF THEM A COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES WHICH HAVE MOVED US IN OUR WORK HERE IN THE U.S., UNDER LESS PRECARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

MANY OF US MEET, IN OUR LIFETIME, ONE PERSON WHO AFFECTS OUR LIVES, WHO SERVES AS A TEACHER AND A FRIEND, WHO SHAPES OUR LIVES AND GIVES OUR LIVES DIRECTION. FOR ME, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH WAS SUCH A MAN. AND MR. RANDOLPH ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED THE ESSENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH HAS GUIDED MY WORK AND MY CONDUCT OVER THE YEARS. MR. RANDOLPH SAID: "SALVATION FOR A RACE, NATION OR CLASS MUST COME FROM WITHIN. FREEDOM IS NEVER GRANTED: IT IS WON. JUSTICE IS NEVER GIVEN: IT IS EXACTED. FREEDOM AND JUSTICE MUST BE STRUGGLED FOR BY THE OPPRESSED OF ALL LANDS AND RACES, AND THE STRUGGLE MUST BE CONTINUOUS, FOR FREEDOM IS NEVER A FINAL ACT, BUT A CONTINUING, EVOLVING PROCESS TO HIGHER AND HIGHER LEVELS OF HUMAN, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS."

THERE IS A CERTAIN KIND OF RESTLESSNESS IN THAT VISION. AND I CONFESS THAT EVEN IN MY SEVENTIETH YEAR I REMAIN RESTLESS AND IMPATIENT WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE AND WITH THE SLOW PACE OF PROGRESS. BUT THIS RESTLESSNESS IS SOMETHING I FIND AMONG ALL THOSE WHO ARE DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY, WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

THERE IS A SPIRITUAL KINSHIP BETWEEN MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, ANDREI SAKHAROV, AND JACOBO TIMERMAN. THE EXAMPLE OF THEIR LIVES IS ONE OF A CERTAIN KIND OF RESTLESSNESS, AND THE UNWILLINGNESS TO REMAIN SILENT ABOUT OPPRESSION.

OFTEN IN HISTORY, SUCH MEN AND WOMEN HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN EXPOSING UNPLEASANT TRUTHS WHICH MANY WOULD WANT TO EVADE. THE MESSAGE OF THESE MEN AND WOMEN HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN DERIDED OR, EVEN MORE TRAGICALLY, IGNORED. THEY HAVE OFTEN BEEN LABELED AS TROUBLE-MAKERS BY SOME IN THEIR SOCIETIES. BUT THEY ARE THE KIND OF TROUBLE-MAKERS ALL OF US DESPERATELY NEED. FOR THE KIND OF TROUBLE THEY HAVE STIRRED HAS HELPED US SEE THE WORLD MORE FOR WHAT IT IS. IT HAS ENABLED US TO GLIMPSE AT THE TRUTH WHICH MANY WOULD SEEK TO OBSCURE.

## THE TOTALITARIAN THREAT

IN MY LIFETIME, AND IN MANY OF YOUR OWN, YOU SAW THE GROWTH OF THE SCOURGE OF TOTALITARIANISM. TODAY THAT TOTALITARIANISM CONTINUES TO THREATEN THE WORLD. THROUGH TIME IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO PERFECT ITS TECHNIQUES FOR REPRESSING ITS CITIZENRY, FOR MAINTAINING ORDER AND THUS MAINTAINING POWER.

EACH OF US RECOGNIZE THE DANGERS THIS TOTALITARIANISM POSES FOR ALL MANKIND. AND THEREFORE IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT AMONG THOSE WHOM YOU HAVE HONORED WITH THE JOSEPH PRIZE WE FIND TWO MEN WHO ARE CURRENTLY IMPRISONED: ANDREI SAKHAROV WHO IS LIVING IN FORCED EXILE UNDER VIRTUAL HOUSE ARREST AND ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY WHO IS IMPRISONED IN A FORCED LABOR CAMP.

THE DENIAL OF DEMOCRACY IS THE DENIAL OF FULL HUMANITY. IT IS THEREFORE NO EXAGGERATION TO SAY THAT TODAY WELL OVER TWO-THIRDS OF MANKIND IS DENIED ITS RIGHT TO BE FULLY HUMAN, TO PARTICIPATE IN SHAPING ITS FUTURE. THE LIVES OF MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN HAVE BEEN RUINED OR DESTROYED BY THE SCOURGE OF TOTALITARIANISM, WHETHER OF THE LEFT OR RIGHT. THIS TOTALITARIANISM, WHICH TODAY IS OF THE SOVIET VARIETY, BUT TOMORROW MIGHT BE OF THE RIGHT-WING VARIETY, THREATENS OUR SECURITY. IT THREATENS THE PEACE OF ISRAEL, IT THREATENS THE PEACE OF AFRICA, AND IT THREATENS BLACKS AND JEWS ALIKE BY FORCING THEM TO LIVE IN UNFREEDOM. INDEED SOVIET TOTALITARIANISM THREATENS THE PEACE OF ALL THE WORLD.

THE NAZIS ADVANCED THE THEORY OF THE UNTERMENSCHEN -- THE SUB-HUMANS. BUT TODAY -- COMMUNISM -- AN IDEOLOGY WHICH PRETENDS THAT IT IS THE HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY, HAS SUCCEEDED IN FORCING A GOOD PORTION OF MANKIND TO LIVE AS SUB-HUMANS, DENIED THEIR RIGHT OF FULLY HUMAN PARTICIPATION.

## MADRID AND HUMAN RIGHTS

ON NOVEMBER 11TH OF THIS YEAR THE MADRID REVIEW MEETING ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE WILL CONVENE. THIS MEETING IS THE THIRD IN THE PROCESS WHICH BEGAN WITH THE SIGNING IN 1975 OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, WHICH ASSERT AS THEIR BASIC PREMISE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF STATES AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HAVE TO DATE BEEN A COMPLETE FAILURE FOR THOSE OF US WHO VALUE FREEDOM. AFGHANISTAN AND INTENSIFIED SOVIET REPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS ARE TWO CLEAR INDICATIONS OF THIS FACT. IF THE HELSINKI PROCESS IS TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS, IF IT IS TO BE PUT ON THE RIGHT COURSE, AND THE REVIEW MEETING IS TO BE DEEMED A SUCCESS, THEN, THE MADRID CONVOCATION MUST BECOME THE OCCASION FOR THE REASSERTION OF THE CENTRALITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR TOO LONG, THE WEST HAS BEEN

TEMPERING ITS DISCUSSION OF SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE INTERESTS OF DETENTE. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS NEVER SHOWN A SIMILAR INCLINATION TO TEMPER ITS OWN TONE, NOR TO RESTRAIN ITSELF IN ITS INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO TAKE THE SOVIETS TO TASK FOR THEIR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOR THEIR VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF OTHER STATES.

THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO MAKE INROADS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THEY CONTINUE TO DELUDE MANY LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS WITH PROMISES WHICH WE KNOW ARE FALSE. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO GET THE MESSAGE OUT TO ALL THE WORLD ABOUT THE TRUE NATURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY. AND MADRID PROVIDES US WITH THAT OPPORTUNITY. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS DEALT PIECEMEAL WITH THE SOVIET THREAT. TODAY, HOWEVER, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT TO RESPOND HAPHAZARDLY TO THE CONCERTED SOVIET POLICY OF EXPANSIONISM IS TO RISK DEFEAT. WE MUST ADOPT A COHERENT FOREIGN POLICY THAT INCORPORATES MILITARY READINESS, MAKES USE OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, AND UTILIZES THE TOOL OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. FROM KHRUSHCHEV, THEN, TO BREZHNEV AND HONECKER, TODAY, THE THREAT POSED TO THE LIBERTY OF ALL MUST BE OPPOSED.

## REFUGEES

LIKE THE SPREAD OF TOTALITARIANISM, THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES TODAY IS ANOTHER GRAVE CONCERN. THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES ESTIMATES THAT IN THE LAST YEAR ALONE NEARLY 16 MILLION MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMELANDS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF WAR, DISEASE AND POVERTY. OVER 1 MILLION HAVE FLED FROM ETHIOPIA IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS ALONE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF WAR AND THE POLICIES OF A BARBARIC LENINIST REGIME. THIS YEAR'S TOTAL OF REFUGEES FROM AFGHANISTAN IS OVER 700,000. THESE FIGURES ARE SHOCKING AND HORRIBLE. AND YET THEY ARE DWARFED BY THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES FROM INDOCHINA. THESE TOTAL 6 MILLION AND INCLUDE FOUR MILLION DISPLACED CAMBODIANS, WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO ABANDON THEIR TOWNS AND VILLAGES AS A

CONSEQUENCE OF THE VIETNAMESE AND SOVIET-BACKED INVASION. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY HAS EXHIBITED REMARKABLE GENEROSITY IN ITS SUPPORT OF REFUGEES WORLD-WIDE, WHETHER THEY BE SOVIET JEWS FLEEING KREMLIN-INSPIRED ANTI-SEMITISM OR CUBAN REFUGEES FLEEING CASTRO'S ISLAND OF HELL. BUT THE FLOOD OF REFUGEES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD CANNOT BE DEALT WITH BY CHARITY ALONE. THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES MUST BE SOLVED BY ATTACKING IT AT ITS ROOTS -- THE ABSENCE OF DEMOCRACY, THE GROWTH OF TOTALITARIANISM AND THE UPSURGE IN WAR.

WAR, MUCH OF IT A CONSEQUENCE OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM, BUT A LARGE PART A CONSEQUENCE OF ULTRA-NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM, IS ONE OF THE GREAT SCOURGES OF THIS NEW DECADE. WE SEE DAILY THE CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIZATION, OF DIVISIVENESS AMONG PEOPLES. WE SEE DAILY THE DEHUMANIZING EFFECTS OF A PHILOSOPHY OF "US" *VERSUS* "THEM." WE OBSERVE THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL IDEOLOGIES WHICH SEEK TO CREATE BARRIERS BETWEEN PEOPLES. WHICH PREACH RACIAL HATRED OR NATIONAL ENMITY. SUCH IDEOLOGIES DIVERT GOOD PEOPLE FROM THE TASKS OF CREATING A JUST AND HUMANE SOCIETY. ETHNIC CULTURAL DIVERSITY IS A FINE AND NOBLE QUALITY. BUT WHEN ETHNICITY IS MANIPULATED AND TRANSFORMED INTO A TOOL TO DIVIDE PEOPLE, TO SOW HATRED, THEN IT MUST BE OPPOSED.

## HARBINGERS OF HOPE

I HAVE PAINTED A BLEAK PICTURE OF THE WORLD. BUT I HAVE ALSO NOTED THAT THERE ARE HARBINGERS OF HOPE. AND INDEED IN THE LAST DECADE, DEMOCRACY HAS WON SOME IMPORTANT BATTLES. IN SPAIN, IN GREECE, IN PORTUGAL, THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS OF THOSE PEOPLES HAVE REASSERTED THEMSELVES. THE WILL OF MEN AND WOMEN TO CONTROL THEIR OWN LIVES, TO LIVE FREELY IS INEXTINGUISHABLE.

IN INDIA AS WELL, THAT GREAT SUB-CONTINENT'S PEOPLE GAVE A RESOUNDING VOTE OF CONFIDENCE TO DEMOCRACY WHEN MRS. GANDHI OVER-STEPPED

ITS BOUNDARIES. THEY KNEW -- ALTHOUGH MANY OF THEM ARE ILLITERATE AND ILL-FED -- THAT THE ABILITY TO SPEAK FREELY IS AS PRECIOUS A RIGHT AS ANY. THEY ASSERTED BEFORE ALL THE WORLD THAT WHILE FOOD AND SHELTER ARE PHYSICAL NECESSITIES THE ABILITY TO THINK FREELY AND TO CRITICIZE ONE'S LEADERS IS EQUALLY A NECESSITY. YET AS A. PHILIP RANDOLPH NOTED, THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM MUST BE CONTINUOUS, "FOR FREEDOM IS NEVER A FINAL ACT." AND SO INDIA IS AGAIN CONFRONTED BY A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY. BUT IF HISTORY IS TO BE OUR GUIDE WE CAN CONFIDENTLY ASSERT THAT THE INDIAN PEOPLE'S WILL TO FREEDOM WILL NOT DIE.

## PRINCIPLES OF CONDUCT

HOW THEN ARE WE TO GUIDE OURSELVES IN UNCERTAIN TIMES? HOW ARE WE TO JUDGE THE WORLD? ARE WE TO ACQUIESCE TO A BLEAK REALISM WHICH ASSERTS THAT WHAT IS, IS ALL THAT CAN BE?

I SUBMIT THAT THERE ARE PRINCIPLES WHICH CAN BE APPLIED TO ALL THE WORLD. AND I SUBMIT THAT WE SHOULD BE UNFLAGGING IN OUR ADHERENCE TO THOSE PRINCIPLES. AS OUR FIRST PRINCIPLE, WE MUST UPHOLD TRUTH. WE MUST FIGHT THOSE WHO SPEAK IN EUPHEMISMS, THOSE WHO, AS GEORGE ORWELL SO BRILLIANTLY ARGUED, USE POLITICAL SPEECH AND POLITICAL WRITING TO DEFEND THE INDEFENSIBLE. CLARITY MUST BE OUR BY-WORD. WE MUST EXPOSE FALSEHOOD EVERYWHERE IT RAISES ITS UGLY HEAD. IN HIS FAMOUS ESSAY "POLITICS AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, "ORWELL SPOKE OF THE GROWTH OF EUPHEMISM, QUESTION-BEGGING AND VAGUENESS. HE NOTED THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES: "DEFENSELESS VILLAGES ARE BOMBARDED FROM THE AIR, THE INHABITANTS DRIVEN OUT INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE, ... THE HUTS SET ON FIRE WITH INCENDIARY BULLETS: THIS IS CALLED PACIFICATION. MILLIONS OF PEASANTS ARE ROBBED OF THEIR FARMS AND SENT TRUDGING ALONG THE ROADS WITH NO MORE THAN THEY CAN CARRY: THIS IS CALLED TRANSFER OF POPULATION, OR

RECTIFICATION OF BORDERS. PEOPLE ARE IMPRISONED FOR YEARS WITHOUT TRIAL, OR SHOT IN THE BACK OF THE NECK OR SENT TO DIE OF SCURVY IN ARCTIC LUMBER CAMPS: THIS IS CALLED ELIMINATION OF UNRELIABLE ELEMENTS." WHAT ORWELL WROTE IN 1946 IS WITH US TO THIS VERY DAY. AND SO LONG AS IT REMAINS WITH US, SO LONG AS LANGUAGE IS TWISTED TO OBSCURE THE TRUTH, DEMAGOGUES AND DICTATORS WILL CONTINUE TO RULE OVER MUCH OF MANKIND.

## ONENESS OF MAN

ANOTHER PRINCIPLE WHICH WE MUST UPHOLD IS THE NOTION THAT ALL MEN ARE ONE. IF WE ARE TO ASSERT THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY WE MUST ASSERT THE IDEA THAT ALL MEN ARE WORTHY OF PARTICIPATING FULLY IN THEIR SOCIETY AND IN THE WORLD. WE MUST VIGOROUSLY OPPOSE THOSE WHO WOULD SEEK TO DENY HUMANITY TO SOME AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THEIR RACE, THEIR RELIGION. OR THEIR NATIONAL ORIGIN. WE MUST FIGHT AGAINST SUCH DEHUMANIZING DISTINCTIONS AND ASSERT THAT ALL MEN AND ALL WOMEN ARE MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN FAMILY. FOR, THOSE WHO MAKE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND OTHERS, THOSE WHO BELIEVE THEY ARE BETTER THAN OTHERS, ARE THOSE PERSONS WHO ARE ABLE TO COMMIT ATROCITIES AGAINST THEIR FELLOW MEN.

## DEMOCRACY

A FURTHER PRINCIPLE BY WHICH WE CAN BE GUIDED IS THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY. I HAVE LIVED THROUGH MANY STRUGGLES IN THE U.S. I HAVE SEEN MUCH SUFFERING IN THIS COUNTRY. YET DESPITE ALL THIS, I CAN CONFIDENTLY ASSERT THAT I WOULD PREFER TO BE A BLACK IN AMERICA RATHER THAN A JEW IN MOSCOW, A CHINESE IN PEKING, OR A BLACK IN UGANDA, YESTERDAY OR TODAY. FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF AMERICA'S TRADITION ARE THE GREATEST LEGACY AND THE GREATEST GIFT OF ALL.

## NON-VIOLENCE

AN EQUALLY VITAL PRINCIPAL BY WHICH ALL OF US SHOULD LIVE IS THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE. VIOLENCE IS THE GREATEST ENEMY OF FREEDOM. VIOLENCE IN THE FORM OF TERRORISM AND WAR, PROCEEDS FROM THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "US" AND "THEM."

THIS DISTINCTION -- SO DEHUMANIZING IN ITS ESSENCE -- MUST BE OPPOSED. VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM DESTROY HUMAN DIGNITY. THEY MAKE LIFE TENUOUS AND PRECARIOUS AND CREATE FEAR AND INSECURITY. NONE WHO PREACH VIOLENCE CAN BE SAID TO STAND FOR HUMAN DIGNITY.

## RECONCILIATION AND FORGIVENESS

AND, FINALLY, IF OUR DREAM OF A COMMUNITY OF ALL MANKIND IS TO BE ACHIEVED, IT MUST BE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF RECONCILIATION AND FORGIVENESS. THE PERSON WHO REJECTS RECONCILIATION CAN NEVER BE FULLY SECURE. TRUE SECURITY CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED AS A BY-PRODUCT OF MUTUAL TRUST. BUT THAT TRUST CANNOT BE ATTAINED OVER NIGHT. IT NEEDS TO BE THE RESULT OF A SUSTAINED AND OPEN DIALOGUE.

## THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

THE WORLD WILL NOT BE TRANSFORMED OVERNIGHT. IT WILL NOT BE TOTALLY TRANSFORMED IN OUR LIFETIMES. BUT THE DREAM AND THE VISION OF A WORLD MADE MORE COMPLETE, AND OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN LIVING IN DIGNITY AS FULLY PARTICIPATING CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH CONSTANT STRUGGLE.

THERE IS MUCH WE HAVE ATTAINED. BUT WE MUST FIGHT ON. FOR THERE IS SO MUCH MORE WE HAVE YET TO ACHIEVE. THANK YOU.

DECEMBER, 1980

ADL BULLETIN

Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

# Human Rights In The World

**by Bayard Rustin**

Blacks and Jews are members in good standing of the international party of human rights. We know better than most others the meaning of human rights, for we have experienced their denial.

Inextricably linked in a world often hostile to the interests of all mankind, we share a vision of a truly just society. We are motivated by an ideal of a world in which men and women of all races and creeds participate fully in all aspects of their lives and are able to make choices freely.

*Mr. Rustin, board chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and president of the Black Americans to Support Israel Committee (BASIC), received ADL's Joseph Prize for Human Rights in recognition of his lifelong battle in behalf of blacks and all minorities around the world. This article excerpts his response.*

Yet, today, at the close of the first year of the new decade, we are confronted by the reality of a world in which our goal of democracy seems ever more distant. It is a world in which over two-thirds of mankind live in circumstances denying them their elementary rights of choice, self-expression and participation. For many, the state is owner and employer, educator and indoctrinator, company boss and union leader. Limits are placed not only on the words men and women can write and utter, but also on the very ideas they dare to think.

Under such circumstances, one might conclude that our vision of a world made

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## ADL NEC Meeting, October 23-26

The Anti-Defamation League's Joseph Prize for Human Rights went to longtime civil rights leader Bayard Rustin. The security of the Jewish community in France was a key issue. Texas Governor William P. Clements, Jr., received ADL's Torch of Liberty Award. M.G. (Pat) Robertson, president of the evangelical Christian Broadcasting Network, Inc., discussed Israel and Christian support for an undivided Jerusalem as its capital.

Adoption of an ADL campaign to get the U.S. to use the clout of its financial support to the United Nations to combat the world body's growing anti-American and anti-Israel behavior . . . Surveys of P.L.O. inroads in Western Europe, Klan paramilitary activities, separation of church and state, racial quotas and preferential treatment. . . .

These were the highlights of ADL's National Executive Committee meeting, October 23-26, in Dallas, Texas. The articles and reports in this issue of the *ADL Bulletin* are from the meeting.

It is clear, moreover, that the Rue Copernic incident has been a great embarrassment for Giscard and his government, and, as a result, his condemnation of the incident was predicated upon the struggle against general racism and the necessity for an annual program of education against discrimination to be called "Le Jour de Tolérance," a day of tolerance. This would entail a study-day in every French school on the roots of prejudice — a program in which ADL's European office plans to be involved.

Thus, Rue Copernic has provided a leitmotif for the reconstituted Union of the Left in demonstrations against both terror and the Giscard government.

But it is also leading to escalated violence and anti-Semitism, including an attack on a Jewish member of Parliament and daily reports about new incidents.

While expressions of horror and solidarity from many non-Jewish and church sectors could lead to a catharsis in French society, debate on the Vichy period has been assiduously avoided, and the resulting socio-political schizophrenia is reminiscent of the passionate stands taken in the Dreyfus case.

The delicate fabric of European democracy is gravely threatened by economic, social and political instability. The increasing problems of inflation, unemployment, rising racial tensions directed against foreign immigrant labor, and a general ideological confusion nourish the forces of rightist, leftist and Arab terror — which, often in collaboration, exhibit a strange phenomenon of extremist political transvestism. Each anti-democratic movement feeds upon the other and the significance of the cause is subsumed to the importance of the act of terror. The common denominator in France, as elsewhere, has not changed. It is Jew-hatred, whether in the guise of leftist anti-Zionism, rightist anti-Zionism, or both.

To counter this, Jewish solidarity in France, in Europe, and around the world is required to confront a menace more virulent than any since 1945. The forces pulling the strings are clearly multinational, and Jewish vigilance must be planned accordingly. ☐

## Human Rights *cont. from p. 1*

complete and of a vital democracy extending to all spheres of life is merely a utopian reverie — a daydream from which most of the world has already wakened and returned to its drab, oppressive reality.

Yet such a pessimistic view can be held only in the abstract. For reality is daily teaching us something profoundly different: that our democratic vision, our commitment to worldwide human rights, has a relevance for mankind and is its best and perhaps its only hope.

We are taught by Wei Jinsheng that even in the permafrost of Maoist oppression, it is possible to safeguard the democratic dream. We are taught by Huber Matos that even in the darkness of Castro's prisons, it is possible to protect the light of liberty. We are taught that even after decades of racist oppression in South Africa, it is possible for human rights advocates to surface. We are taught by Anatoly Shcharansky and Ida Nudel that despite a regime's anti-Semitism, it is possible to defend proudly the honor of one's people. And we are taught most dramatically by the workers of Poland that laboring men and women have as profound a commitment to freedom of speech and democracy as writers, scholars and scientists.

### Drive For Rights Despite Oppression

We see in the efforts to establish and maintain independent trade unions in South America, South Korea, and in the U.S.S.R., that same drive, that same commitment which animates those who are part of the American civil rights and trade union movements. We see in the Vladimir Klebanovs and the Lech Walesas an unwillingness to live lives which are half-realized, incomplete. We see in them a desire to broaden the participation of all people in the processes of society. We see in each of them a commitment to the principles which have moved us in our work in the U.S., under less precarious circumstances.

Many of us meet, in our lifetime, one

Bayard Rustin receiving the League's Joseph Prize for Human Rights from Burton M. Joseph, honorary chairman of ADL. The Prize was established in 1975 by the Joseph Foundation of Minneapolis as a memorial to Mr. Joseph's parents. Previous recipients were Hubert H. Humphrey and Roy Wilkins, Golda Meir, Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov, Elie Wiesel, Menachem Begin.

Photo by Leslie Robinson

person who affects our lives, who serves as teacher and friend, who shapes and gives our lives direction. For me, A. Philip Randolph was such a man. And Mr. Randolph eloquently expressed the essence of the philosophy which has guided my work and conduct over the years: "Salvation for a race, nation or class must come from within," he said.

> Freedom is never granted: it is won. Justice is never given: it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final act, but a continuing, evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

There is a certain kind of restlessness in that vision. And I confess that, even in my seventieth year, I remain restless and impatient with the way things are and with the slow pace of progress. But this restlessness is something I find among all those who are devoted to the cause of liberty, who are members of the party of freedom and human rights.

There is a spiritual kinship between Martin Luther King, Jr., Randolph, Shcharansky, Andrei Sakharov, and Jacobo Timerman. Their lives are examples of a certain kind of restlessness, and unwillingness to suffer oppression in silence, the most ultimate of sins.

Often in history such men and women have played an important role in exposing unpleasant truths many would want to evade. Their message has frequently been derided or tragically ignored. They have often been labeled troublemakers, but they are the kind of troublemakers all of us desperately need, helping us to see the world for what it is and to glimpse the truth many would seek to obscure.

In our lifetime, we have seen the growth of totalitarianism, which today continues to threaten the world. Through time it has been able to perfect its techniques for repressing its citizenry, for maintaining power. Its denial of democracy is a denial of full humanity. The lives of millions upon millions of men and women have been ruined or destroyed by its scourge, whether of the left or right. This totalitarianism, which today is of the Soviet variety but tomorrow might be of the right-wing variety, threatens our security. It threatens the peace of Israel, of Africa, and of the world; it threatens blacks and Jews alike by forcing them to live in unfreedom. The Nazis advanced the theory of the *untermenschen*, the subhumans, but today, Communism —

an ideology which pretends that it is the highest form of democracy — has succeeded in forcing a good portion of mankind to live as subhumans, denied their right of full human participation.

The Soviets continue to make inroads in the developing world. They continue to delude many leaders and activists with promises we know are false. It is important for us to get the message out to all the world about the true nature of Soviet society by means of such international gatherings as the one recently held in Madrid. American foreign policy has dealt piecemeal with the Soviet threat.Today, however, we must recognize that to respond haphazardly to the concerted Soviet policy of expansionism is to risk defeat. We must adopt a coherent foreign policy that incorporates military readiness, makes use of economic sanctions, and utilizes the tool of ideological struggle.

Like the spread of totalitarianism, the problem of refugees today is another grave concern. The United States Committee for Refugees estimates that in the last year alone nearly 16 million men, women and children have been forced to flee their homelands as a consequence of war, disease and poverty. Over one million have fled from Ethiopia in the last 12 months alone as a consequence of war and the policies of a barbaric Leninist regime. This year's total of refugees from Afghanistan is over 700,000. These shocking figures are dwarfed by the number of refugees from Indochina, which total six million, including four million displaced Cambodians, forced to abandon their towns and villages as a consequence of the Vietnamese and Soviet-backed invasion.

The Jewish community has exhibited remarkable generosity in its support of refugees worldwide, whether they be Soviet Jews fleeing Kremlin-inspired anti-Semitism or Cuban refugees fleeing Castro's island of hell. But the flood of refugees throughout the world cannot be dealt with by charity alone. The problem of refugees must be solved by attacking its roots — the absence of democracy, the growth of totalitarianism and of upsurge in war.

War, much of it a consequence of Soviet expansionism and also of ultranationalism and chauvinism, is one of the great scourges of this new decade. We see daily the consequences of atomization, of divisiveness among peoples, and the dehumanizing efforts of a philosophy of "us" versus "them." We observe the growth of national ideologies which seek to create barriers between peoples, which preach racial hatred or national enmity and thus divert good people from the tasks of creating a just and humane society. Ethnic cultural diversity, however noble in itself, when manipulated and transformed into a tool to divide people and sow hatred, must be opposed, clearly, honestly and openly.

## Harbingers of Hope

The world may appear bleak, but there are also harbingers of hope. Indeed, in the last decade, democracy has won some important battles. In Spain, in Greece, in Portugal, democratic traditions have reasserted themselves. The will of men and women to control their own lives is inextinguishable.

In India as well, that great subcontinent's people gave a resounding vote of confidence to democracy when Mrs. Ghandi overstepped its boundaries. Although many are illiterate and ill-fed, they asserted before all the world that while food and shelter are physical essentials, the ability to think freely and to criticize one's leaders is equally a necessity. Yet, as Randolph noted, the struggle for freedom must be continuous, "for freedom is never a final act." And so India is again confronted by a threat to democracy. But if history is to be our guide, we can confidently assert that the Indian people's will to freedom will not die.

How then are we to guide ourselves in uncertain times? How are we to judge the world? Are we to acquiesce to a bleak realism which asserts that what is, is all that can be?

I submit that there are five principles which can be applied to all the world, and that we should be unflagging in our adherence to them. First, we must uphold truth and fight those who speak in euphemisms, those who use political speech and political writing to defend the indefensible. Clarity must be our by-word as we expose falsehood wherever it raises its ugly head. In his famous essay *Politics and the English Language*, George Orwell speaks of the growth of euphemism and question-begging.

What Orwell wrote in 1946 is with us to this very day when terrorists are referred to as freedom fighters and Zionism is called racism. And so long as language is twisted to obscure the truth, demagogues and dictators will continue to rule over much of mankind.

A second principle which we must uphold is the notion that all men are one, which goes back to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the prophets. If we uphold the principles of democracy, we must assert the idea that all men are worthy of participating fully in their society and in the world. We must vigorously oppose those who would seek to deny humanity to some as a consequence of their race, religion or national origin.

A third principle to guide us is that of democracy. I have lived through many struggles and have seen much suffering in this country. Yet despite all this, I can confidently assert that I would prefer to be a black in America rather than a black in Uganda, a Jew in Moscow, or a Chinese in Peking. For the democratic principles which are an integral part of America's tradition are the greatest legacy of all.

An equally vital principle by which all of us should live is that of nonviolence. Violence and terrorism are enemies of freedom, destroying human dignity.

And, finally, if our dream of a community of all mankind is to be achieved, it must be based on the principle of reconciliation and forgiveness. True security can only be achieved as a by-product of mutual trust. But that trust cannot be attained overnight; it needs to be the result of a sustained and open dialogue.

The world will not be totally transformed in our lifetimes. But the dream and vision of a world made more complete, and of all men and women living in dignity as fully participating citizens in a democratic community can be achieved, but only through constant struggle. □

# Reports from NEC Meeting

## Evangelical Movement

Two reports described the evangelical movement — one dealing predominantly with its historical background and interfaith perspective, the other with its new entry into politics.

It was pointed out that priorities on the evangelical agenda have shifted from such great issues of the 1920's as smoking, drinking, dancing and card playing, to current concerns about abortion, homosexuality, prayers in schools, E.R.A., SALT II and Biblical creation vs. Darwinian evolution. Today, television and radio — the so-called "electronic church" — are used widely for spreading evangelical fundamentalist beliefs and for gaining adherents. In addition, the link between some evangelicals and the politics of the "New Right" present complex problems and broad social implications.

The evangelical political movement is a comparatively new phenomenon on the American scene, the offspring of certain popular evangelical television preachers who enjoy a wide following among "born-again" Christians and the so-called New Right conservative organizations that have been active on the political scene during the past several years. The Christian political groups are attempting to wed conservative political doctrines with the widespread revivalist sentiment prevalent today in order to form a new force to restore so-called traditional moral values in the land.

The leaders of this new movement are strong supporters of the State of Israel on

# ISRAEL: A BELEAGUERED BASTION OF DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

by Bayard Rustin

On June 28, 1970 an advertisement appeared in The New York Times under the heading, "An Appeal by Black Americans for United States Support to Israel." The ad was sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Institute and was signed by over 60 of the most prominent black leaders in the country. It urged the U. S. government to guarantee Israel's right to exist as a nation and to help bring the Israelis and the Arabs to the conference table where a peace settlement could be arrived at. It also urged the United States to provide Israel with the full number of jet aircraft it had requested for its security. Among the signers of the ad were Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, A. Philip Randolph, the Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher, the mayors of Cleveland and Gary respectively, and eight of the nine black U.S. congressmen.

The ad came as a surprise to many Americans, both Jewish and non-Jewish, who had become convinced from the highly publicized words of a vocal minority that the majority of black Americans were opposed to Israel's existence. But the ad proved that the very contrary is true since it was signed by the most representative leaders of the black community.

Why did these black leaders sign the ad? Not out of a sense of national solidarity with the people of Israel, a feeling which naturally motivates many American Jews. They did so, as the ad said, "for the same reasons that we have struggled for freedom and equality in America." The ad, in other words, represented an expression of solidarity with the progressive ideals and values which a nationalike Israel represents. I will quote at length from the ad since it expresses so well my own feelings about Israel and about the Middle East crisis:

> While we are aware that Israel, like any other nation, has its shortcomings, it is by far the most democratic country in the Middle East. What is remarkable is that the high degree of political freedom in Israel has not diminished despite the constant need to maintain military preparedness. In contrast, countries like Iraq, Syria, and Egypt are dictatorial one-party states where the press and the courts are rigorously controlled and non-Moslem minorities are severely persecuted. Moreover, Israel has made tremendous strides toward achieving an equalitarian economic order. Its sophisticated system of educational, health, and welfare services is more advanced even than in our own country and has enhanced the quality of life for Arab as well as jewish Israelis. The indidence of poverty in the Arab countries, on the other hand, remains appalling. The income from oil has been used to sustain wealthy sheikdoms--and often terrorist organizations as well--but rarely to alleviate the suffering of the poor.
>
> We are deeply concerned about the plight of impoverished Arabs, particularly those who have been made refugees as a result of the three Arab-Israeli wars. But we do not feel that the continuation of the conflict serves the real interests of these people. Prolonged

> and inflammatory calls for the destruction of Israel can only divert precious attention, energy, and resources away from an attack on the pressing social and economic problems of the Arab people.
>
> Some Americans, including a small minority of blacks, have expressed the feeling that the Middle East crisis is fundamentally a racial conflict between nonwhite Arabs and wh white Israelis. We think that this point of view is not only uninformed but dangerously misleading. It ignores the fact that approximately half the Jewish Israeli population consists of immigrants from Asia and Africa. And it also implies that there is an inherent solidarity of nonwhite people. This notion should have been laid to rest not only by the tragic Nigerian civil war, but also by the continuing brutal persecution of black Africans by the Sudanese government which, it must be emphasized, is militarily allied with and assisted by the Egyptian government. We should add in this regard that Israel, with its impressive program of foreign technical aid, has contributed far more than any of its Arab enemies to the development of black African nations.

It should be clear from these excerpts that the purpose of the ad was not only to urge United States support for Israel in a time of grave crisis--it was also to explode the myths about Israel which are being circulated by some people in the black community, myths which try to show that the Arab-Israeli in a black-white encounter, or that the Arab nations are leading a left-wing assault on imperialism and colonialism.

Such views have also gained some popularity among white youths who have been attracted to the New Left. Looking at the world through ideological blinders, these youths (a good many of whom are Jewish) think that they are furthering "the revolution" by supporting the Arab cause. The Palestinian guerrillas have, infact, become culture heroes to these disaffected young Americans. Their romantic fascination with guerrilla bands roving the contryside is not the result of a political anaylsis of the Middle East situation, however, but rather derives mostly from their boredom with their middle class lives here at home. In the minds of these young people, the Palestinian guerrilla is striking a blow not only against Israel but also against their parents and the affluent environment from which they come. If these young people were only willing to examine their position closely, they would find that they are on the same side as the wealthy oil countries which are the real imperialist force in the Middle East. One can hardly call this a radical position.

One should not, therefore, form an opinion about the Arab-Israeli conflict through slogans. What is required is objective political analysis, something which the New Left, to its great detriment, has not shown much interest in. Looking at the Middle East situation from this perspective, the Arab governments appezar as proto-fascist dictatorships using radical rhetoric only for purposes of image-building, while Israel is a progressive democratic country and, in my view, one of the most Socialist societies in the world. It has certainly progressed closer to the Socialist ideal than the Soviet Union which, far from being a workers' state, is a totalitarian dictatorship where the masses are ruled by a privileged bureaucratic elite. Russia and some of the Arab countries may talk about socialism, but Israel--with its kibbutzim and through the broad programs of the Histadrut--is making Socialism a reality.

I will be the last person to deny that a revolution is required in the Middle East. But it is not a revolution that will involve the destruction of Israel, but rather one that would require the overthrow of conservative and oil-rich Arab governments who have done little or nothing to liberate their people from poverty and misery. One of the reasons why these govefnments are constantly whipping up popular fervor against Israel, in fact is to divert the attention of the Arab masses from their suffering. Marx once said that religion is the opiate of the masses. In the Middle East, Israel is the opiate of the Arabs. What is preventing the social transformation of the Middle East is not Israel, but the Arab preoccupation with Israel to the exclusion of all other concerns,

I think it is essential that young Americans who are committed to social justice begin to organize and educate their peers about the Middle East crisis. They should do this to counter New Left distortions and, equally important, to build a youth movement that is dedicated to the ideals embodied by a country like Israel. Needless to say, such a movement would have a beneficial effect upon our own country as well as on the Middle.

East situation. The emergence of a strong movement of young people who repudiate terrorism and are ~~willingly~~ willing to struggle democratically for social justice would immensely improve the political climate in the United States.

There are already signs that such a movement is taking shape. One organization, the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East, is composed of young liberals and democratic radicals who are trying to educate high school and campus youths about the Middle East, particularly with regard to the progressive nature of Israel. The organization is made up of both Jewish and non-Jewish young people who are united by a common belief in democratic principles and a commitment to building a just world. They are courageously standing up on campus against bitter opposition from the New Left and Arab students.

Among the adults who have agreed to support this effort by becoming sponsors of the Youth Committee are such dedicated proponents of peace and social justice as Michael Harrington, Allard K. Lowenstein, Hans J. Morganthau, Irving Howe, and Martin Peretz. These men support Israel's right to exist with the same fervor, and for the same fundamental reasons, that they have spoken out against poverty and racial injustice and for a more democratic society in the United States.

P Young people should not only join the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East. They should set up chapters at their schools and begin to circulate the Committee's literature and sponsor speakers who can clarify the complex issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict. (The address of the Youth Committee is, 112 East 19th Street, Room 1105, in New York City.)

As the black leaders who signed the statement of support for Israel pointed out, the Middle East conflict involves more than the Israelis and the Arabs since it poses a threat to world peace. A youth movement in America dedicated to the just and peaceful settlement of that conflict would thus be making a great contribution to building a world in which violence and man's inhumanity to man will be things of the past. I can think of no finer objective that young people could set for themselves. Indeed, their very commitment to that goal would be an important step towrads its realization.

# # #

# AN APPEAL FOR DECENCY AND COMMON SENSE

We are deeply concerned with one negative reaction to Andrew Young's resignation as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Specifically, we are concerned that passions have been aroused which could ~~redirect~~ misdirect our energies -- and the energies of many people of good will -- from constructive activities for social and economic progress to a damaging conflict between Blacks and Jews. Such an unfortunate development would surely have dangerous and long lasting consequences for the well-being of black Americans and for severely needed economic reforms in our time. We believe that the essential interests of black Americans and the poor will not be served by a confrontation with American Jews. Such a confrontation will not produce new jobs, nor adequate housing, nor improvements in our schools. It will not produce a national health program, nor a significant national urban policy, nor an equitable welfare reform.

Moreover, a Black-Jewish confrontation will not help construct the coalitions that must be maintained if we are to build support for the programs we so urgently need. On the contrary, a Black-Jewish confrontation could very well mortally wound the liberal coalition in America. Without the continued cooperation of Blacks, Portestants, Catholics, Jews and the labor movement, (even though differences may exist on specific issues), the liberal alliance which has led to so many important gains for blacks and the poor may well disintegrate.

Most importantly, we are in danger of destroying the principle resource of the civil rights movement -- the moral legitimacy which has enabled us to appeal for unity in the struggle for racial justice and equal opportunity for all. Regrettably, some people are using Ambassador Young's resignation as a basis for generating support for the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Ambassador Young foresaw this development and warned against it.

As Americans concerned about the survival of democracy and the advancement of human rights, we must be free to criticize the failings and inadequacies of all nations including our own. Indeed, we have a special responsibility in this regard particularly to question those nations allied with the United States. On the question of the Palestinians and the PLO there are differences of opinion within Israel itself, differences which some of us may also share. Yet while each of us must be free to state his or her individual position regarding these matters, that responsibility is a far cry from supporting the terrorist PLO.

If the effect of Ambassador Young's resignation is to cause many black Americans to become pro-PLO, we think this would be a catastrophe for the civil rights movement and a basic challenge to the traditional principles on which we have stood. What can our movement -- a movement that believes and practices nonviolence -- have in common with an organization that preaches and practices terrorism?

What can a movement that has vigorously opposed racism in every form have in common with an organization whose National Covenant denies the very existence of the Jewish people and declares the state of Israel "null and void"?

What can a movement that has always respected the integrity of all ethnic and religious groups have in common with a group that equates Zionism with racism?

And what can a movement that believes in peace have in common with an organization which is committed to using whatever means necessary to destroy Israel, even to the extent of assassinating moderate Palestinians who wish merely to live in peace with Israel by establishing formal or even informal contacts with the PLO, the civil rights movement will in effect be providing legitimacy and respectability to an organization which openly avows racism and anti-Semitism. By making the PLO respectable, we will be unwittingly providing respectability to groups in our own society which are bigotted.

If, however, the PLO showed by word and deed that it rejects terrorism and racism and is willing to live in peace with the state of Israel with secure borders we would, of course, be compelled to re-evaluate our present position. Moreover, we strongly support the position enunciated in the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel which calls for a peaceful and just settlement of the Palestianian question.

Blacks have a job to do in America. We must never be blind to the needs of people in distress at home or in other lands. We must and we will continue to speak out for justice and human rights wherever democracy and human dignity are trampled under-foot. But we will not and must not allow ourselves to become political pawns in a game that is being played for entirely different purposes.

The time has now come to cool tempers, to lower voices, and to reflect upon the deeper purposes and principles that continue to inspire our efforts. It is time to stop using code words which denigrate another people in much the same way that racists have so frequently used code words to denigrate us. It is a time for decency and common sense, for building bridges and speaking words of reconciliation. It is a time to seek peace and brotherhood. This is not a time for passion, for misunderstanding or for political confusion.

We will continue to do our job in America, the job of working for justice and equality for all, the major goal of black America. And we will continue to do so hand-in-hand with those who have worked with us in the past, who have struggled and died with us, and with all who are our friends because they share these ideals. To this end we dedicate our common energies and urge all people of good will to join us in this common task.

# Bayard Rustin

I AM GOING TO SPEAK FRANKLY TO YOU AS JEWS. What is the essence of Judaism? The prohibition against mixing milk and meat? Circumcision? I am tempted in this regard to say (as we would say in the Negro church): "Come off it, Jews, daughters of Jews, brothers and sisters. Observing the law against mixing milk and meat, or even circumcision, doesn't make you Jews." To me, Mr. Silberman brought out the most important contribution of Judaism: the demands of the prophets to do justice. You are Jews and you remain Jews only when you stand for social righteousness.

There can be no question then—the question is utterly irrelevant—whether Negroes are good or bad, or even anti-Semitic. You are a Jew because you stand for social righteousness, and if you are going to remain Jews only so long as Negroes remain nice, give it up.

### *No Entrances*

But, I want to point out that the term anti-Semitism as applied to Negroes and white Christians in this country is not the same thing, and cannot be the same thing. Negro anti-Semitism is, in fact, not what Christion anti-Semitism in America is. To believe it is the same thing is to delude yourselves. There is no feeling among black people in this country that they are superior to Jews, nor is there any feeling among black people in this country that, somehow or other, Judaism is in a fix.

Judaism is actually for us the philosophical basis and means that we have adopted for our own survival. Martin Luther King is to many people a Moses. We are convinced that it is possible for us to get into the Promised Land, and your God is our God. Our history and culture, in a sense, are basically Jewish. Therefore, when you talk about anti-Semitism among Negroes you are not talking about either a hatred of Judaism or of superior feelings on the part of Negroes. Let me be frank. In part, anti-Semitism derives from your very virtues. You cannot assume the role of the Chosen People, act with social righteousness toward other people, and expect anything but what your own prophets revealed to you: that the people to whom you bring your message will often not be touched in their hearts but gnash at you. Also, people do not bother to get excited about people unless you depend on them, unless you love them. And it is precisely when you do love them and feel inadquate that you gnash on them. Therefore, you shouldn't be surprised if there are a few outbursts of anti-Jewish feeling, such as occured in Mount Vernon when an intemperate CORE spokesman burst out against Jews. Will Maslow took quick and proper action about this inexcusable event. I called him immediately and told him so.

But, dear people, you have got to learn that there has to be mutual forgiveness and humility. When Jewish people run about boasting about how we Jews made it because we were intellectual, and lifted ourselves by our bootstraps, and we have such extraordinarily beautiful family life that obviously we just went up to the top like cream in coffee—well, this is hot air. Jews made it because when they came from Eastern Europe this society was prepared for them, even though they may have been worse off than any Negro in Mississippi today because he can at least speak English. But the Jews who got off those boats, Jews from Eastern Europe, came through Ellis Island, got stuck with medical injections and got a job, because society was buying muscle power then—and it is not now.

The trade-union movement was burgeoning and many Jews got a start in it. There are no such openings for Negroes now. Other minorities made it too because there was free land in this country and all they had to do was go and take it. This also is not true today. Others made it because the economy was interested in them in one form or another.

Now, my friends, do not believe for a moment that any Negro is going to be anything but angered by talk which disregards objective circumstances, and which disregards the pasts of other immigrant groups. I'm leaving the Jews out in this case because I didn't have enough experience with them. But of the Italians and the Irish many things were said then which are now said about Negroes. I can remember as a young man being told to stay out of Italian areas, that they all had stilettos, and if you made it out of the Italian ghetto without one in your back it was because there was a policeman on the corner. The things they said about the Irish are too miserable even to repeat. And there were some Jewish gangsters. Some I could name, but that is not polite.

### *Unemployment and Slums*

Now, when Daniel Moynihan or any other white man describes the nature of the Negro family, I know, and we all ought to know, that what is wrong with the Negro family will be cleared up in the same way the difficulties of the Irish family were cleared up . . . when society makes it possible for heads of those families to have economic security, and not until then. All the psychiatrists and clergymen in the world won't cure the ills of the Negro family. I told this to Malcolm X when he told me that he could show me a woman who only yesterday was a prostitute, and a

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BAYARD RUSTIN, *the noted civil rights leader who organized the March on Washington in 1963, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

man who only yesterday was a dope addict. I said, don't bother to show them to me. I know that a few people in this world can change their behavior through religious experience. But they are very, very few, so small a percentage that I don't even want to discuss this. It is the ghetto, as I told Malcolm, that will make ten prostitutes for every one that is cured. It is the ghetto, the absence of work, which will make ten dope addicts for every one that is cured.

Now, my friends, I must say another thing. Don't think you're so damned exclusive in being targets of Negroes. They are saying worse things about Martin Luther King and other Negro leaders precisely because they love them a little more than they love you. In a situation where Negro unemployment is greater than since 1954, where the slums are bigger than they were in 1954, where there are more rats and roaches in them, where there are more segregated Negro children, the average young Negro now turns to King and me and says what they said to us when we first went into Watts and asked them to behave themselves: "Why are you coming here to talk to us? You made it, and in coming here to tell us to behave ourselves, you're stupid, because all you're asking us to do is to accept these ghetto conditions, and we don't intend to do it."

### *Love and Hate*

I am pointing out to you, my friends, that the Negro holds the greatest disrespect for those who have made it when he has nothing. I've made it, James Farmer has made it, Martin Luther King has made it. But there is nobody who has made it more than the Jews, and nobody who started more handicapped. This is something which creates an ambivalence in the Negro community. We love the Jew and we hate him. Because this is true, you must understand this.

There is a survey soon to come out, by the Anti-Defamation League, which has some interesting facts in it. Negroes are asked quetions like this: "Would you prefer to borrow money from, work for, live beside a white Christian, a Jew, or another Negro family?". And time after time, Negroes in Birmingham, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and Florida answered: "A Jew." When asked: "List in order those whom you feel oppress you most"—the Jew turned up at the bottom of the list and the white Christian at the top. Another question that was asked was: "What group outside the Negro community has done most for the Negro?" The Jews were at the top. "Which group is now doing most to help the Negro?" Again, the Jews were at the top.

Now, under these circumstances I think we ought not to engage in further discussion about the Negro and anti-Semitism. The real problem you should be discussing is whether there is an economic program, which some of us are projecting, to which Jewish people can lend their support. I'll give you an example. More important than anything which has been done in the war on poverty to help the Negro family—President Johnson and Congress know this, and why the smokescreen about it I don't know—is a simple two-dollar minimum wage. If you want to apply your Jewishness, apply it to such simple economic demands as that, and not to such questions as to whether the Negroes like me or whether I like them.

### *Needed: Economic Programs*

We must all create a society in which either business or government makes it possible for anyone who wants work to work. There are some Negroes who are so crippled by this society that they are unemployable. Leave them to the Negro community. We will handle that problem. But what about those who do want to work? What about the 77,000 youths in New York City, many of them Negroes and Puerto Ricans—and the Mayor says we have no work for them? This *is* a problem. They have to go out into the streets and run numbers, which is illegal, or they gamble in the poolrooms for a living, which is illegal, or they go down to Macy's and shoplift and come up to Harlem to sell the goods in bars at night. This is the basis, in part, of the so-called police problem in every ghetto. If every policeman in every Negro ghetto was an angel, and if we had six civilian police review boards, all of which I am for, the problem would still be a problem. Because when the policeman catches that young Negro who cannot find work in this society and learns to live by his wits, the policeman must say to him: "Come along with me, you have broken the law." What the policemen in this society do not realize is that they are saying: "Young Negro, we who have denied you any work except living by your wits, we now arrest you because you are making an effort at least to live without going on relief."

I believe, therefore, my friends, that it is high time for us to forget academic discussions of Negro anti-Semitism and come up with concrete economic programs around which Catholics, Protestants, Jews, students, intellectuals, Puerto Ricans and the labor movement and other minority groups can focus. A. Philip Randolph will be issuing in the next few weeks something called the *Freedom Budget for All Americans*. Frankly, I would like to see the American Jewish Congress buy copies of that and distribute it to every chapter for study, and not to waste your time debating whether Negroes do or do not like Jews.

I commend to you this thought: that a man who is against injustice is making no contribution to anything unless he is against injustice wherever he finds it.

## American Jewish Congress

## Negro-Jewish Relations

-Bayard Rustin

While Negro-Jewish relations have always been good, particularly relations between liberal Jewish organizations and the Negro movement, these relations over the past two or three years have been undergoing serious strain.

Not only have militant Negro groups been attacking these traditionally staunch Jewish allies of the civil rights movement, but the Jewish organizations themselves have shown an increasing tendency to dissociate themselves from activities having to do with the Negro struggle.

I deplore both. I am opposed to anti-semitism whether it is practiced by white protestants and catholics or whether it is practiced by blacks. But neither do I see the militance of certain Negro groups as a sufficient excuse for Jews and Jewish organizations to abandon the struggle for social and economic justice in America. To be Jewish, after all, means nothing if not to take a firm and courageous stand against injustice, wherever it exists.

Nevertheless, I think Jews should try to understand the motivations of young Negro militants; to see that they are not reacting so much out of anti-semitism as out of a total alienation with all the constructive institutions in American society.

The argument of these groups is that the society is no longer viable and cannot be made so; and if this is true, then it is dishonest for any leader or group to continue acting as though social and economic programs can make the difference. In other words, if the society is not viable, and no program is worthwhile, then all those leaders and groups which continue to believe in programs cannot be trusted. Therefore, they are all attacked.

The Freedom Budget for all Americans is attacked; Martin Luther King, before he died, was regarded by these young militants as the enemy; leaflets are passed around calling for the liquidation of A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins. And these are the Negro leaders who in the past, and even now, have worked most strenously fro programs to bring about social and economic change.

Reacting, as they are, out of frustration, the tendency on the part of these militant groups is to attack, first of all, those who are closest to them, those from whom they expect most, and those, in fact, who have done most. Therefore, not only are the old civil rights leaders attacked, but all the liberal institutions -- including the labor movement and Jewish groups.

I think it is this fact which Jewish groups must consider when they try to understand the anti-semitic behavior of young Negro militants -- that Negro groups and Negro leadership are attacked every bit as viciously as the Jews.

Now these groups in spite of their assault on traditional American institutions, is in trouble. Not because they are young, and not because they criticize what is happening in our nation, but because they substitute vicera and emotion for political analysis and program. Thus, they turn away from organizing their own constituents. There is scarcely a youth movement among these groups which tries to organize politically around the questions of war and peace, around poverty or around civil rights. They can tell the labor movement how it ought to organize, they can tell the civil rights movement and the churches what ought to be done to organize, they can criticize the Jews, but the fact is that they themselves reject the usefulness of organization and political activity.

Therefore, despite the nihilism of these young people, a fundamental task remains to be done. All the elements who remain committed to democratic social change are obliged to continue pressing for the programs that can bring about social and economic change in our society. and lift the frustrated and the lumpen proletariat into the working classes.

Basically, we must continue to work for and call for a massive public works program -- on the scope of those called for in the Freedom Budget -- to create schools, housing, hospitals, psychiatric clinic, transportation facilities, cleaner air, and cleaner rivers. Furthermore, for those who cannot work because they are too old, too young, too sick, or who are female heads of large families, we must have a guaranteed income. We must also see that the ghettos with high density of people per room cannot in fact be improved; We must create new towns and destroy the ghetto.

But these programs will not be achieved under the present congressional arrangement. We need to replace, in the coming elections, the 47 liberal congressmen who were defeated in 1966. And we must find a way to make certain that a liberal political movement arises to bring about the liberal congress. It is in this respect that Jews and Jewish organizations remain a fundamental element of the liberal coalition. For if Protestants, Catholics, Jews, trade union movement, civil rights movement, and intellectuals cannot unite into a political force to move Congress, then we shall achieve nothing.

# THE OPEN MIND

WNBC TELEVISION

# "ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE NEGRO"

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WNBC-TV Public Affairs Department

# THE OPEN MIND

## WNBC TELEVISION

**MODERATOR**: Eric F. Goldman

**GUESTS**:
Dr. Alex Rosen
Dr. John Slawson
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Mr. Bayard Rustin

THE ANNOUNCER: The Open Mind - free to examine, to question, to disagree. The subject of today's discussion: "Anti-Semitism and the Negro." The moderator of The Open Mind is Eric F. Goldman, Professor of History at Princeton University and author of "Rendezvous with Destiny" and "The Crucial Decade." To introduce the topic and guests for this week, here is Mr. Goldman.

MR. GOLDMAN: Hello, ladies and gentlemen.

For many years, a good many Americans have assumed, generally assumed, that there has been a strong and close friendship between the Negro and Jewish communities, that there has been a good deal of empathy, a good deal of feeling that they were in something of the same boat and had better row together.

Recently, in discussing the Jewish-Negro relationship, there has been sounding a new note. A good many commentators are maintaining that there is a marked and increasing anti-semitism in the Negro community.

before, but it is being expressed to a greater extent than formerly.

What concerns me most is that it seems to be reflected in many of the segments of the Negro community, and most particularly what I am concerned about is youth, the Negro youth. There seems to be more anti-semitism, as far as we can tell, among the Negro youth than among the Negro older people.

MR. GOLDMAN: In your estimate, is it increasing or is it suddenly coming to the fore, which was there before?

DR. SLAWSON: I would think that it has been there before, but the expression by the Negro community has been much more overt in many respects, and probably in this also.

MR. GOLDMAN: I am wondering, gentlemen, if we can run around the table and see if we have an estimate on this point.

Dr. Clark?

DR. CLARK: Well, I'm not sure that I think that there is more anti-semitism among Negroes today than 15, 20 years ago. I recall in 1946, I wrote a piece for Commentary Magazine. I don't remember the exact title, but I think it was something like "Candor on Jewish-Negro Relations," and at that time I pointed out that there were many problems in the relationship between Jews and Negroes.

I think what we are witnessing may be a different form, a different expression of anti-semitism. In the 1940's, I think the problems of Negroes and Jews seemed to be largely in the area of employment. I put a great deal of stress in that article on the fate of domestics in Jewish households and the relationship between Jewish storekeepers and their patrons in Harlem.

MR. GOLDMAN: And the Jewish landlords.

DR. CLARK: And the Jewish landlords.

MR. GOLDMAN: Economic.

DR. CLARK: That's right, largely economic. I think today the problems of the relationships between Negroes and Jews involve more complex and subtle aspects of relationships, rather than the rater specific concrete areas of difficulties 20 years ago.

MR. GOLDMAN: Before we discuss these points, could we have a general estimate? Mr. Rustin?

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I think the reality is that Negroes are expressing themselves in regard to every segment of the population in a way that 15, 20 years ago they would not. There are two things here. One is the shadow and the other is the substance. I think that there are some studies which have just been about to be published by the Anti-Defamation League which indicate that when asked of Negroes in many ghettos across the country -- when asked whether they would prefer to work for what they call ordinary white people or Jews, many of them prefer to work for Jews. When asked what their attitudes were towards Jews, they were extremely bad.

But the interesting thing is that for white Christians, they were much worse. Therefore, we have to know what we are dealing with here, and I think the very nature of the structure of a ghetto creates a kind of anti-semitism, which may be the vocalization in essense of what Negroes in fact feel about white people, rather than in reality about Jews. But we can get into that later.

MR. GOLDMAN: Yes. And Dr. Rosen?

DR. ROSEN: Well, I think it is extremely difficult to generalize about such a huge global topic. I would like to break it up somewhat, and instead of speaking about Jews as Jews and Negroes as Negroes, I would like to ask, What is the occupation of the person? Are we speaking about a middle class Negro, or are we speaking about a working class Negro? Where does he live? Is he in the big city or is he in a rural area? Is this a young person or an older person? What is his ideology? Is he a member of the Black Muslem group? Is he a member of a civil rights organization, or is he non-ideological? In this way we can break the problem up into parts and begin to place the issue in time and in place, and in that situation it seems to me we can get at it a little more effectively than in global generalizations.

MR. GOLDMAN: All right, let's move along some of these lines that you gentlemen have projected here. May I bring up something here which I think brings together several points made, the study of the Philadelphia race riot in 1964 by Lenore Bursan? She says that she saw very little direct anti-semitism there. This would be somewhat along the line of what Mr. Rustin was saying. It was as whites and as merchants and realtors rather than as Jews per se that they bore the brunt of the Negroes' attack, and she goes on to say: "Nevertheless, the Jews do have in Philadelphia a special and ambiguous position in the Negro ghetto. The landlord is likely to be Jewish as is the grocer and the man who owns the appliance store at the corner. All too often, the Negro seeing himself a victim of exploitation takes it out on the man who is its symbol."

She then had something that none of you had mentioned: "Finally, there is a widespread feeling among Negroes in Philadelphia that Jews, as members of a group so often victimized, owe a solidarity to the Negro people."

MR. RUSTIN: That was a separate point.

MR. GOLDMAN: Let's stay on this one touched upon by so many of you, that what's happening in general, we may generalize for just a moment -- and I'll come back to your breakdown, Dr. Rosen -- is that the Jew has become the focus of a number of feelings about whites.

DR. CLARK: I think there is a tendency on the part of -- in deference now to your point of not over-generalizing let's say the folk Negro, the Negro who lives in the ghetto and who does most of his business in the ghetto -- you know, the small storekeeper or the landlord -- I think there is a tendency for that Negro to generalize and to use the term "Jew" to meaning white people, because I think studies would bear out that most of the whites with whom he comes in contact are likely to be Jewish.

DR. ROSEN: This is based on reality.

DR. CLARK: This is based on reality. The fact is, I suppose we ought to look at other factors in our society to find out why are Jews more likely to be the small storekeeper in the ghetto or the landlord in the ghetto? This may reflect certain things about the place of the Jew in the larger economy or the lower income Jew in the larger economy, but I don't think the folk Negro takes time to discriminate, to differentiate between the white man whom he sees as exploiting him and whether he is Jewish or Christian. He tends to say "Jew" when he means "White," you see.

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I agree with this thoroughly. A ghetto means two things. It means government pressure on you constantly, and that means resentment towards police. It means poverty.

Now, rightly or wrongly, Jews collect too much rent in the ghettos. Jews have stores which are small, and for good or ill, prices are higher. There is very little evidence of the Jewish leadership in Chicago, New York or anywhere else, where a great deal of money is taken out of the community, such as on 125th Street, where there is any evidence of Jews plowing any of this back into the community for the masses. And they do not behave as Negroes. They behave as poor people who tend to generalize. The thing which touches them immediately they react to, and I think what they are saying is not what many white Christians would say, "Jew bastard"; they are saying, "Damned Jew," by which they mean, "Damned white man."

DR. ROSEN: Or society.

DR. SLAWSON: I think we would be walking a treadmill if we wished to attribute rational causation to prejudice and discrimination. We all know it is irrational. We all know that the Jew has been a very convenient target for the white Christian and the Jew is a very convenient target for the Negro Christian in the ghetto. It is a particularized kind of a target. Even if we eliminate, Mr. Rustin, all the landlords and all the merchants, you still would have Negro anti-semitism, because of the many complicated factors that enter into the situation. We always walk a treadmill when we try to attribute anti-semitism to the prejudice to the victim. It is the fault of the bigot, and I would like to bring up something here which has been troubling me very much, because we have been talking about the mass Negro.

I am concerned about the illegal group. I am concerned about the kind of statements and things that occurred at the White House Conference on Civil Rights, or at the NAACP meeting in Mount Vernon, because here you have, gentlemen, an example to the mass Negro population.

DR. CLARK: I think you meant a CORE meeting rather than an NAACP meeting.

DR. SLAWSON: A CORE meeting, that's right.

DR. CLARK: You are not talking about the same things there.

DR. SLAWSON: Now, these outbursts, these expressions such as you had in Washington, that the conference was controlled by white Jews, and the expression over in the CORE meeting in Mount Vernon -- I think it was Mount Vernon -- that Hitler didn't just do enough, and so on, these are horrible influences on the mass population, and then when actors speak and professional elite speak and authors and so forth, that's what horrifies me and frightens me.

DR. CLARK: I think, Mr. Slawson, we ought to make one thing clear, that no one could possibly support or justify in any way the unfortunate outbreak at that meeting in Mount Vernon. I think that James Farmer, who at the time was the head of CORE, immediately repudiated that statement.

DR. SLAWSON: Not as immediately as he might have.

DR. CLARK: I think within 24 hours.

DR. SLAWSON: It took a little work.

DR. CLARK: That was an unfortunate --

DR. SLAWSON: And I like Farmer, but it took a little work.

DR. CLARK: All right. I think we ought to make some distinction though between anti-semitism among white Christians and anti-semitism among Negroes. I think it is unfortunate that we are even using the same words, because I think it is clear that anti-semitism among white Christians, not only in America but throughout the world, seemed to have its roots primarily in terms of religious superstition -- the whole question that the Vatican Council tried to deal with. It also reflect some snobbery, the Christian feeling that he is superior to the Jew in terms of social superiority and other forms of superiority. I do not believe that these two ingredients are to be found in what is called anti-semitism among Negroes, even upper middle class Negroes.

DR. SLAWSON: Don't you think it makes him feel a little bit superior, the Negro, and he begins to hate the Jew?

DR. CLARK: Frankly, I don't.

DR. SLAWSON: You don't think so?

DR. CLARK: I think that's more likely to be true in anti-Negro feelings among Jews, than to be true among Negroes' hostility or negative feelings towards the Jews. I think what we call anti-semitism among Negroes is a reflection of the Negroes' reaction against his real or imagined feeling that he is being exploited, you see, not that he feels that he is superior to the Jews, not that he is identifying it with some historical crime which the Jews allegedly committed against Christ. He is reacting, as Bayard Rustin said, to what he believes to be the problems of his day to day existence in the ghetto.

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me. I'll come, Dr. Rosen, back to your point and bring it in here. Would you say that the kind of statement being made around the table is the kind of the generalization which is acceptable to you -- that is, one is trying to talk here about what would be called the folk Negro? That would not bother you?

DR. ROSEN: No.

DR. CLARK: Or the Negro intellectuals?

DR. ROSEN: Well, that's the problem though.

MR. GOLDMAN: You had the folk Negro, and you are saying certain Negro units?

DR. ROSEN: Yes. I'm saying, Ken, about this whole business about the new development, or maybe it is the new expression of the Negro intellectual. That's what scares me.

MR. RUSTIN: I would like to make a generalization.

DR. CLARK: And if it needs codifying, I'll codify it, without apology.

MR. RUSTIN: And I'll accept it, sir.

I feel that a minority group tends to be in an ambivolent position. Wherever there is anti-semitism among whites, where Negroes are attempting to become a part of that society and become in but that society will not permit them to do many things that they want to do, to go many places that they want to go, there was a subtle means by which the human mind on the part of every minority ends up by saying, "I may not be able to do what the dominant group does and go where it goes, but at least I can think some of the things that it thinks." And I am of the opinion that wherever anti-semitism exists in the broad culture, Negroes will in part reflect that in the same manner in which Jews who are in the south and who do not want to face a double jeopardy very often become exceedingly anti-Negro. I think we've got to, you know, see it both ways. That's the generalization, one which I'm prepared to defend if someone wants to challenge it.

DR. ROSEN: Well, I'm not sure that I would go along with that, Bayard. I see the logic of it and I think theoretically it is correct, but actually I'm not sure that the Negro can afford these kinds of attitudinal subtleties. It seems to me that anti-semitism among Christian whites does involve many primitive curious subtleties --

MR. RUSTIN: I agree with that.

DR. ROSEN: -- curious subtleties, you know, of superiority, inferiority, in which the Christian white is trying desperately to find some basis in reality for his belief that he is superior to the Jew.

MR. RUSTIN: Right.

DR. ROSEN: And sometimes he finds this extremely difficult.

MR. RUSTIN: Right.

DR. ROSEN: Well, I don't think the Negro can afford this kind of pretense.

MR. RUSTIN: I don't think that's what he does.

DR. ROSEN: He knows darned well that he cannot.

DR. CLARK: That's logical. You're talking logically.

MR. RUSTIN: I don't think that's what he is doing here. I think he is merely trying to protect himself from the majority.

DR. ROSEN: That to me is a different point, and I would go along with that.

MR. GOLDMAN: Dr. Slawson?

DR. SLAWSON: I wonder if Dr. Clark would agree with this or disagree, because this is in the realm of psychology. Isn't there a sibling problem here? Here you have two groups that have been classical exploited groups for many, many generations, and more or less there is a sort of a sibling relationship and has been for a long time, and suddenly there is a disparity in class distinction that has suddenly shot up for various kinds of reasons that we have no time to go into, and then you have an envy and a rivalry, and my reason for saying it is that I find too much of it in the intellectual group and elite group.

DR. ROSEN: Let me say something about how the status of this elite group has changed, and what I think is new in the 1950's and 1960's. You see previously -- we have indicated all human beings tend to internalize the culture in which they live, whether we are a Negro, a white, or Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, and we are dealing with, you know, an awfully complex phenomena. We react as human beings, and until the last several decades, when we referred to Negro-white relationships, if the whites happened to be Jews, we often were referring to a businessman-worker relationship or a housewife-domestic servant relationship, or a landlord and tenant relationship.

Now, that prevailed in the past, and it prevails now as well in Watts and in Harlem, in many of the urban areas of the United States. Well, what is new are the young Negroes since World War II who have moved into the race for professions, who are now schoolteachers or social workers, government officials, intergroup relations experts, and so on, and they are moving into professions which for historical reasons Jews had kind of preempted, if one looks at it from the viewpoint of somebody who is coming in now for the first time, and there is a bit of rivalry, of competition for the good things in life or for prominence in these various professions.

Now, that has what one scholar has called a new kind of confrontation among professionals, both Negro professionals and Jewish professionals, so we are no longer along the line of the confrontation of the landlord-tenant relationship as it has been in the past.

MR. GOLDMAN: Mr. Rustin, before you come in here, I'm sure this in the minds of many of our audience at the present moment. We are talking about two things here: The psychology of the situation regardless of facts, and the other are certain facts. Is it a matter of fact? Do we know this? You have stated, I believe that in the average Negro community in the north it is the Jew who owns the slum properties in general; it is the Jew who owns the exploitative store in general; and it is the Jew who conducts the relations with the domestic which are exploitable. I took it you were making that generalization.

MR. RUSTIN: No. I didn't say precisely that, but I was saying that to the Negro in the ghetto, the Jew is visible, and the prices are higher -- and I don't want to go into the economics of that because it may be justified. I don't want to get into that. But he touches many more Jews in his daily life in the ghetto than he does any other whites.

MR. GOLDMAN: But you are stating it to be a fact that when he comes up against a store which exploits him, it's a Jewish store.

MR. RUSTIN: Very often.

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me. May I stay in the realm of facts for a moment? So is it agreed around the table that what the Negro is objecting to is something, is a legitimate objection here?

DR. SLAWSON: Well, I believe it is illegitimate, for this reason: That I don't want to have a Negro personally react to me because of the Jewish landlord there, and I don't want to react to Kenneth Clark because of a violent action on the part of a Negro in the street. It is absolutely illegitimate. It is a generalization which the educator and their leadership, the Negro leadership and the Jewish leadership take up and simply make it comprehensible that you cannot simply condemn one human being regardless of what other human beings of his class are doing.

MR. RUSTIN: Well, let me be a little more specific. I think there are some bases why Negro intellectuals have begun to question some attitudes of Jews. We ought to be honest on that.

DR. SLAWSON: Yes, that's right. Let's be honest.

MR. RUSTIN: When A. Phillip Randolph wanted to set up the Negro American Labor Council, many Jews came to him and said, "How dare you do such a thing? We have been working for Negro labor rights all this time. Why do you dare to set up something for Negroes?" They had obscured the fact that there is something called the Jewish Labor Committee. Now, this created some problems.

Another illustration: I myself recently had a great number of my Jewish friends telling me, "We lifted ourselves by our bootstraps. We were intellectuals. We were this." They forget that they lifted themselves not because Jews were well read or intellectual, but because the objective situation permitted them when they got off the boat, not even speaking English, and when Mississippi Negroes are in a better position today than many Jews who came from eastern Europe and got off the boat, but in five minutes have work because the society was buying muscle power, and therefore Negroes resent you saying "Do as we did" in a totally new situation.

Or, some Jews will say, for example, "You know, we made it because we were industrious." The fact of the matter is that great numbers of Jews in New York made it from the Lower East Side to West End Avenue because the trade union movement was born, the I.L.G. was being found, so I think that I for one very often resent not only Jews, but Irish and Italians and others who talk about lifting themselves by their bootstraps.

DR. SLAWSON: Mr. Rustin, I agree with you fully, and I say it is bad manners on the part of those who do this kind of thing. But I want to ask you this question: Why is there such great resentment on the part of the Negro civil rights leadership that Jews are in a civil rights movement? Jews have been in the forefront of the civil rights movements for generations.

MR. RUSTIN: Good question, and it is a very simple matter. Nobody appreciates more than I do the great work Jews have done in this field. I know that you built schools and libraries and helped us when no one would, but there comes a time when every person has to face what Mr. A. Phillip Randolph has said. Unless the minority which is being persecuted stands up, takes the leadership and says, "We want now to take the leadership for ourselves no matter how badly we do it" -- until that happens, nobody else will take him seriously.

Now, I think it has been very difficult for some Jews to realize that they have to not take that leadership as they had in the past.

DR. SLAWSON: I agree with that leadership, but then the Negro leaders have even resented the fact that Jewish organizations will, let us say, come out and compare crime and race as the American Jewish Committee has done for the purpose of demonstrating the misconceptions. But there have been very definite views that this kind of thing has to be done by a Negro organization, and when a Jewish organization does it, it is simply hanging onto the coattails and using the Negro as a shield for its own ends.

DR. ROSEN: May I comment on that point? Our task, as among others, I assume is to understand human behavior in whatever skin it may be lodged. Now, there is something wholesome, I think, about Negro resentment of people who try to do things for them, despite the fact that objectively this is motivated on the part of the person who is doing it for them by the most splendid and positive kinds of attitudes, because at some point a man or a group wants to stand on its own two feet, and it is a sign I think of growing maturity and taking command of its own destiny on the part of the Negro community that it is saying to many of its friends, "We would like to take over."

Now, some of this may be expressed a little harshly, a little sharply, but these are the facts of life. But I think if we understand the causation of this, I think we may not be --

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me. Now, still staying in the realm of facts here, may I come back and develop a bit of a point that Dr. Clark made in the beginning of the discussion?

Is there in fact something new in this situation which is causing trouble? Nathan Glazer, in an article in Commentary, and I shall use shorthand here to say it, argues that for many years the Jews' interest in the Negro was one that could be exercised with safety, so to speak. He was being nice to a fellow who was essentially a domestic, and so forth and so on, but that the Negro is now in a position where what the Negro does is impinging directly on him, vis-a-vis the school situation, for example, and here is where you begin to get real antagonism between the groups. Is this the kind of thing that you had in mind where it was turning into a more subtle matter than the old situation?

DR. CLARK: Yes. I think that one of the things we ought to be clear about is that the relationship between Negroes and Jews today is being affected by a greater candor on the part of Negroes. Communication is more direct, more honest, and the Negro is talking to America, he is talking to liberals, he is talking to white Christians and Jews with a level of honestly which is not totally new, but quite new, and I think one of the things that he is saying is, "Look, you know we may have needed your surrogates, intermediaries in the past, but one of the things that we want to do now is to remove the subtle racism and condescension which is implicit in having to have a spokesman and a surrogate."

On this matter of Jews in the civil rights movement, it seems to me that there is no question that there are Jews in the civil rights movement. There should be more Jews in the civil rights movement.

DR. ROSEN: There should be more everybody in the civil rights movement.

DR. CLARK: That's right.

DR. ROSEN: In order to have more, they have to feel welcome.

DR. CLARK: Well, I don't think that's true. I don't think that Jews that are in the -- or, I don't think that anyone should be in the civil rights movement out of a sense of doing good for the Negro. I think you should be in the civil rights movement because you are concerned with justice, you are concerned with the stability of our society. I think where the rub does come, and I think it is a very real problem, is in this question of leadership.

Now, I have heard many Negro youngsters in Harlem point out that in the Jewish organizations, you do not have Negroes in leadership roles. In fact, I wonder, Mr. Slawson, if in your organization there are Negroes on the board of directors, for example, but there are Jews on the board and in staff positions in practically every Negro civil rights organization.

Now, I am in favor of complete integration. I am in favor of integrating all of the civil rights groups, Negroes, Jewish civil rights groups, Catholic civil rights groups, Protestant civil rights groups, all along the line. And this is a new and subtle position which, if stated by Malcolm X, would sound abrasive. I hope that I am stating it in a less abrasive way, but meaning exactly the same thing that Malcolm X would mean if he were stating it. You know that you cannot have one-way integration. You cannot have any longer Jews saying, "Look, we want to come in and help you." And certainly in the past help has been appreciated -- "and part of our help implies or requires that we be in a leadership policy making position," and then the Negro looks and sess that in the Jewish organization he is not in the policy making or leadership position.

DR. SLAWSON: You see, on this question of leadership, you know this is a little incomprehensible to me, because what is needed is a coalition of forces between organizations, as a matter of fact, whether it is Negro organizations or Jewish organizations or whatnot, and the person that is best qualified, whether he be black or white, takes on leadership, because this is a human problem, as you say. This is an American problem. This isn't a Negro problem.

MR. GOLDMAN: Mr. Rustin wants to come in here.

MR. RUSTIN: I think there is a subtlety here which you are missing, and I want to be very concrete. The very summer two Jewish boys nobly died in Mississippi fighting for the cause of justice, Mr. Schwemm and the other one --

DR. ROSEN: Goodman.

MR. RUSTIN: That very summer, I saw something happen in Mississippi, which I want to explain to you, because it is very important. You talk about the person who is best -- not necessarily. Here were Negroes from Mississippi who had a Mississippi education coming together with college trained young Jewish boys and girls from New York City. In the middle of that summer there was a most profound resentment, because in the heat of the battle, when press releases needed to be done in the next 15 minutes, somebody said, "Give it to the Jewish boy from New York," not calling him "Jewish," but "Give it to Abe because he'll do it quickly."

DR. ROSEN: Who resented that?

MR. RUSTIN: The young Negroes from Mississippi, who said, "Look, of course that fellow has been to college up north and can do a press release better than we can, but when the hell are we ever going to learn to make press releases? They're going back to New York City. We want to do that press release if it takes us until tomorrow to get it out, because we've got to learn."

DR. SLAWSON: As an educational project, that's very good.

MR. RUSTIN: Yes. Now, this is what a great number of not only Jews but whites do not know, that there are times when you have to say, "I'm more talented. I may have had greater experience, but I know psychologically I've got to step back now and let this fellow take the reins, and to the degree that I can make him feel good by helping him when he calls on me, or encouraging him, all right, but I cannot step out according to my ability and take leadership." It just psychologically is not possible.

Now, one other thing while I'm at it. There is amongst a great segment of Negro middle class today a great feeling that they have simply got to get on economically, and therefore, whether you like ir ot not, there is a shame and a resentment when they walk up 125th Street and find not one or two shops which are thriving, which are doing business as Negro people. Now, this creates a resentment. Now, I don't, you know, think that this ought to be the case.

DR. CLARK: Well, I don't see why not.

MR. RUSTIN: I mean that there should be any anti-semitism as a result of this, but there has been a resentment against the economic exclusion in one's own neighborhood. Many times they can't break through.

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me, Mr. Rustin. Could I ask you on this point -- it has to do with something we have been talking about the whole last half hour. When a folk Negro, to use your phrase, uses the expression "Goldbergs," which I gather from reading the Negro literature is a common term, let us say, in Harlem, what does he really mean?

DR. CLARK: I don't know that that is a common term. I must confess I personally have not heard the term used. I'm more likely to hear the term, you know, "Jewish landlord" or

"Jewish storekeeper." I have not heard it in recent years.

MR. RUSTIN: Nor have I.

DR. CLARK: Derogatory Jewish epitaphs.

DR. ROSEN: I did hear it, not to any great extent, when I was in Watson. So were you and Mr. Rustin. People referred to some of the storekeepers, you know, in humorous terms.

MR. RUSTIN: I am also ready to admit that a literary work of art is something in addition to reality.

DR. CLARK: That is not common, Mr. Goldman. But in two years of rather intense close contact with the youth of Harlem during the Haryou assignment stage in which I was working right in the middle of Harlem for 12, 15 hours a day, I do not recall hearing that term even once. Now, it may be that the youngsters were selective in what they permitted me to hear, but I certainly heard a lot of intense nationalism. I heard a great deal of bitterness and tremendous respect for Malcolm X.

MR. GOLDMAN: You realize that it is commonly said that in the Negro communities of America today, all Jews are referred to as "Goldberg," and it had a certain --

DR. CLARK: I wouldn't say I commonly heard it.

MR. RUSTIN: I just don't think that that could possibly be the case, or I would have heard it.

MR. GOLDMAN: All right. Now, rarely do I do this on these programs, but I think it would be helpful here if I tried to summarize just for a moment what we are agreeing upon so far around this table. Are we really agreeing on these things, that there is either an increased anti-semitism in the Negro community, or what was there already is being more openly spoken?

DR. CLARK: I'm not agreeing with that. If by "anti-semitism," you mean the same thing when you talk about anti-semitism among whites, I personally have to disagree.

DR. ROSEN: Do you want a softer term?

DR. CLARK: No, not necessarily a softer term, but a different term. I think that anti-semitism among whites means two things, you see: A reaction to Jews in terms of certain religious reactions or assumptions about the role of Jews in the Crucifixion, et cetera, and the reaction to Jews in terms of social, political and other forms of superiority or bases for superiority. These two ingredients do not seem to me to fit the relationship between Negroes and Jews.

DR. SLAWSON: Well, the religious factor is certainly present.

DR. CLARK: I do not think the religious factor plays an important role.

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me; I would like to get back into that for a moment. Accepting your dissent and simply calling it a hostility towards Jews, it either is increasing or the thing is more openly spoken?

DR. CLARK: And the basis of it, it seems to me, is in terms of the kind of relationship between Jews and Negroes in the Negro ghetto.

MR. GOLDMAN: And that there are certain things which are facts. Now, is this correct which, whether they should bring it about or not or among the things which are bringing it about, is the Jewish ownership of slum property, the Jewish ownership of certain types of stores, and so forth? Now, Dr. Slawson very quickly adds that that is no justification for the anti-semitism. There is no reason to read dislike of him into it, but it is agreed that these are the kinds of facts --

DR. SLAWSON: If you are talking about the mass Negro group, then what do we do about the elite Negro group?

MR. GOLDMAN: I was talking to the third point. Is there agreement around the table that as a Negro intellectual emerges, as a Negro middle class and upper middle class emerges, there is present a degree of this unfavorable attitude? Again, I'm trying to carry your point, Dr. Clark. Would you agree with Dr. Slawson on this?

DR. CLARK: I would not. Again, what I think Dr. Slawson calls an unfavorable attitude is just more honest dialogue.

MR. GOLDMAN: Either there are more there, or more outspoken.

DR. CLARK: I think the Negro and intellectuals are now engaging in a more forthright direct honest discussion of the complexities of the problem. Someone used the term "ambivolence" of the relationship. They are even including the roles of Jews in support of the civil rights movement.

MR. GOLDMAN: Now, Mr. Rustin, you added, and I want now to close up this factual end of things and get into these interesting and important and subtle psychological problems -- you added a feeling that it was a matter of fact that the Jewish community was not plowing back into the Negro community the financial rewards it was taking from it, or did I misunderstand you?

MR. RUSTIN: I said that for the masses of Negroes, there was no evidence of this.

MR. GOLDMAN: So to them it is a fact.

MR. RUSTIN: Right.

DR. CLARK: I think it is probably more than a subjective fact. It probably is an actual fact, but I think this would be true of any group that was economically involved in an essentially colonial area.

DR. SLAWSON: It so happens that the Jews are represented in the middle merchant class to a much greater extent than anyone else. I just heard that in Longdale, Chicago, one third of the slum land owners are Negroes and not Jews, and there are many Negroes who have a very special interest in the ghetto situation.

They make a living out of it also.

DR. CLARK: You know, Mr. Slawson, I think for the folk Negro, the Negro landlord in the ghetto would probably be perceived as a Jew.

DR. SLAWSON: That's the point.

DR. CLARK: I think what has happened is that certain --

DR. SLAWSON: You hit the nail right on the head. That's exactly it.

DR. ROSEN: You mean the person who is an exploiter?

DR. SLAWSON: Yes.

DR. CLARK: Among Negroes in Harlem, for example, the West Indian Negro is often called a "Black Jew," because he has moved into the store owner role, the landlord role, to a great extent.

DR. SLAWSON: That's stereotyped to the Nth degree.

MR. GOLDMAN: Now, gentlemen, I think we have clear here your feelings on what you are agreeing upon in the factual realm. Let's now go back into this other subtle realm. A number of you have been making the point that we have reached the stage where the Negro -- did I understand you correctly? -- does not want the Jew to play this historic role in the United States. It was the Jew for years who was the fellow who led the Negro movement, the NAACP. He gave them money. He was the local leader. His Rabbi was more prominent than most Christian ministers.

Is there a psychological impossibility in that any more so far as the Negro is concerned? I'm saying it in a very shorthand way, but is this what you are saying?

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I think what I was trying to say was that many young Negroes feel that they would prefer to run their own organizations poorly than to have them run by more experienced people in a more experienced manner. They are saying that, and I agree with that, that I do not want people telling me that they made it in ways which are mythology as compared with how I have to make it, and I resent this, and I think that a great number of people, not only Jews, but others who do not know that they made it in a totally different situation where objective factors were working for them.

MR. GOLDMAN: So then, Mr. Rustin, am I correct that what you are saying -- and pardon me again for trying to generalize on it -- but the Negro has reached the stage where he doesn't want the white leadership, Jewish or non-Jewish, imposed on him, but that since there happens to be a lot of Jewish leadership there historically, all of the feeling is directed against him? Would that be a fair statement?

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I think that that is in part correct, but in part.

DR. SLAWSON: If that is true, Mr. Rustin, why is it so dangerous to mention the words "mutual aid" or "self help," because a number of us, as you know, have just written an article on that in Commentary about what you are saying, and yet when that is mentioned it is immediately interpreted as an unfriendly move.

MR. RUSTIN: I'll tell you, the Negro doesn't want to talk about self help, because many of our white friends are recommending it to us now as if it is something new, when for years they would not permit us to be covered for insurance ----. We set up our own companies. When they threw us out of churches in Philadelphia, we set up the African Methodist Episcopal Church. When they would not give us jobs, to bury our own people we put a plate on a person who was dead, on his chest, and everybody in the community came and put a penny on it. The self help idea culminated after a hundred years in Booker T. Washington. Now, therefore, for people to come to us now and talk about self help, it is ridiculous.

DR. SLAWSON: It is to encourage their culture.

MR. RUSTIN: Yes, but I don't think it can be encouraged. Jews did and must understand that they got to become a part of the American way of life because the society permitted them to find economic security for the heads of their families.

DR. SLAWSON: I'm not talking about the Jews; I'm talking about the Negroes now.

MR. RUSTIN: But I'm talking about them though because we can only deal with the difficulties in our community when this society permits us to find economic security for the heads of our families, and we do not welcome advice from other people which implies that somehow or other this is because of our character, or that we don't help ourselves.

DR. SLAWSON: That is your sensitivity. That is not the motivation at all.

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I'm not unduly sensitive, except for people who say this to me.

DR. CLARK: Well, it is a fact that I am sensitive. I am sensitive to the fact that people who are talking about self help do not follow that up with what seem to me to be the logical and realistic bases for self help -- namely, opening up this economy.

MR. RUSTIN: Right.

DR. CLARK: You know, it is one thing to say to Negroes, "Look, help yourself. We helped ourselves." But if a Negro wants to to into certain forms of business, for example, the dress business or the grocery business, it's not that easy, you see, and still is not that easy, even with the Small Business Administration and whatnot. The fact is that we do have an economy which in almost all significant areas seems to be ethnically blocked, including our unions. Take, for example, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. A substantial proportion of the rank and file members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. You look at the leadership in that union, however, and you find very few if any Negroes. You could go into institution after institution in our society and find that the ethnic considerations play a significant role in leadership and control, and so far the Negro has done very well in terms of civil rights legislation and in court decisions, but he has not made any significant move in the economic areas where the fundamental decisions as to status will be made.

MR. GOLDMAN: Gentlemen, I have the signal. I'll come back to you in a moment, Dr. Rosen. We have only about eight minutes to go. Could I ask you to move in those eight minutes to this consideration? One of the great historic facts of the 20th Century in the United States has been at least an alleged community of interest and friendship between the Negro and the Jewish people. I'm not talking about whether it was true or not. But politicians depended upon it. Historians wrote about it. Social scientists made theories about it.

There is obviously from this discussion a growing feeling on the part of the Negro, justly or unjustly, that he wants to break away in some senses from that kind of relationship. If our program were the Jewish attitudes towards the Negro, probably we would be coming to somewhat the same conclusions.

Now, this represents a very important fact for the American city. Where are we going in this area? What kind of relationship will develop?

Dr. Rosen, this is peculiarly your field, and I wish you would start us on that.

DR. ROSEN: You see, the great tragedy here is that the Jew is readily available and is a visible symbol. That is, the Jew's name and his occupation in small communities or in larger communities as a small merchant makes him as visible to the community at large as the skin color of the Negro makes him visible, and consequently, when a man is angry at the world, you can't punch society in the nose. You just can't do that.

I was in college during the 1930's, and when men were angry they threatened the storekeeper when they couldn't buy food, and they would literally punch him in the nose. Now, that storekeeper was as much a victum of the circumstances of the world as they themselves, but he was there, he was available, and you could do something about it.

I want to pick up on the word that you used, Dr. Goldman, which is the urban community and the city. The tragedy of our current situation, and I agree that some people who don't have bootstraps can't exactly lift themselves by the bootstraps -- it is a common human social American problem to open up the gates of opportunity for all people, you know, Negro and white, Catholic.

Protestant, Jewish, and so on, and the tragedy of our times is that the city as a mechanism has to absorb people and has dreadfully failed in the 1960's. That is, when the immigrants came in 1850 and 1860, when the Irish and the Jews and the Italians and the Greeks came, there were social inventions, such things as settlement houses, to aid in the culturation and the adjustment of these people who came to America to become citizens and to enter into social, political and economic life. The tragedy of Harlem and of Bedford Stuyvesant, especially of areas like Watts and Chicago, is that the city, its social structure, its political structure, hasn't organized itself in the 1960's as well as it was organized in the 1900's to help in the culturation of these people who have come from the rural areas, and it is that huge big problem that faces us and not the immediacy of these two minority groups who happen to face each other because both happen to live in a ghetto, one as the small merchant and one is a person who happens to live his life out there.

MR. GOLDMAN: I see a general nodding of heads around the table.

DR. SLAWSON: There may be a nodding of heads, Dr. Goldman, but I urge that the coalition be restored, because if it isn't restored, it is going to weaken the entire movement and it is going to be bad for the Negro and bad for the Jews and bad for America.

MR. RUSTIN: I think we are dealing again with two different things. The coalition does not need to be restored. The March on Washington was possible because the Protestants, the Catholics, Jews, labor people, students and minority groups marched together.

DR. SLAWSON: And you led it and nobody resented it at all.

MR. RUSTIN: I'm not arguing that.

DR. SLAWSON: All right.

MR. RUSTIN: The Civil Rights Bill of 1964 was brought about by that same coalition of forces. The Voters Rights Bill of 1965 was brought about by that same coalition of forces. As the war on poverty must be increased, it can be increased only if those same forces, including Catholics, Jews, labor people, students and others continue. We ought not now to permit the discussion we are having, which has to do with an honest appreciation of each other for what we are, to obscure the basic political --

DR. SLAWSON: Yes, but, my friend, the resentment is increasing, and therefore I am saying it is a threat of a breakup to the coalition.

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me. Whose resentment? About what?

DR. SLAWSON: Resentment.

MR. RUSTIN: I recommend that they look at the problem a little more objectively.

MR. GOLDMAN: Excuse me, Mr. Rustin. I want to get this correctly.

DR. SLAWSON: I happen to know a number of Jews all over the United States who are angry at the fact that their helpfulness is being not only not appreciated, but resented. How can a coalition exist?

MR. RUSTIN: Their helpfulness is not being resented. If that helpfulness is offered in a certain manner, it will be resented.

DR. SLAWSON: Even if it is offered in a certain manner, there is no feeling of welcome, and the leadership of both groups have got to get together and work things out.

MR. GOLDMAN: Dr. Clark?

DR. CLARK: Well, I was just thinking that the coalition -- I agree with Bayard that it isn't a question of restoring it. It is a question of expanding it. It's a question of Jews, Negroes, Christians working for justice, and I think what Bayard is saying, and which I agree with, is that the Negro is now asserting that he doesn't want someone to work for him, but to work with him. He wants him to work with him.

MR. GOLDMAN: I'm sorry, gentlemen. I wish it weren't true, but I've got to get us off the air quickly.

For a good humored and very thoughtful discussion of a very sensitive subject, thank you, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark of the City College of New York, Dr. John Slawson of the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Bayard Rustin of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, and Dr. Alex Rosen of the Graduate School of Social Work of N.Y.U.

Thank you for being with us, ladies and gentlemen, and goodbye for this week.

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# LABOR UNIONS

# THE "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
Saturday, February 20, 1967

America is a country born in libertarianism. Its basic philosophical and constitutional documents guarantee and affirm democratic values. Yet so many millions of our people have been forced to spend their entire lives in the struggle to obtain social, political and economic justice. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution itself, the Bill of Rights, a whole series of Federal Statutes -- they articulate a course for the democratic conduct of our affairs, yet so many of us have been doomed to fight as though we are creating a democracy, instead of, in fact, inheriting a historic birthright.

Though this paradox touches in one way or another upon the lives of millions of Americans, black and white, it has been most dramatically evidenced in the lives of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other minority groups, and in the life of the American labor movement. Nobody knows so much about American freedom as Negroes who have never really had it, whose entire journey across the stage of American history has been a long, bitter, heartbreaking journey in search of an elusive birthright. And no other social movement in America has been forced to walk as doggedly as the labor movement has, the bloody road to labor dignity and industrial democracy. Labor and minority groups have been where the real action is -- the bullets, the dogs, the lynch-ropes, the billy clubs, blood dripping down through the leaves of the trees, and blood running out of the open shop. This makes us brothers not only under the skin, but also brothers in blood, in sweat, and in tears, all shed in the service of making America safe for democracy. It is to the credit of the American labor movement, and a challenge to its treatment of the Negro in the future, that I cannot make that statement about any other institution in America.

When the racists, bigots, and monopolists were not shedding our blood, they were blocking our way with all kinds of stratagems. We have heard them all -- "Property Rights," "States Rights," "Right to Work." All of these slogans, as you will have noticed, and as you will still notice, have been uttered in ringing tones of idealism and individual freedom. But that is the special genius of those who would deny the right of others and hoard the fruits of democracy for themselves: They evade the problems and complex challenges of equal justice by reducing them to primitive oversimplifications that plead for nothing else but the perpetuation of their own special, exploitative interests.

The present battle being fought by some of the most powerful interests in this country to retain the so-called right-to-work laws falls squarely within the tradition of these primitive self-serving strategies. This slogan -- Right to Work -- developed out of the license granted by Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act, is deceptive and insidious . On the face of it, what working man would not be interested in his inalienable right to work? It is only when we look more closely that we see it does not mean that at all.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker has the right to a job and to receive work at fair wages, reasonable hours, and under decent labor standards.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker has a right to secure employment with proper provisions for paid vacations and insurance safeguards against sickness and old age.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker is protected against arbitrary discharge.

IT DOES NOT MEAN to strengthen the individual worker's bargaining position through a union of his choice.

What it means is the OPPOSITE of all these things. And what IT DOES MEAN is weakening the workers' bargaining power by keeping unions out of the factory or office.

IT DOES MEAN creating the open shop.

IT DOES MEAN destroying the institution of collective bargaining, and thus keeping Negroes and other minority members at the bottom of the economic ladder.

IT DOES MEAN wrecking the whole structure of labor union democracy and effective labor-management relations.

In short, "Right to Work" is the same as Open Shop and industrial Jim Crow, and no matter how you dress it up it is the same weapon that was used to kill trade union organization in the early part of the twentieth century, the same weapon used to deny minorities their economic rights.

Therefore, Right to Work -- as it becomes incumbent on Negroes and other minorities to see -- beyond being aimed at wrecking the traditional labor-management apparatus, constitutes just another instrument to perpetuate the informal system of racism in the United States. That being so, I am opposed to it as a Negro; I am opposed to it as someone who sees that from this point on the problems of minorities are intimately connected with the problems of the labor movement; I am opposed to it as someone who has spent the greater part of his life in the struggle for human rights; and I am opposed to it as an American who understands that the cause of equality for all of our people and justice for all of our people cannot triumph without a strong, unified effective movement of all the workers in our society regardless of color, race and creed.

But what, in more detail, is the nature of our case against Section 14(b)? I will bring at least five charges.

1."Right to Work" laws are a violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Anyone who examines the history and development of the

Constitution will find that federal jurisdiction over national labor-management relations is vested in the "commerce clause," which argues, in effect, for a uniform regulation of commerce. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 voted unanimously to delegate to the federal government the power to regulate commerce. This is further buttressed by the provision that federal law is supreme to state law in areas delegated to the federal government. As recently as 1935, the Congress in the Wagner Act preempted for the federal government jurisdiction over labor management relations for several years, during which the Supreme Court consistently ruled that States may exercise their traditional police powers to protect public safety and order, but may not adopt their own codes of labor relations, since this was the exclusive prerogative of the federal government. The doctrine is clear, and still stands as one of the chief arbiters in relations between the federal government and the States. Significantly, there is just one exception: the authority that Section 14(b) has given the States since 1947 to exercise jurisdiction in matters affecting the local union security. There could be no more flagrant breach of one of the hallowed traditions of the Constitution, and Negroes and other ethnic minorities who have suffered most from the frustration of American constitutional guarantees cannot be happy over yet another blow to their aspirations for social and economic liberation.

President Truman, as many of us recall, had no interest in being an accomplice to this disastrous precedent. He attempted to veto the Taft Hartley Bill, sending it back to Congress with these words:

> "The bill is contrary to the national policy of economic freedom...would limit the freedom of employers and labor organizations to agree on methods of developing responsibility on the part of unions by establishing union security..."

But, as so often happens, Congress saw the issue differently. And so it overrode Truman's veto and destroyed the integrity of labor's hard-won bargaining strength.

2. "Right to Work" laws are undemocratic.

In the 1930's, slowly groping its way out of a disastrous Depression, the country made a momentous democratic political decision: We decided that henceforth free collective bargaining was to be the policy of the nation. We opted to apply democratic principles to the regulation of industrial life, and in doing so, we were also opting for "exclusive jurisdiction" in labor matters. The union that won a free and fair election among the workers in a plant was to be empowered by law to represent all the workers of that plant. The union was to become the exclusive bargaining agent that could exclude or ignore no one. This became the pattern of labor-management relationships, and it helped open the economic doors to hundreds of thousands of Negroes and other minorities. But comes 1947,and with it Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act. And what does it do? It refuses to acknowledge the binding nature of the majority decision of a union membership, guarantees the right of non-union membership among workers in a plant, imposes the will of a minority of members upon the majority, and thus destroys the collective bargaining arrangement, and sets back the progress of Negroes and other minorities. But the implication of this so-called right to work law goes beyond the destruction of nationwide trade union democracy; in effect it has also given certain States a minority veto over the federal government, for it permits individual States to walk out on the national labor policy. This is a most unwise and undemocratic turn of events, with grave dangers for the enforcement of federal civil rights legislation. What would we do if individual States were permitted to disaffiliate with our national food and drugs standards? What would happen if in the United States, after every election, all the losers stopped paying taxes because they didn't like the government that was elected? What do we do when Alabama opts out of Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act? The result, needless to say, would be utter chaos and a destruction of our democracy.

3. "Right to Work" laws exploit and perpetuate American poverty.

And who, may I ask, are more concerned about poverty in the United States than Negroes and other ethnic minorities?

As we have seen, most of the States that have retained these laws are the poor, segregationist, reactionary States with weak labor movements and disenfranchised Negroes, and who use the laws as an inducement to those industries with low capital and low labor incentives. In other words, they attract the kind of companies that can make money off a large, defenseless pool of unskilled labor and that can profit from the perpetuation of this backwardness. It is no accident that among these States we find Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and Florida.

Let's look at the situation in these States:

- The percentage of families living in poverty in right-to-work States is much higher than in the other States.
- None of the right-to-work States matches the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour.
- In most of these States right-to-work laws make it literally impossible for Negroes to join unions.
- Negroes are barred from enjoying an expanded minimum wage in these States.
- Eleven of the States have no minimum wage standard at all.
- Only three of them have equal pay for women.
- Only one of these States has fair employment laws.

By contrast, it is significant that none of these problems exist in States with democratically organized union structures. Twenty-three of the States without "Right to Work" laws do have enforceable minimum wage laws. Fourteen of them cover men as well as women. Twenty-one provide at least $1.00 an hour minimum wage. And twelve of them equal or exceed the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour. And in all of them Negroes are organized in the union shop structure.

So, as the evidence shows, contrary to guaranteeing the right to work, what these laws do is to guarantee the right to work long hours; the right to bar Negroes; the right to underpay women who do equal work with men; the right to pay substandard wages; the right to pay substandard enemployment and compensation benefits; and the right to destroy organized unionism.

4. "Right to Work" laws are anti'Negro and anti-Civil Rights.

It does not require an extraordinary amount of wisdom to see that behind the insistence of certain States to maintain "Right to Work" laws is a desire to preserve their right to discriminate. In the same way that many of them have run out on the national labor policy, they want to make it easy for Mississippi and Alabama, say, to contract out of the national Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. Therefore, it is not an accident that we find the plight of Negroes worst in States that have "Right to Work" laws. In a study conducted by Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, of Negro employment and income between

1950 and 1960, the author found that in only one of the Southern "Right to Work" States "have the earnings of the Negro male workeres gained in relation to those of white male workers. In each of the other ten States, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from 6% in Virginia to 25% in Arkansas for all male workers." In short, between 1950 and 1960, everyone in these Southern States was doing better, while Negroes were falling farther and farther behind.

Therefore A. Philip Randolph is right when he says that right-to-work supporters are pushing these laws "in the hope of driving a wedge between Negroes and the labor movement." And Martin Luther King is right when he charges that the "Right to Work" laws are laws to "rob us of our civil rights and job rights." And Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, and James Farmer were absolutely right in their testimony before the Special House Subcommittee in support of the repeal of Section 14(b). As they went on to point out, it is significant that these efforts to deny our civil rights and job rights are being pushed by some of the country's staunchest segregationists.

5. "Right to Work" laws are "Rightist" and racist.

Who are some of the leading figures behind the drive to retain "Right to Work" laws? You will find their names on every right-wing letterhead across the nation, all of which organizations, let us not forget, are anti-Negro, anti-Mexican American, and anti-Puerto Rican, and anti-civil rights. In Kansas, Leonard Banowetz, Chairman of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce Labor Relations Committee, is leading supporter of the open shop and also a field coordinator of the John Birch Society. One of the chief organizers of the National Right to Work Committee, E.S. Dillard of North Carolina, is an endorser of the John Birch Society, one of the most racist organizations in America. William Tyler Harrison, a 1960 incorporator of the Committee, is also President of the Council for Individual Freedom, an Indiana extremist organization. The Rev. Howard E. Mather, an executive Committeeman, is director of the Christian Freedom Foundation. These men and organizations who are representatives on the Right to Work Committee are well-known right-wingers.

What could it be that has suddenly united racists, rightists and segregationists behind the right to work? I wonder why it is that these laws were being passed in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas during the late forties and early fifties, precisely the times when Negroes were effectively denied the right to vote? Isn't it rather cheerful and hopeful for the future of our democracy that members of the John Birch Society have suddenly developed a tender love and sympathy for the common man? If questions like these bring sneers instead of smiles to our faces, then we know we cannot take them seriously, that we are in fact being had.

In raising these questions and in relating them to the political interests and tastes of rightists and segregationists, I am not supporting the notion of guilt by association. I am against lists that would bar a man from a job on the grounds of assumptions about past membership in an organization rather than on the facts of his present competence. But in politics, it is necessary to test a man's word by what he does. And the advocates of the "Right to Work" laws have, by and large, been opposed to every social and economic reform that would benefit Negroes and workers, the very groups they sometimes profess so much concern about. It is also necessary, in politics, to judge movements by the major trends within them, And I am suspicious of any campaign in behalf of the right to work which claims to be for Negro rights, but is in fact supported by practically every racist in the country; which says it is in favor of workers' rights, yet only succeeds in States where workers are a small minority.

Though all the foregoing do not exhaust the possible objections to "Right to Work" laws, or the reason why 14(b) ought to be repealed, they represent the fundamental grounds of protest on which the labor and Negro movement stand united.

Having said all this, let me make it clear that I remain in favor of our working out a genuine right to work situation. But it is impossible to come to what such a situation would be without stating that a genuine right to work will not be achieved until the Negro and the trade union movement succeeed in eliminating some of the urgent problems that remain between them. I mean by this that we all have to recognize that there is still discrimination in a minority segment of the American labor movement. This is a scandal, however, that is being vigorously fought by every unionist, black or white, who is worthy of the name. I myself am, in my own capacity, committed to end the vestiges of discrimination in the trade union movement, but I absolutely refuse to conduct the battle along lines that will ultimately injure the labor movement. I could not do this and still remain convinced that Negroes have a need and a responsibility to make that movement stronger and more effective.

After all, we must recognize that a great measure of the Negroes' economic progress is the result of their membership in the labor movement. We all know of the post World War I emigration of Southern Negroes to Northern industrial centers in search of jobs and dignity. We all know what they discovered when they came; that the economy was systematically arranged to keep them more unemployed, more menially employed, less paid, most slowly hired, and most quickly fired. We all know how that terrible disillusionment found expression in the back-to-Africa movement led by Marcus Garvey., in much the same way that their contemporary despair is finding outlet in the cries for Black Power. And we all know how the Depression that brought down millions of white Americans in poverty ironically raised the economic standards of the majority of poor Negroes who found that their relief payments added up to more than they were able to earn as workers. It was in this period -- the great Depression -- that Negroes in large numbers really became involved in the labor movement. The CIO organized the mass production industries and every worker in them. This was followed by other AFL and CIO unions who organized Negroes in many other industrial areas, making the labor movement one of the most integrated institutions of our society. There are many problems that remain to be solved between labor and Negro; however, we are pressing a vigorous attack upon these problems. I myself am engaged in an effort to get Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters admitted to the building trades. And we have succeeded in placing 250 youngsters in those trades in the New York area. When I urge an alliance between the labor movement and other minority groups, I am not encouraging complacency nor losing sight of the unfinished business. I simply want to place the relation of the black worker to the white worker in proper perspective. More than that, it is to help us to confront together a new injustice: What are the millions of impoverished Negroes and the millions of impoverished whites going to do in an age of automation? How can we, in the new developing circumstances, guarantee full employment, and therefore guarantee a genuine right to work? They only way to guarantee this kind of right to work is for Negroes and the unions to work together. We cannot do it by ourselves, and the economy cannot do it without us. We both have got to weld a great coalition to solve the problems of jobs, education, housing, We have got to make our movement come to represent the majority will of the American society and help it move on to massive and planned social investments to end slums, inferior schools, and depression rates of employment.

It is only when we have achieved all this that we will have achieved the genuine right to work. In closing, then, I am in favor of the right to work in the sense that Franklin Roosevelt was: namely, that this society should guarantee every worker a job at decent wages with security and dignity; and if the private sector does not fulfill this task, then it must be the automatic, legal obligation of the public sector to do so.

COPE Speech

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November 7, 1967

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Bayard:

I thought you would like to see what one regional office - Atlanta - did with your recent statement. It was sent to our board and other community leaders in three state areas.

Warmest regards,

Oscar Cohen

OC/mj
Attachment

*"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."*

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November 1, 1967

Dear Friend:

Attached hereto is a paper delivered by Baynard Rustin last month to the staff of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Equality. Mr. Rustin addresses himself to the political situation in the United States today in light of the forthcoming 1968 elections.

Our need to understand the sources of frustrations which lead to physical dislocations is great; our need to have before us analyses of all levels of Negro thought is great. These Baynard Rustin helps us to understand in his paper.

If you have any comment or question, I would appreciate hearing from you.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Irving K. Kaler

Irving K. Kaler
Board Chairman

IKK/ds

*". . .Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."*

This meeting, like all gatherings and serious discussions from now on, takes place in the shadow of the 1968 elections. The importance of these elections, in my view, cannot possibly be exaggerated. It is therefore with profound sincerity, and not out of mere formality, that I welcome this opportunity to talk with you. And I hope that in the coming year we will be seeing more of one another.

Next year, the United States comes to a fork in the road. We confront, not just rhetorical, but real political and social prospects of returning to yesterday -- or, what amounts to the same thing, of standing still while the world keeps moving, and our internal problems deepen.

Looking back over the past seven or eight years, we can see that far too little has been done to resolve these problems. But important beginnings were made; historic commitments were undertaken -- in civil rights, poverty, minimum wages, education, civil liberties, and so forth. Indeed, just to speak of the 60's in American life is to denote, not only a point in time, but a resurgent spirit of social reform.

I need not tell you what this spirit represented. It was not decreed from above by the Kennedy or Johnson Administrations. It emanated from concerted action by thousands and even millions of Americans. They were determined that this society achieve justice and equality in the second half of the Twentieth Century. And I need not tell you that the organized political base of this determination has been the labor-Negro-liberal coalition.

The achievements of the 1960's -- the greatest advances in social legislation since the New Deal -- are our achievements. We struggled for them; and, indeed, lives were lost in that struggle. Again, no one in this room suffers from the illusion that the gains have been adequate to the need. In fact, the turmoil in our cities -- and the confusion in our political life -- are signs that, having made a beginning, we have not gone far enough. We have gone far enough to arouse expectations but not to satisfy them -- and that is a dangerous thing to do.

Nonetheless, it is hard for me to understand the opinion, now fashionable in some quarters, that to make more progress requires the denial of progress already made. This opinion not only dishonors our own struggles and the sacrifices they entailed; it blurs political vision and saps political will. For if the gains of recent years are worthless, why bother to defend them against conservative and reactionary assaults?

But much more is involved in the 1968 elections than the preservation of past victories. The road ahead is far, far longer than the distance we have come. At stake is whether we shall travel that road, and at a faster pace, or be detoured onto a path that leads back whence we came.

This country boasts resources, human and technological, which no land in the history of mankind ever had or dreamed of having. We can perform miracles in practically every field. As we have sent vehicles to explore the atmosphere of Venus, so we can make devices to cleanse the atmosphere of our cities. We can not only abolish slums and poverty but reconstruct the face of the nation. President Johnson has said that between now and the year 2000 we shall have to construct as much in the way of public facilities of all kinds as we have built since the birth of the Republic. Literally, we shall create a second America. Under whose leadership will it be created, and in what image, and for whose benefit?

Will we build new slums into this second America, or decent, pleasant housing for all its inhabitants? Will we build 4 percent unemployment into this second America, or meaningful jobs with good pay for all? Will we build overcrowded, inferior and segregated schools into this second America, or quality, integrated education? (Or will we, as some intellectual "pioneers" have suggested, turn our public schools over to private enterprise?) Will public employees have the right to bargain collectively and to strike in this second America, or will an increasing number of workers be reduced to peonage for the state?

These questions will not be explicitly stated in the ballots in 1968, but they will be answered nonetheless -- perhaps decisively for a generation. I believe that the elections of 1968 will prove to be as crucial for the national destiny as the elections of 1860, 1876, and 1932.

For the Negro, 1968 holds the threat of repeating the fateful election of 1876 and the infamous Compromise of the following year -- when the Federal government removed its remaining troops from the South, and the nation turned its back on the Negro.

The parallels are disconcerting. As in 1876, there is today among many whites a weariness and disillusionment with the cause of the Negro. As in 1876, the conservatives exploited alleged excessess of Negro politicians in the Reconstruction governments, so today the riots are used to deny the Negro an equal place in American society.

In 1876, they said: "We fought a bloody war to free the Negro. Must we also give him 40 acres and a mule?" Today they say: "We have given the Negro the right to eat at our lunchcounters. Must we also give him a job so he can afford a hamburger?" Had the answer been "Yes" in 1876, the question would not have arisen in 1967. And if it is not answered affirmatively in 1968, it will be with us in the year 2000.

I am not saying that the victory of the right wing in 1968 would bring the reimposition of legal segregation and discrimination, or the disfranchisement of Negro voters. But it can bring the kind of social and economic stagnation in which the existing problems will fester and multiply. After all, the Eisenhower Administration did not consciously legislate the slums into existence. But the priorities and policies it followed encouraged the spread of, and further deterioration in, the slums of the nation. And the inhabitants of the black ghettos are as surely segregated, exploited and discriminated against as any racist lawmaker could wish.

The nation simply cannot afford -- and the Negro least of all -- a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well-dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties. We cannot afford four years of substituting cliches about the genius of private enterprise for intelligent and vigorous public policy. We cannot afford four years of rhetoric about states rights in place of massive Federal action. We cannot afford four years of highway construction at the expense of mass transit, of subsidized suburban sprawl at the expense of urban reconstruction, of budget-balancing at the expense of starved school systems, or soaring profits at the expense of wages and salaries, of lucrative technological rampage at the expense of jobs and human dignity.

This prospect can -- and must -- be averted. Just as we possess enormous technological resources for social progress, so do we possess potentially overwhelming and irresistable political resources for progress. We have an immense labor movement, the largest organized social force in the country -- with a trained leadership and a loyal, if not always obedient, membership. It has acquired increasing experience and sophistication in political and economic action in the past generation. It is on the verge of even greater growth.

We have in the 10 percent of the population represented by the Negro people another consistent force for social reform. In the urban centers the Negro vote has proven decisive in important contests. And in the South, where Negro voting is on the rise, dramatic political shifts have taken place. The power of the Dixiecrats can now be undermined at its source.

We have seen a resurgence of liberalism in the middle classes -- among professional, technical, and academic people. Many religious groups have displayed an awareness of social problems, and the need for solving them, such as we have not seen in a long, long time.

While many elements of middle-class liberalism are in a state of disarray and uncertainty, they nonetheless represent an enormous potential for progress in our political and social life. That potential will be severely tested in 1968. And the results depend largely on the ability of the labor and civil rights movements to project strong leadership around clear issues.

If the forces I have described could be brought together and united behind common objectives, then I am convinced that they could prevail against all of the obstacles to progress now being erected. For proof we need only look back to the historic victories of the liberal coalition between 1963 and 1965 -- including the smashing defeat of Barry Goldwater and the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in 1964.

But as powerful as the liberal forces can be, a number of factors have contributed to delaying or weakening the union among them that is indispensable for a sure -- and even easy -- victory for all of us.

The first factor is the Vietnam war. The tragedy here is not that there are disagreements over the purposes and conduct of the war -- for such disagreements are inevitable in so complex a war. It is rather that the disagreements threaten to weaken the liberal coalition in its struggle for domestic progress. Thus, instead of resisting conservative efforts to use the war as an excuse for cutting back the war on poverty, many liberals are fighting among themselves and with the labor movement.

Indeed, some liberals unwittingly assist the right-wing by arguing that such programs as the "Freedom Budget" must be shelved until the war in Vietnam is over. Only their proposals for ending the war distinguish these liberals from Senator Dirksen.

Still others talk of defeating Lyndon Johnson with a Republican "dove," even if the result is a more conservative Congress, with the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition even more firmly in control. Thus, we are told, the price for ending the war, assuming that a Republican President could do so more readily than the incumbent, must be born by Negroes, workers and the poor.

If this disastrous viewpoint is to be overcome, we must do a major educational job in the coming months. And the labor movement is best equipped to articulate the basic social and economic issues at stake in 1968. These issues are the foundation on which an effective and unified liberal coalition can be constructed.

The second factor weakening this coalition grows out of the riots, the disunity within the civil rights movement, and the white backlash.

The divisions within the civil rights movement, let me make clear, are irreconcilable. They cannot, should not, and must not be glossed over, patched up or concealed in the interest of a false unity. Some important disagreements have existed all along, but they did not challenge the very principles on which the movement was based -- democracy, integration, opposition to racism in all its forms. These principles are today rejected and their advocates reviled by a fresh crop of adventuristic demagogues and apostles of violence who claim to speak for the black masses but consistently demonstrate their inability to attract or organize mass support. For such support they substitute intimidation, sensationalism, and authoritarian political styles. And in making this substitution, I must say, they have the full cooperation of the mass media.

It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss the Rap Browns and Stokely Carmichaels, for they do articulate a growing frustration, anger and bitterness in the ghettos. These feelings result from broken promises, from the failure of government programs to live up to their rhetoric. The right-wing will exploit this failure; it will call for the promises to be revoked. We must see to it that they are fulfilled.

Throughout the Negro's struggle, the labor movement has been an obvious and natural ally, for the enemies of one have traditionally been the enemies of the other. Now that the Negro's struggle for legal and constitutional rights has largely been won, and his attention has turned toward social and economic equality, his alliance with the labor movement becomes more crucial. For while he finds that many groups in society are prepared to support his constitutional rights, the labor movement is pre-eminent among those who believe that he has a right to a job, good pay, a decent home, quality education, and the other good things in life.

More needs to be done, however, to educate Negroes in the ghetto as to labor's economic program. The Wall Street Journal has already noted with satisfaction that underlying the strident Black Power ideology is an economic conservatism with which Business should be sympathetic. The emphasis is on self-help and local initiative, as against political action and national economic policies. It is not surprising that the Black Power Conference in Newark was financed by Bell Telephone and other large corporations. Another company advertises in a full page that its hiring practices are the "American Way to Black Power." Needless to say, these activities are coupled with a propaganda campaign which blames the unions for discrimination in employment.

The discontent in the ghettos, if it is not to take a politically as well as literally destructive form, must be channeled into constructive action for economic reform. The "Freedom Budget," which embodies labor's economic program, is a start, but more needs to be done to counteract conservative propaganda and the pseudo-economics of Black Power.

Even more important, no doubt, is the educational work that must be done in the white community and among the trade union rank and file. This is no easy task, and I would not presume to tell you how to go about it. But somehow it must be done. The white worker must be made to look beneath the riots and beyond the Rap Browns to the essential, underlying economic and political interests which bind him to the Negro's aspirations.

And so the nation moves toward 1968, a year of historic importance, in a mood of confusion, unrest, uncertainty. Exploiting Vietnam and the

Negro's agony, the right wing prepares to launch a comeback. If successful, it will profoundly alter the direction of American politics and most grievously set back the Negro. What it cannot do, however, is to resolve the fundamental problems in American society. It can only prolong and exacerbate them; it can only twist the country out of shape. There is no alternative but what we offer and fight for. And the prerequisite of our victory, the victory of the liberal coalition, is a stronger alliance between the Negro and the labor movement.

The New York Times
Times Square

File

November 9, 1967

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thanks for the article on the Negro and the unions. It is an important subject and we plan to run it soon in the TOPICS column.

We will let you know before it appears.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Mitgang

Herbert Mitgang
Editorial Board

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

(F) Rustin
article

# The Negro and the Unions

Bayard Rustin

Harry Van Arsdale, President of the New York City Central Labor Council, has said that the trade union movement is the most successful anti-poverty organization in our nation's history. He is right. The Labor movement has not abolished poverty, and could not by itself have been expected to, but it has lifted more American people out of poverty than any other institution or agency organized to that end. To say this is also to say that it has lifted more Negroes out of poverty than any other institution.

I do not mean to say the labor movement could not have done more for Negroes. I certainly cannot dispute the charge that for many years some unions discriminated against Negroes. But it is worth noting that discrimination now persists only in a minority segment of the labor movement. In any event, that past history tended to obscure an equally important truth: that, despite discriminatory practices, the labor movement was, and remains, the single most integrated institution in our society.

Hundreds of thousands of Negroes, devastated and set adrift by the great depression, first found refuge and economic mobility when the unions organized them in many industrial areas of the North. Since the depression, Negro membership in organized labor has climbed steadily and today some fifteen percent of the fourteen million workers in the AFL-CIO are Negroes. The consequent rise in their economic base and standard of living stimulated in hundreds of thousands of Negroes an awakening of those social and political aspirations that found dramatic and constructive expression in the great mass protest movement of the late 1950's and the early 1960's.

Today, as the focus of the Negro struggle has shifted from constitutional issues to economic and political equality, the labor movement remains the only major institution in our society that articulates the economic demands that are now at the heart of the Negro struggle. It is certainly the only major institution that wholly subscribes to, and substantially embodies in its own program, the proposals and priorities outlined in the Freedom Budget for All Americans.

As recently as September 12th of this year, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO passed a resolution on the urban crisis in which it specifically called for the following: the creation of one million public service jobs for the unemployed; the building of 2 1/2 million new housing units; expanded mass transit; and accelerated construction of public facilities.

However, labor's support of programs that are of immediate economic interest to millions of deprived Negroes cannot obscure the fact that vestiges of discrimination remain in certain segments of that movement. For example, for many young Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the building trades have become a symbol of their lack of progress in the trade union movement. The building trades have the greatest appeal for young Negroes and Puerto Ricans to whom an opportunity to be trained in the skilled crafts at high rates of pay stands as one of the most effective antidotes to their frustration and despair.

But even the building trades are now adjusting to the winds of change. In New York City alone the building trades unions are cooperating with the Joint Apprenticehsip Training Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund which has succeeded during the past three years in placing more than 300 Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters in the building trades unions of New York City and Westchester County. Negro and Puerto Rican sheetmetal workers, iron workers, electrical workers, plumbers, machinists, plasterers, elevator constructors, carpenters, roofers etc., are now on jobs where previously few - if any - were employed.

The program recruits young men who are interested in the building trades and advises, counsels, and tutors potential applicants. Over the past three months the program has opened additional offices in Cleveland, Ohio; Buffalo, N.Y.; and Newark, N.J.; and in each of these cities minority group youngsters are now being admitted to unions that were previously closed to them.

Our program has been successful for many reasons. It has a dedicated staff and is headed by an extraordinarily creative and determined young man, Ernest Green; it has had the support of George Meany and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO from the outset. Peter Brennan, President of the N.Y. Building Trades Council has actively urged all unions to cooperate with the program. The ILGWU, the United Federation of Teachers, and the UAW have given youngsters temporary jobs while they wait for placement in union-management programs. Local 3 of the IBEW has expanded its apprenticeship program and also provided summer employment for Negro youth.

The New York model is also being used by other organizations. The Department of Labor has funded, and the AFL-CIO and Building Trades Council are cooperating with, the Urban League's LEAP program and the O.I.C., as well as with the Trade Union Leadership Council in Baltimore, Atlanta, Dayton, Denver, Phoenix, Chicago, Oklahoma City, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ and Detriot.

I am confident that this model will play the leading role in helping to remove the last vestiges of discrimination in the labor movement.

INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS
AFL-CIO · CLC

INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

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*On March 26, 1968, life-long civil rights activist Bayard Rustin engaged in a 2½-hour long question and answer period with the IUE International Executive Board. Rustin, Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute probed issues on the minds of every American: black nationalism; the war in Viet Nam; riots; political action.*

*Mr. Rustin's comments were timely; and following the tragic deaths of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, they are even more so. What he had to say about the United States and its problems should be read by every American.*

## AFTERNOON SESSION

### Tuesday, March 26, 1968

PRESIDENT JENNINGS: Will the Board meeting please come to order.

Sorry for the delay of a few minutes. We had a brief meeting down in my office.

I don't think that Bayard Rustin needs any introduction to the IUE or this Executive Board. But my knowledge of Bayard probably goes back much longer than he realizes it does. The one thing that has constantly given me a sense of tremendous satisfaction as I listened to him down through the years, and I started to listen to him a long, long time ago, is that he has been the one articulate voice that has been consistent that has not run away from a problem and has not been afraid to lay out solutions, even though those solutions were not necessarily simple.

He has refused to just become emotionally involved or embittered, and has insisted in the face of some pretty rough situations on articulating the kind of realities that this country has to have, particularly, and as the Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, he does a service to America that goes far beyond the labor movement.

Bayard, I am happy that you are here and proud that you are here, and proud of this opportunity for us to listen to you, and I think the Board members will probably want to engage in a question session afterwards.

## BAYARD RUSTIN

### Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

I have a feeling that this Board knows much better what everybody would want me to talk about than I do, so I would like to try a little different experiment today and see if we can develop our thinking together through questions and statement periods, rather than a talk.

I think in a group this size it is ridiculous to make a talk. I can respond better to what is on people's minds. We will try that and if it doesn't work, I will make a talk.

I should think that in your own minds, you have a number of questions about the things I am interested in that would be better coming from you and I can deal with them on the basis of real interest rather than just another talk.

QUESTION: Why is it this report (President Johnson's National Advisory Commission's Report on Civil Disorders) blames the white people for all the excesses that were committed during the riots when it was the black people who were doing the rioting?

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I don't think you have read the report carefully. The report does not blame anybody for what happened during the rioting. The report blames white American society for having created the conditions that made the ghetto, that profits from the ghetto, and whose lack of interest sustains the ghettoes.

Now let me be just quite historically clear with you about this matter.

First of all, the white community is fundamentally responsible for whatever happened. We were in Africa minding our own business in 1619 when white traders from Europe came and brought us to America. At that time we had the highest form of democracy that is known to man, infinitely higher than Greek democracy. I can go into that if anybody doubts it, but I don't want to bore you with a lot of historic facts. We had a family life in which both murder, suicide and illegitimacy were unknown in the western African tribes before the coming of Europeans. Syphilis and gonorrhea were unknown and brought in by European traders and slavers. That is one fact.

Second, what the report means is that America should re-examine history. The founders of this nation, including Thomas Jefferson, Ben Franklin and all the other great leaders had the audacity to write that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among these being the pursuit of happiness. But these men held slaves. They meant all white men are created equal.

Furthermore, even the abolitionists who were for freeing the slaves were not in fact for Negroes having social, economic and political freedom. And the very abolitionists who wanted to free the slave, and you labor people ought to understand this, turned their back on creating a movement following the abolitionist movement to get any economic places for Negro freedom.

It was the Negroes who cried out that they wanted 40 acres and a mule to start life. It was the abolitionists who said, "We have done our job and we wash our hands."

Now when the Irish and the Italians and other immigrants came to this country, they did not lift themselves up by their bootstraps. It is a perfectly ridiculous notion to believe that they did. Anyone knows that there is a parallel relationship between the development of social institutions and the ability of these people to rise. There is a direct line between the ability of men to organize in trade unions, and the ability of the poor to overcome their poverty.

Furthermore, the Irish, the Italians and many others were given a big hustle. They were given all the free land they wanted, all they had to do was go west to get it. And the Negroes were not permitted to go west to get land, so that a society that gives land to white people free, but denies it to Negroes, a society which writes a Constitution about freedom but does not mean it for Negroes— it was Ben Franklin who created the most grievous of acts. He said we will count all Negroes like a fraction. Every Negro becomes three-fifths of a man, not in order that Negroes should go into a Legislature? No, Negroes were counted in the states where they were as three fifths of a man to increase the number of representatives in the House of Representatives who were white with no fundamental interest in the Negro.

Now that report was saying that when you permit a society to create safe steps for other people to get out of poverty, but damn Negroes to ghettoes, to inferior jobs, then that society is sooner or later going to reap disorder.

The Catholic Saints, the Protestants, the Jews, and any other high religion, whether Mohammedism, or Buddhism or Laodism, all said the same thing; if you create a society with disorder in it, with injustice in it, then you will get disorder. When you create a society which has justice in it, you will get order. When you create a society with injustice in it, then disorder is inevitable.

Now they were trying to point out both the psychological and the economic and the sociological truth, that the society which crippled people and did not permit them to grow is the society which is responsible for those acts of violence.

I don't believe in violence, and I have been on the streets of Harlem and Watts and other places during riots trying to stop it, but it never occurred to me that Negroes were responsible for the conditions which inevitably lead to rioting.

I conclude on this point by giving you an example. The greatest riot in this country took place in Philadelphia and in New York, and had nothing to do with Negroes. Let's take the New York riot. It was a riot in which 300 people were killed; 29 Negroes were lynched; four babies were torn to bits and their fingers and toes given to the mob as souvenirs. Property damage was greater than the combined property damage of Detroit and Watts. That was the riot of 1863 in which Lincoln was required to pull troops out of Virginia in order to stop that riot. That riot was on the part of the Irish.

The interesting thing about that riot is this, if you would do what I have done and gone to the New York Times to read about that riot of 1863, you would have discovered that the same conditions prevailed for the Irish in housing in New York as prevailed for Negroes in Newark; the same degree of unemployment of Irishmen, youth and women occurred in 1863 as occurred in Newark; the same problems with the Irish getting an education for their children occurred in New York at that time as occurs now in Detroit.

What is my problem? To castigate the Irish? No, my problem is to show that given the same circumstances where society brutalizes the people, ultimately those people will revolt whether they are Irish, Italian, Mexican-American or Negro.

I think that is what the report was trying to say, it was not laying blame. Obviously it was Negroes who threw Molotov cocktails; it was Negroes who were fighting the police. They were not dealing with the problem at that level. That is the wrong level from which to deal with it, and they were trying to deal with it in terms of its causal factors. A doctor does not limit a person who has cancer and talk about the marvelous effects of iodine and mercurochrome or aspirin.

We have spent a long, long time trying to find the root causes of cancer and—until the root causes of cancer are found, people will die of cancer. And until the root causes in the white community of prejudices, or of racial discrimination, of job discrimination, of housing discrimination, of educational discrimination, until they are rooted out, there will be rioting, much as King and I don't like it. (Rustin's remarks were made prior to Dr. Martin Luther King's murder.)

QUESTION: I just wanted to find out what your opinion is with regard to the separatist movement on the part of some of the so-called Negro militants, what their appeal is to the young. It isn't to the older generation, it is to the young. What headway are they making? Is it something that is serious, or is this something that will disappear after a while?

MR. RUSTIN: It will disappear, don't worry about it.

Let's go back into history again because it seems to me if you don't understand history then there is nothing that you can understand. Everything has its roots back there. You will find that very often what we now call black power separatists' concepts have appeared amongst the Negro. In fact, you will discover in any minority which has a majority on top of it which mistreats it, you will find that the minority periodically jumps into separatism. I have worked among the tribes in Africa, I have found the same thing there. I have worked in India with Ghandi with the untouchables and I found it there.

Now let's look at American history. It always comes in a psychological pattern. What is that pattern? A period of great hope, followed by a period of despair, followed by a period of separatist theories.

Now the first time it occurred was right after the Civil War. While people do not know it, almost 300,000 Negroes fought in the Civil War for their own freedom. They had great hope that at the end of that war they would get 40 acres and a mule. Now, an election took place in 1876 similar to the election we are going to have this year. The crucial point of that election was to elect a man who would re-enslave Negroes. He was elected. In fact, he wasn't elected, the election was stolen for him.

Now the Union Army was withdrawn from the South killing all of the hope that black people had. That was followed by a period of separationism and that separationism was led by one Booker T. Washington whose theory was—operate out of the political process, don't try to vote and get your rights, turn in on yourselves, lift yourself up by your bootstraps, drop your buckets where you are, make decent people of yourselves, and they will ultimately let you in.

That was a very extreme form of separationism from American politics.

The second time it occurred in its drastic form was following World War I. In World War I again there were 300,000 Negroes fighting in France, not to make the world safe for democracy. They weren't paying any attention to Mr. Wilson who had come to Washington where no segregation existed whatsoever; he segregated every cafeteria in the government offices; segregated Negroes and white from each other, segregated the streetcars in Washington; segregated everything in Washington. They knew he didn't stand for any democracy. What they went to France for was the hope that if they fought they would get something when they came home.

So the highest movement of Negro aspiration was World War I. What happened? Well, a series of things happened. The Ku Klux Klan came along, a northern based organization, instead of a southern based organization in the Twenties. Its headquarters were in Indianapolis. More Negroes were lynched in the four years following World War I than had been lynched up to that time. There were riots against the Negro communities, in East St. Louis and Chicago, about which many of you know.

Furthermore, Negroes in 1920 were chased off the farms in Mississippi at gunpoint, because machines came in to do the cotton picking. That is what the report meant. The reason you have Bedford Stuyvesant, Harlem and Detroit with too many uneducated Negroes in them is not because they elected to come; it is because they were driven off the South by the American mode of production and by the guns of the people who only yesterday needed them, but now do not.

Therefore, the hope of World War II was followed by utter despair. What did you then get? You got Marcus Garvey, the supreme separationist, saying, let's go back to Africa, we will never make it here.

Now the same pattern flows, 1963, March on Washington, 1964 Civil Rights Bill, 1965, voters rights bill. But I want you to know, Congress did nothing in that great period of Negro protests which affected Negroes in northern ghettoes. The march on Washington was directed towards getting the Civil Rights Bill which affected the South. The voter rights bill affected the South. But nothing was done in the North.

There was great hope during the period of the marches on Washington, the passing of those bills. That is when everybody sang, "We shall overcome" and "We shall never be turned back" and this they believed.

Well, let me tell you what has happened since. Unemployment has doubled amongst the males, it has trebled amongst the Negro teen-agers; it has quadrupled in the cities.

The 3.4 figure of unemployment has absolutly no meaning whatsoever as you ought to know, as labor men, because the government only counts people who are looking for work.

In the ghettoes, every ghetto, unemployment of Negro youth between 17 and 22 is 38 to 42%. The ghettoes are bigger, with more rats, roaches and despair. Therefore there is now, or there has now appeared the absence of hope. And now again, you get the cry that you got following the Civil War and the Reconstruction period, that you got following World War I, let's separate, let Whitey roll over and get out of our way, we want to have our own institutions.

If you will look carefully, there were social forces which came into play which changed the mood from separation to one of inclusion. The separationist movement that followed World War I lasted from 1920 until the formation of the CIO. The minute the CIO was formed, which was in fact taking Negroes out of the humble proletariat into the working classes, the separationist movement died. In the same way, the separationist movement will not die because King or Wilkins or Randolph says it is a bad thing. It will die when a new social force kills it by restoring work and hope again. It will pass. It will pass if we can get guaranteed income for those who cannot work; it will pass if we can get full employment through the construction of public works and services for those who want to work; it can pass when we are prepared to stop building highways to get wealthy white people back to their suburbs and invest the $50 billion we are putting into highways into that massive transit system which can get this poor humble proletariat out to the suburbs where the jobs are now moving. But we will not get it because we want it, but because we do something about it.

QUESTION: I would like to direct our attention to some of the things you covered in the last couple of sentences. In other words, the question, what do we do, where do we go from here? Some of us represent suburban areas which are even more than the urban areas strongholds of these white attitudes that have created much of the problem. We represent middle class and upper middle class gains in the stronghold, and so, our resources are necessarily limited so that we have the problem of determining our priorities. Unfortunately we have to do this because we cannot solve all their problems at one time.

Most of us recognize the problem almost as simple as having to do with housing, education, employment, and back again into the same mess. Where then ought our main thrusts be placed? Is it safe to suggest that it is in the employment and economic areas and the other will follow, or is there some other area in which we must concentrate our thrust?

PRESIDENT JENNINGS: That is a speech.

MR. RUSTIN: Obviously men, all men are economic beings. They all have stomachs which have to be filled, they all have feet which have to be shod, and they all have to be kept out of the rain with a house over their head.

In a society like ours, you can have a house, you can have your teeth fixed, you can take care of your children, if you work. So obviously,the first priority has to be jobs.

Now I want to knock the education myth in the head to begin with.

The mode of production in society, the way in which we produce goods is the most fundamental means by which men make it or don't make it, not education. Let's stop fooling ourselves about education.

Let's take a Hungarian family that came here in 1910. Let us say that the Hungarian had nine children. He was uncouth and rude. He had no education. He couldn't read and write in Hungarian and obviously he couldn't read and write in English. Now you have to ask yourselves this question, here comes out of Mississippi a Negro not with nine children like the Hungarian, but with three; not ignorant like the Hungarian, but he has had five years of education. He can read and write English which the Hungarian could not. Why now do we never describe the Hungarian as being in tremendous need of education to get a job? And this more advantaged Negro in Mississippi as being unhappy because he is uneducated? Very simple, the mode of production determined that, not the Hungarian and not the Negro.

In 1900, no matter how ignorant or stupid you were, you didn't need a brain or an advanced education or even the ability to speak English. All you needed was a strong back and good muscles because the American capitalist method of production meant they bought muscle power. They are not going to buy the muscle power of that Negro or white from Appalachia today. Therefore the problem is not the Negro any more than it was the Hungarian who was more stupid, it is the society which now has evolved a new method of production.

Every society which has been sincere about lifting the underprivileged has not got involved in a debate about education. We didn't do it in World War II.

Let me show you what we did in World War II. Because we were committed to win the war, we were also committed to full employment. Now being committed to whole employment, we built factories. We never said that a woman was too old or too feminine. We said, "Come here." We never said that man is too black or too uneducated. We said, "Come here." We took people off the farms in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia who could not read and write. We took youngsters as long as they were warm and could stand up. We said, this is a hammer, this is a tool, this is a chisel and this is a drill. We took men who knew how to build things and lined them up in front of them and behind them. They went in those factories with no preparation, and they created the miracle in two months of making planes which flew.

You must not talk about educating the humble proletariat in a vacuum. They can only be educated under circumstances of learning while doing, while being adequately paid. And many of those workers who didn't know one tool from another are now the most skilled workers for Walter Reuther in the automobile industry. Where did they learn it? In a nationally controlled and paid for school.

Now, if by education you mean learning while doing while being paid, I am interested. If you mean some Head Start or some Job Corps or some foolishness which is not related to take-home pay, learning while being paid, then I am not interested, because it isn't going to work.

No, the first thing is jobs precisely because the education is bound up with the jobs.

QUESTION: I had thought about the same thing as was mentioned about where we started first. I would like to know where we go from there.

MR. RUSTIN: You mean after we get jobs?

QUESTION: After we get jobs, because the people around me, that I hear talking say that the riots do nothing but set back the case that much longer, so where do we go from here, because people have gotten the opinion that riots are unavoidable this summer.

MR. RUSTIN: I think riots are unavoidable this summer, and why should anybody be surprised?

QUESTION: Where do we start to try to help prevent them?

MR. RUSTIN: I think we have to understand why riots are unavoidable this summer, and they are unavoidable this summer because we haven't done anything since last summer except let the situation get worse.

You know, if it is written in every high religion what I said before, where there is justice there can be order; where there is injustice, disorder is inevitable, how can I sit here and act as if the Gods don't know what they are talking about? Not only are there going to be more riots, but they will be over wider areas and with greater intensity of method.

Now we have got to face the truth, if we are not going to provide these people with work, if we are not going to rebuild the houses, if we are not going to give them medical care, then the answer is very simply, there will be disorder. We've got to remove the causes.

Now if you say that is a politically difficult thing to do, I will agree. But if you make a simple analysis which is often made, that as long as we are in the war nothing can be done, I disagree. And the reason I disagree is that the war in Vietnam is a problem, but it is not an economic problem, because we have the money, as the Freedom Budget clearly pointed out, to do both.

The problem is that the war creates a psychological and political atmosphere where even if you can do both you won't get both done. And about that we need to be clear. It is not economic, it is political and psychological.

Furthermore, my friend, don't think for a minute that when this war is over everybody is going to clap their hands and say, now we can deal with the problems of the ghettoes. I want you to note that this country has been in existence since 1776. Since 1920 our ghettoes have been becoming tinder boxes. Now there was no war in Vietnam in 1920, but the same forces of Republicans who are reactionaries and Democrats from the South have fought dealing with our urban and Negro problems long before the war in Vietnam, and they will be fighting them more vigorously when the war in Vietnam is over.

They are happy now because they have a nice patriotic platform from which to spew their reaction. We mustn't do anything because we must support the boys, and they don't give a hang about the boys.

QUESTION: Mr. Chairman, taking history into consideration and all of the very clear illustrations that you have given, and the things that you have said, are you trying to say that the Negro revolution, if that is the proper term, is not going to be successful or that there really isn't any acceptable solution in our time, or that there is a solution and that the things that need to be done will not be done because of the posture of the white community in adjusting itself to the requirements of the whole society? Where are we going?

The second part of it is, the Negro making this very noble effort which as you say is no different than any one other group's efforts, most of which have been successful, aren't they themselves very much divided? Aren't there at least a dozen or fifteen or more different Negro groups which apparently are trying to reach the same goal, but going in different directions? We are going to march, but we hope that Carmichael will not interfere with the march, and all of these other frustrations. I mean, is there progress? Has anything been accomplished? Will we see it?

MR. RUSTIN: Well sir, you have raised five different questions. And I will try to deal with them very shortly.

First of all, gentlemen, there are two kinds of progress, real progress and progress by aspiration. The real progress is always the least important; the progress by aspiration is always what makes for social mobility.

Now let me spell this out quite clearly. Suppose this were a graph (indicating the desk) showing that in 1940 Negroes were asking for this much of the society and the society was willing to accommodate to that degree. Let's assume this is 1968.

If you will watch where white people were willing to accommodate to, you will see a line going up like this, recording real progress.

I want you to know that in 1940, the distance between what the situation was and what Negroes wanted it to be was very narrow.

Now you made all this progress, but that doesn't mean anything. What is meaningful is that this degree of aspiration (illustrating with hands) on the part of Negroes has grown through the roof, making the distance between real progress and the aspiration for progress so wide as to be revolutionary.

So if you will talk to the average Negro, he will say, we haven't made any progress. The fact is we have made fantastic progress, but it was not enough to keep galloping behind his desire for progress.

Now again, you get back to the fact, why is the Negro so dissatisfied? And while there are thousands of reasons, one of the reasons is the development of American television which continuously tells you you are nobody if you don't possess everything that everybody else has in the society; pimply little boys being lied to on the television telling them that if they get a certain kind of after shaving cream, which they don't even need to shave at this age, they will get a girl friend. How ridiculous!

Well, look at the number of cars stolen. Ninety-eight percent of all cars stolen in society are stolen by relatively poor white boys who live in the suburbs. But since you cannot move in the suburbs without a car, to say nothing about visiting a girl, I don't really get so excited about car stealing. Now I don't want them to steal mine, but sociologically, you see what I mean?

That is on the question of progress.

The next, on division between the Negro, my friend, anybody who expects skin coloration to be a basis for organization is wrong. Whites could not organize on the basis of skin coloration, why should Negroes? The fellows who fight you when you go to get 10¢ more for your men are white, but they are white dyed in the wool capitalists who are not going to give you a penny that you don't fight for.

Negroes cannot be organized on the basis of skin color, either, only on the two bases that you set up a Union or a civic society or something else, and there are two things, program and philosophy.

Now I want you to know that the biggest fight that ever took place in this country between minority groups, and here again, I have some literature I can refer you to if you want to see the struggle, took place between the Irish, the so-called "lace curtain Irish" and the "shanty Irish." The most dirty treatise of how dirty, useless, shiftless and irresponsible the Irish were, was written by well established Bostonian Irishmen who didn't want the migration in.

I am not picking on the Irish. You can take other groups. Take the Jewish groups. Why is there an American Jewish Congress and an American Jewish Committee? The answer is very simple. The wealthy well-heeled capitalist Jews with plenty of money, and not all Jews have it, are in the Committee. The poor radical social changes are in Congress. It couldn't be any other way. So there will not be unity.

You want me to sit down in a room on a committee with Carmichael? If you do, you don't know Carmichael, not because I dislike Stokely. I know him very well. He worked with me during the March on Washington, or I worked with him during the March on Washington and he did a very brilliant job. But since then, he accepts a philosophy which I think takes Negroes down the wrong road. And he adopts tactics which I think will build up a backlash. Therefore, I cannot sit down in the same organization with him.

And I want you to know that he thinks I am an "Uncle Tom," and therefore it is mutual. He doesn't want to sit down with me.

On the question of program, now you want to know whether I say I am blaming white people and think that they can't move—no, I am blaming no white people because I don't think blaming is important. Since the question was raised in relationship to the report, I have made clear where I thought the blame lay, but you do not get future progress on the basis of pointing your finger at people and calling them dirty dogs.

I have a program, and it is very simple. It is essentially labor's program for social and economic progress, with a $2 minimum wage, free medical care for people who need it, and increased social in-

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surance of all kinds, guaranteed income for those who cannot work, public works. I have a program. It is all written out in the "Freedom Budget."

But I know this, for that program to work, the Trade Union Movement, the minority groups, the intellectuals, the students, the Catholics, Protestants and the Jews and everybody who thinks decently in this country will have to emerge as a political force beyond political parties to push that through Congress. And if you ask me what is the most important thing we can do, it is very simple.

In the November elections, the first thing we have to do is return the 47 liberals who were kicked out in '66. That is not a job that is impossible if we all register and vote and stick with the issues. We need to bring more radical men into the Senate. We need to continue to fight for Negroes voting in the South, which is now realigning the nature of the Democratic Party in the South.

Twenty years from now those Southern Democrats, with Negroes voting, will never be able to dominate those committees which are established for the brutalization of everybody, regardless of color, race or creed. The motto of those Senators is, we hate everybody, regardless of color, race or creed. They don't pick on Negroes particularly, they pick on the poor whites of the South, and they make it impossible for you to organize them in the South; they work for right-to-work laws; they are just not interested in Negroes, they are out to brutalize everybody.

Now I have great hope that the American people can come to their senses and eradicate this problem, but you will not eradicate it by eradicating prejudice. You eradicate it by bringing in social and economic programs which push prejudice down so it cannot be socially and economically organized. What I didn't like about the report is that once you say the problem is white racism, then the only answer is for me to go to the government and say, we need to line up 30 million psychiatrists and go out and psychoanalyze the American people. Now it takes about ten years to get anywhere with a patient, and you know, I haven't got that kind of time to wait.

Let's be honest—prejudice is universal. Every group on earth is prejudiced, and if you don't believe it, just let one little thing happen, and you will see that the veneer of civilization will break away and prejudice breaks through it.

My argument is very simple. Dr. King will be hooted and booted by the Germans and Poles in Cicero every time he marches there because the objective, economic and social situation in Cicero and Chicago determines that prejudice can come to the surface and be organized.

Now when we give the economic program I have outlined so that there are really houses for all, decent schools for all, and jobs for all, prejudice will still be here, but it will be forced to the bottom where it is much more difficult to politically and socially organize it.

In the same way that Negroes are behaving badly now, not because they are Negroes, but because the objective situation in the ghettoes just by mathematics means irrational behavior, so I am for eliminating the causes for everybody.

QUESTION: Bayard, could you tell us about Martin Luther King's program of the poor people marching on Washington? You say that you and he are opposed to violence. Won't this activity inevitably bring violence to Washington,

MR. RUSTIN: Well, that is what they said about the March on Washington and it didn't.

QUESTION: That was in 1963.

MR. RUSTIN: Right, I admit the situation is somewhat different now.

But let me go back to the beginning. I talked with Dr. King on numerous occasions about this march. And at the present time I am not working with him on it, though I wish him well. The reason I am not working on it is I was never able to get out of Dr. King and his lieutenants the answers to three questions—What are your objectives? I don't think they really worked them out yet clearly. What are your tactics going to be? Are you going to disrupt government buildings and hospitals and other areas? Or are you going to have peaceful demonstrations, picketing that is within the law, or are you going to use something extra? They told me they didn't know. When it came to the strategy of how they are going to keep 3,000 people in tents, I was not able to get any answer, even though I had drawn up several pages showing the millions and millions of dollars it would take to keep 3,000 people in tents in Washington. By the time you run electricity in, by the time you buy your tents, by the time you rent your toilets—mobile toilets which are up to $80 a day for four-seaters, and $40 a day for two-seaters, by the time you bring in portable showers and do the plumbing at Union rates for installing those showers, the price was astronomical.

Now because I could not get answers about those problems of strategy, tactics and objectives, I felt that until I could get those answers, I ought to stay away from them. Whether Dr. King has answers to those questions as yet, I don't know.

Now in terms of the violence, if the demonstrations are peaceful and other people are violent to King, then that is a problem for society. If King's people were to resort to violence, then that is a problem which the black people are going to have to bear. And therefore, I would hope there would be no violence, but I am not afraid of violence, per se. The question is, that if other people direct violence toward us, as they did in Selma and Birmingham, that will make the nation come to us. And to the degree that Negroes envision violence, that drives the nation and our allies away from us.

QUESTION: As an alternative question to the one raised, earlier from what we read about the plans Dick Gregory has in making sure that we can't have a Democratic Convention in Chicago and grasping your idea, I believe on the basis of the prejudices and the psychological effect a situation like this could develop, and knowing full well that all the candidates down there from LBJ down to Wallace that are going to be introducing names at this Convention, is this not a very dangerous type demonstration? Will not this retard the type of platform that these candidates hope to have in the interest of progressive legislation on Civil Rights matters? Is this not a very dangerous thing for Gregory to try to plan to block out that Convention activity?

MR. RUSTIN: Yes, I think it is. I think that any irrational behavior around the Democratic Convention will not help the programs or philosophy that we believe in. It will make more backlash at a time when backlash is growing much too rapidly. Now as regards Dick Gregory, Dick is a very peculiar person. He gets 1% of the vote in a situation where Daley never got such a big vote, and he announces the next day he is going to run for President. So I think that describes Dick Gregory.

Dick Gregory does not purport to be a political being as such. Now I don't think Dick Gregory is going to be able to get enough people to join him to make any tremendous fracas. Furthermore, when the time comes, what Dick Gregory probably will do will be to march on the Convention, and if he is told he is under arrest, unlike many left wingers, he is not going to put up a fight and be carried off. He is going to say, okay, I am under arrest, I will go with you. I think that is the reality.

Dick Gregory is the least dangerous element there. The real dangerous elements, I think are going to be some of the younger peace groups because Daley has plans that they know about for not only surrounding the Convention with police, he is going to have four wings of police so nothing breaks through. And Daley has had to make that promise to the Democratic National Committee and the President, because as you know, there was some talk some time back about changing it. And Daley has a tremendous apparatus which isn't going to let anybody through, unless they are a fairly peaceful group.

During the Conference last week end where the young peace groups got together, they made a decision that if they were not allowed to go to the Convention, they were going to go into the Negro areas. If they do that, I think there is a real possibility of confrontation because the one thing the poor Negro does not like are hippies. And there is a good reason they don't like hippies, and that is they are saying, those g-d hippies come from decent families in Westchester County and all over, they could be clean; they could have decent clothes, and here they come to us all masquerading. And we hate their guts, because they have rejected the very things we are trying to get. So that the conflict between the hippies and the Negroes is a bad one, and if those hippies pour into the Negro community, I think they are going to start trouble. Now I think that is where the trouble will take place, not around the Convention.

By the way, just let me add that since 1948 Mr. Randolph and I have organized demonstrations in front of every political convention, Democratic and Republican. This year, we decided it was too dangerous, because we could not control the elements which would come into it and turn it in their direction.

QUESTION: I would like to know whether people like Carmichael and Rap Brown and some of these other extreme militant people have any real legitimate objective as far as the Negro people are concerned. And I am particularly interested in Carmichael because of the speeches he has made in countries like Cuba and this type of thing. Do they really have any legitimate objectives that mean anything to the Negro people?

MR. RUSTIN: They have real legitimate objectives in their own terms; in terms of economic and social and political, they don't. Nobody in this room can tell me what Carmichael's claim is on Medicare, on jobs, on housing, on schools, nothing. But then, you have to understand why that is true.

And for many of these young Negroes today, and they represent about one half of one percent of the Negro population, and sometimes when we talk about these things, if you think we are talking about a big mass, we are not, but they are very interesting, psychologically, and here is where they begin.

Number one, the society which has brutalized Negroes for 300 years will never give Negroes freedom.

Number two, if the society is not viable then you cannot have a program, because if you have a problem you are misleading people. And when I said to Carmichael, why don't you do a, b and c, he said to me, you are crazy, you want me to mislead a lot of these Negro youth in really believing they can get decent jobs, housing and education in the society? I won't mislead them.

Now if this society, number one, is not viable and therefore, number two, you don't need a program, then number three, your heroes cannot come from the society, and the methods used by your former heroes must be rejected.

Dr. King, Mr. Randolph, Roy Wilkins, they are the big enemy, and they are the enemies because they stick to programs in a society where programs cannot work. Now therefore, if I can't have my heroes in Mr. Randolph and Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, I have to select my heroes somewhere else. So the heroes then become Castro, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, but don't be misled by that, they are not adopting the Communist philosophy of these men. They like those men because in their view, their methods of revolutionary violence is what they like.

Now it follows from that, therefore, that if you cannot have victories out here, you must have internal psychological victories. Therefore, talking about Negro culture as being superior to white culture gives them an internal satisfaction where there are no jobs out there. Talking about how you wear your hair African style becomes the substitute for no education out there. Talking about soul food as being better than what white people cook, of great debate on whether I want to be called a Negro or an Afro-American or an Afro or a black or colored becomes a substitute for no housing out there.

So these people are what I call believers in frustration economics, frustration sociology, frustration politics. Everything they think is unbasically, unworkable, such as that Negroes ought to go in small businesses and lift themselves economically.

Now for Negroes to go into business, I am all in favor of it, but I have to be a realist; small business is not developing in the United States, small business is being cut out. Or the argument that we have to have Negro teachers for Negro people and only Negro supervisors for Negroes. Now this is a Pandora's Box, because if Negroes in Harlem set a precedent of only Negro teachers and Negro supervisors, Rosemary Guling out in Queens is going to end up saying we only want Anglo-Saxon supervisors and she will get them much quicker than they will in Harlem because she is better organized.

Now what does that do to all the Jewish school teachers and supervisors? It is a Pandora's Box.

Now I believe there should be more Negro history. I believe that more Negroes should be superintendents, but I want them to take their place in line the way everybody else does, and become supervisors of whatever schools are open for them to be supervisors and principals of, and not to divide it. Nor do I agree with the insistence that there be nothing but Negro cops in the ghetto.

The fact of the matter is, under given pressures, nothing can be more brutal than a Negro cop that is trying to make it higher in the police force, and I am talking about personal experience.

QUESTION: I would like to know, rather than either advising or condemning or querying why Carmichael is doing what he is or why Brown is doing it or why King or Rustin are doing what they are doing, I want to know what we are doing, and what we ought to be doing. It strikes me that everybody in this room is moving in three basic spheres where he could be doing something. Those spheres are collective bargaining, direct confrontation with his company, his community affairs, his Union affairs. It strikes me that what we have to understand, if I understand your message correctly, the area in which the only solution can be found is to get to work in the COPE and legislative area to make sure that the people are elected that can do the job. We can't do it with a collective bargaining contract or convincing my neighbor that prejudice ought to go away, the only way I can do it is by electing the people right now and changing the government in regard to riots, in terms of our social affairs, and that is where the people in this room ought to be concentrating their efforts.

MR. RUSTIN: I agree with you. Three years ago I wrote an article which now has appeared in some 24 books. It was called "From Protest to Politics." If you don't have any copies, I would like to send you some. I would like to send them to the Board because I think it is an important article.

The point in the article is three points, one, this nation is going to do nothing special for the Negro.

Two, that this nation can be brought politically to do something special for the poor. If this nation does something for the poor, since the Negro is the most grieviously poor, he will be lifted. Therefore, the basic economic program of the AFL-CIO is what has got to be sold to Congress, and that means getting a Congress which would buy it.

And you see, that is one of the reasons I am very much opposed to the scapegoatism around President Johnson. I am afraid the President's scapegoatism around Johnson is going to obscure us from seeing the realities.

Now I don't think Johnson has proposed enough. He hasn't proposed my program. But what we forget in jumping on Johnson is that he has proposed an awful lot more than Congress has been willing to pass, number one.

Number two, we must avoid permitting this election to become a duplicate of 1952 or we are finished.

I want to say a word to my peace friends here. I happen to be a peace man. I have been in jail for three years because of my peace position. But I never obscure the fact that a single issue election will kill this nation. In 1952 when we elected Ike with that tremendous plurality around one thing, are you going to Korea and stop the war? Now the fact is, the war is still going on, we have 500,000 guys, you know, over there. Interesting.

After Ike got that plurality around the single issue only of the war, for ten years he did absolutely nothing on labor and Civil Rights issues except the wrong things. And therefore, in this election we have got to raise right up there with the question of Vietnam, the question of domestic policy, and if we don't, we are finished. And you let anybody slip through on the basis that he is going to merely stop the war in Vietnam, McCarthy for an example—now I happen to respect Mr. McCarthy, but he certainly has been playing it very strange. He was not in the Senate on the vote on cloture. He was not in the Senate on the vote against the so-called riot bill which is going to get us into deeper trouble. Now if he thinks that he should run off in all directions pursuing Vietnam, we are in very serious trouble.

Let me say one other thing about Vietnam. For some people the tragedy, and for other people the joy, is that Johnson actually holds every card on Vietnam and can destroy the Kennedy and McCarthy campaign any minute he wants. They have only raised two fundamental questions, the escalation of troops and stopping the bombing. Johnson knows exactly what I know, that the leadership of North Vietnam does not intend to and will not in fact sit down at a table until after the election. They are so convinced that we are going to get a President who is going to negotiate with them on terms different from Johnson's.

What is the situation before the election? Johnson will, either for honest or dishonest reasons de-escalate by 50,000 and stop bombing for three weeks. What is left? Certainly the Kennedy and McCarthy campaigns will have all the wind taken out of them because they have not asked for anything other than those two things. Kennedy has taken pains to say he is not interested in a pull-out. So I think we are in for some very serious surprises around the war, but precisely because we can get daily surprises around Vietnam, we are going to have to work very vigorously to keep the problems of the poor and the minority people at the center of this election.

Now that is your job, and that is a very hard job, and that is a job which determines whether we put liberals back in.

QUESTION: Something just developed in Pennsylvania that leads me to be fearful of situations.

In the General Assembly in Pennsylvania in the House, all the Negro members of the House, most of them coming from Philadelphia have set up what they called a "Black Bloc." By doing this, I am fearful that they are going to antagonize lots of votes on legislation, on relief, support to Medicare and everything else. With the exception of certain ministers, we don't seem to get the support of the so-called knowledgeable men and knowledgeable women. I am fearful, coming from the capital there, that the setting up of this Black Bloc, unless it is stopped, will create more division than we want to see. And I want to know if that is a move in any direction, and I don't know whether you know of that situation in Pennsylvania which has just occurred.

MR. RUSTIN: I do. I want to be again very honest, and analytical if I can be, and without emotion.

We are simply going to get more and more black blocs; we are simply going to get more and more people saying, I don't care what his record is, he is white, therefore we are going to have to vote against him, because we would rather have a man of our own even if he isn't any good rather than a white man in our district. You are going to get all kinds of frustration reactions instead of real politics.

You are going to get many Negroes being vetoed by a tiny minority. And I will give you an example of what I mean by that. When this problem came up about all Negroes being school principals, Mr. Randolph brought a number of very responsible Negroes into his office and we had written a statement for them to sign protesting this. They all agreed with the statement, but nobody wanted to sign it. One man said, I own a bank down the street, and I have got a lot of these black nationalists in my bank, separationists. I don't want to say anything to make them mad.

Another fellow said, I own a furniture store across the street, and I don't want them breaking my windows, because they don't like my signing of that statement.

A doctor said that he had too many patients that were extremists, and he didn't want to be bothered, so that everybody agreed with the statement, and nobody would sign it.

QUESTION: See, these are people who are aware of the political facts of life. I am not speaking of somebody who has a business concern, I am not speaking of somebody who is frustrated, I am speaking of men who have been in the General Assembly, and in the labor movement for years. And they are setting up barriers to cause vetoes to take place. Now with the exception of a few ministers, I am not looking for anybody to sign a statement, I am looking for somebody to adhere to a principle, and these men are elected to office.

MR. RUSTIN: All I am saying here, I agree with your general sentiments, I am simply saying that as long as the conditions exist and the separationists, black power people exist, they are going to have an effect on those men and intimidate them into taking certain positions they don't really hold.

You know if the white community would stop jumping on Adam Clayton Powell, he couldn't be elected in New York. He is elected because every time you pick up the paper some white person is calling him something.

Now therefore, Adam has all kinds of sensible people in Harlem backing him up. I don't happen to be one of them. But he has got all kinds of sensible people ready to vote for him again, not that they like him, but that this is the way of their protesting.

I will bet you I know why that black caucus was organized, because they were under pressure from the Negro community to stand up and show some spirit. They didn't want to organize that thing. Furthermore, what in the name of God in the Pennsylvania Legislature can five or six Negroes do calling themselves a bloc? What are they going to block? Seriously, but they do this for appearance purposes. If you go into a Negro church now to speak at a NAACP meeting, and you use the word "Negro," you get 15 or 20 people in the back to shout you down unless you say "black." Now most people sitting there don't care, but they take the initiative by what I call "pushists," "elitists," and what has been called by one philosopher, infantile leftism, if you know what I mean.

This is the kind of thing that happens, but my friends, we are not going to get rid of those aberrations right through the classes until we get some major break through on houses, schools and jobs. That is the problem we don't like to face.

It can't be done by lecturing and arguing, it's got to be produced out of something.

PRESIDENT JENNINGS: Kind of bad, it can't be produced out of a Congress that has as its high spot almost a standing ovation when the President talked about crime in the streets. It has to come, the point that you made, from a Congress that is going to have to act across the board to very, very basic inequities in our society.

MR. RUSTIN: For black and white.

PRESIDENT JENNINGS: Black and white.

QUESTION: Mr. Chairman, you said something about having a great hope. Now we talked about the brutality among the blacks for a few hundred years. We talked about the bitter disappointments that grew out of the 300,000 Negro soldiers in the Civil War and the great expectations that were expected as a result of that service and similar disappointments that grew out of other major contributions made by the Negro community. We have talked about a hostile Senate and Congress, and we spent time talking about the caliber of these people, not only what they would do to the Negro community, but in fact what they would do to labor and anybody else and all of the other inhibitions.

What I am trying to grasp or see is upon what do you base this great hope that you have? If nothing happened between last summer and this summer, what is going to happen next summer and the summer after? Are we facing the same failure or what is this hope that you have? From this I think we can get the biggest message.

MR. RUSTIN: I have three possibilities of hope.

Number one, as I told you before, twice the number of Negroes are now voting in the South as voted in 1965. They are pushing Negroes in the Southern Legislatures, and if the rate of voting continues as it is, the nature of the United States Senate ultimately must change. You will not find Eastland and his ilk sitting on those committees. That is one hope, a realignment of the political forces of the South with Negroes voting, because once Negroes are in fact voting, the poor whites who have never had an honest chance to vote are not going to let the Negroes get away with that, they are going to come out too and they are going to vote in their interest for a change. So I see an alliance there at the voting level. Whites in the South are getting more educated, they are not going to say any longer, just because I am white I can live like a pig, and since I am better than a "nigger" I am somebody. And the industrialization of the South, the unionization of the South, all of these things are making a new South which is going to make a new Congress.

Secondly, my faith rests and my hope rests in the fact that I think Americans can be very silly, but then I have lived in India, and they have been very silly; I have lived in England and went to school there, and they can be very silly. And in fact, England has just passed legislation in the last few years which is going in the wrong direction of solving their problems as our legislation is going in the right direction, no matter how slow.

I have an abiding faith that if the American people can be honestly told the truth as I think the Commission's report tried to do, they will move.

And my third hope is in the nature of our doing a good job. I cannot be hopeless and face the big job we have to do in November.

I am only going to inspire people in the ghettoes to get out and vote in their interest if they feel I have some sense that something can happen. And that is the faith around selling them the kind of economic and social program which I roughly describe as the AFL-CIO economic and social program.

Now I refuse to cry in my beer about the situation. I just think if we who are trying to lead people don't see a new way and have a great sense of hope and enthusiasm, that we are going into a fight and we are going to win, you know, why shouldn't they give up? //

Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was born on March 17, 1910, in Westchester, Pennsylvania. He was the first field-secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality, and served as a youth organizer for A. Philip Randolph's march on Washington.

During World War II, he was imprisoned in Lewisburg Penitentiary as a conscientious objector. In 1947, he participated in the first Freedom Ride, the Journey of Reconciliation. Arrested in North Carolina, he served 30 days on a chain gang.

Rustin assisted the late Dr. Martin Luther King in organizing the Montgomery Bus Protest, and, at Dr. King's request, drew up the first plans for the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He organized the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and, in 1964, organized the first school boycott in New York City. He has been arrested more than two dozen times in the struggle for civil rights.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
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# The Labor-Negro Coalition – A New Beginning

Over 40,000 mourners pack the plaza in front of Memphis City Hall after march memorializing Dr. King and backing strikers.

*by Bayard Rustin*

**The murder of** Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has thrust a lance into the soul of America. The pain is most shattering to the Negro people. We have lost a valiant son, a symbol of hope and an eloquent spirit that inspired masses of people. Such a man does not appear often in the history of social struggle. When his presence signifies that greatness can inhabit a black skin, those who must deny this possibility stop at nothing to remove it. Dr. King now joins a long list of victims of desperate hate in the service of insupportable lies, myths and stereotypes.

For me, the death of Dr. King brings deep personal grief. I had known and worked with him since the early days of the Montgomery bus protest in 1955, through the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Prayer Pilgrimage in 1957, the youth marches for integrated schools in 1958 and 1959 and the massive March on Washington in 1963.

Though his senior by 20 years, I came to admire the depth of his faith in non-violence, in the ultimate vindication of the democratic process and in the redeeming efficacy of social commitment and action. And underlying this faith was a quiet courage grounded in the belief that the triumph of justice, however long delayed, was inevitable. Like so many others, I watched his spirit take hold in the country, arousing long-slumbering consciences and giving shape to a new social movement. With that movement came new hopes, aspirations and expectations. The stakes grew higher.

*BAYARD RUSTIN is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a board member of the League for Industrial Democracy. He helped plan the march of the Memphis sanitation men which was to be led by Martin Luther King, Jr. When Dr. King was assassinated, the march was carried on as a memorial to King.*

At such a time, so great a loss can barely be sustained by the Negro people. But the tragedy and shame of April 4th darken the entire nation as it teeters on the brink of crisis. And let no one mistake the signs: our country is in deadly serious trouble. This needs to be said because one of the ironies of life in an advanced industrialized society is that many people can go about their daily business without being directly affected by the ominous rumblings at the bottom of the system.

Yet we are at one of the great crossroads in our history and the alternatives before us grow more stark with every summer's violence. In moments like these there is a strong temptation to succumb to utter despair and helpless cynicism. It is indeed hard to maintain a clear perspective, a reliable sense of where events are heading. But this is exactly what we are called upon to do. Momentous decisions are about to be made—consciously or by default—and the consequences will leave not one corner of this land, nor any race or class, untouched.

Where, then, do we go from here?

**We are a house divided.** Of this Dr. King's murder is a stunning reminder. Every analysis, strategy and proposal for a way out of the American dilemma must

Mrs. Coretta King fulfills husband's pledge to lead Memphis march. At right is Rev. Abernathy; at right corner is Rustin.

begin with the recognition that a perilous polarization is taking place in our society. Part of it is no doubt due to the war in Viet Nam, part to the often remarked generational gap. But generations come and go and so do foreign policies. The issue of race, however, has been with us since our earliest beginnings as a nation. I believe it is even deeper and sharper than the other points of contention. It has bred fears, myths and violence over centuries. It is the source of dark and dangerous irrationality, a current of social pathology running through our history and dimming our brighter achievements.

**Most of the time the reservoir** of racism remains stagnant. But—and this has been true historically for most societies—when major economic, social or political crises arise, the backwaters are stirred and latent racial hostility comes to the surface. Scapegoats must be found, simple targets substituted for complex problems. The frustration and insecurity generated by these problems find an outlet in notions of racial superiority and inferiority. Very often we find that the most virulent hostility to Negroes exists among ethnic groups that only recently "made it" themselves or that are still near the bottom of the ladder. They need to feel that somebody is beneath them. (This is a problem which the labor movement has had to face more acutely perhaps than any comparable institution in American life. And it's a problem which some of labor's middle-class critics have not had to cope with at all.)

Negroes are reacting to this hostility with a counter-hostility. Some say the white man has no "soul"; others say he is barbaric, uncivilized; others proclaim him racially inferior. As is so often the case, such a *reaction* is the exaggerated obverse of the original *action*.

And in fact it incorporates elements of white stereotypes of Negroes. ("Soul," for example, so far as it is definable, seems to consist in part of rhythm, spontaneity, pre-industrial sentimentality, a footloose anti-regimentation, etc.—qualities attributed to Negroes by many whites, though in different words.)

This reaction among Negroes is not so new as many white people think. What is new is the intensity with which it is felt among some Negroes and the violent way it has been expressed in recent years. For this, the conservatives and reactionaries would blame the civil rights movement and the federal government. And in the very specific sense, we must conclude that they are right.

One effect of the civil rights struggle in the past 10 years has been to convince a generation of young Negroes that their place in society is no longer predetermined at birth. We demonstrated that segregationist barriers could be toppled, that social relations were not fixed for all time, that change was on the agenda. The federal government reinforced this new consciousness with its many pronouncements that racial integration and equality were the official goals of American society.

**The reactionaries would tell us** that these hopes and promises were unreasonable to begin with and should never have been advanced. They equate stability with the preservation of the established hierarchy of social relations, and chaos with the reform of that unjust arrangement. The fact is that the promises were reasonable, justified and long overdue. Our task is not to rescind them—how do you rescind the promise of equality?—but to implement them fully and vigorously.

This task is enormously complicated by the polarization now taking place on the race issue. We are caught in a vicious cycle: inaction on the poverty and civil rights fronts foments rioting in the ghettos; the rioting encourages vindictive inaction. Militancy, extremism and violence grow in the black community; racism, reaction and conservatism gain ground in the white community.

Personal observation and the law of numbers persuade me that a turn to the "right" comprises the larger part of the polarization. This, of course, is a perilous challenge not only to the Negro but also to the labor movement, to liberals and civil libertarians, to all of the forces for social progress. We must meet that challenge in 1968.

**Meanwhile, a process of** polarization is also taking place within the Negro community and, with the murder of Dr. King, it is likely to be accelerated.

Ironically and sadly, this will occur precisely because of the broad support Dr. King enjoyed among Negroes. That support cut across ideological and class lines. Even those Negro spokesmen who could not accept, and occasionally derided, Dr. King's philosophy of nonviolence and reconciliation, admired and respected his unique national and international position. They were moved by his sincerity and courage. Not, perhaps, since the days of Booker T. Washington—when 90 percent of all Negroes lived in the South and were occupationally and socially more homogeneous than today—had any one man come so close to being *the* Negro leader. He was a large unifying force and his assassination leaves an enormous vacuum. The diverse strands he linked together have fallen from his hands.

The murder of Dr. King tells Negroes that if one of the greatest among them is not safe from the assassin's bullet, then what can the least of them hope for? In this context, those young black militants who have resorted to violence feel vindicated. "Look what happened to Dr. King," they say. "He was non-violent, he didn't hurt anybody. And look what they did to him. If we have to go down, let's go down shooting. Let's take whitey with us."

Make no mistake about it: a great psychological barrier has now been placed between those of us who have urged nonviolence as the road to social change and the frustrated despairing youth of the ghettos. Dr. King's assassination is only the latest example of our society's determination to teach young Negroes that violence pays. We pay no attention to them until they take to the streets in riotous rebellion. Then we make minor concessions—not enough to solve their basic problems, but enough to persuade them that we know they exist. "Besides," the young militants will tell you, "this country was built on violence. Look at what we did to the Indians. Look at our television and movies. And look at Viet Nam. If the cause of the Vietnamese is worth taking up guns for, why isn't the cause of the black man right here in Harlem?"

An Atlanta scene during King's funeral as nation mourned.

These questions are loaded and oversimplified, to be sure, and they obscure the real issues and the programmatic direction we must take to meet them. But what we must answer is the bitterness and disillusionment that give rise to these questions. If our answers consist of mere words, they will fall on deaf ears. They will not ring true until ghetto-trapped Negroes experience significant and tangible progress in the daily conditions of their lives—in their jobs, income, housing, education, health care, political representation, etc. This must be understood by those often well-meaning people who, frightened by the polarization, would retreat from committed action into homilies about racial understanding.

**We are indeed a house divided.** But the division between race and race, class and class, will not be dissolved by massive infusions of brotherly sentiment. The division is not the result of bad sentiment and therefore will not be healed by rhetoric. Rather the division and the bad sentiments are both reflections of vast and growing inequalities in our socioeconomic system—inequalities of wealth, of status, of education, of access to political power. Talk of brotherhood and "tolerance" (are we merely to "tolerate" one another?) might once have had a cooling effect, but increasingly it grates on the nerves. It evokes contempt not because the values of brotherhood are wrong—they are more important now than ever—but because it just does not correspond to the reality we see around us. And such talk does nothing to eliminate the inequalities that breed resentment and deep discontent.

The same is true of most "Black Power" sloganeering, in which I detect powerful elements of conservatism. Leaving aside those extremists who call for violent "revolution," the Black Power movement embraces a diversity of groups and ideologies. It contains a strong impulse toward withdrawal from social struggle and action, a retreat back into the ghetto, avoidance of contact with the white world. This impulse may, I fear, be strengthened by the assassination of Dr. King.

**This brand of Black Power** has much in common with the conservative white American's view of the Negro. It stresses self-help ("why don't those Negroes pull themselves up by their own bootstraps like my ancestors did?"). It identifies the Negro's main problems in psychological terms, calls upon him to develop greater self-respect and dignity by studying Negro history and culture and by building independent institutions.

In all of these ideas there is some truth. But taken

King at 1961 AFL-CIO session with Vice Pres. Lee Minton.

as a whole, the trouble with this thinking is that it assumes that the Negro can solve his problems by himself, in isolation from the rest of the society. The fact is, however, that the Negro did not create these problems for himself and he cannot solve them by himself.

Dignity and self-respect are not abstract virtues that can be cultivated in a vacuum. They are related to one's job, education, residence, mobility, family responsibilities and other circumstances that are determined by one's economic and social status in the society. Whatever deficiencies in dignity and self-respect may be laid to the Negro are the consequence of generations of segregation, discrimination and exploitation. Above all, in my opinion, these deficiencies result from systematic exclusion of the Negro from the economic mainstream.

This exclusion cannot be reversed—but only perpetuated—by gilding the ghettos. A "separate but equal" economy for black Americans is impossible. In any case, the ghettos do not have the resources needed for massive programs of abolishing poverty, inferior education, slum housing and the other problems plaguing the Negro people. These resources must come primarily from the federal government, which means that the fate of the Negro is unavoidably tied to the political life of this nation.

It is time, therefore, that all of us, black and white alike, put aside rhetoric that obscures the real problems. It is precisely because we have so long swept these incendiary problems under the rug that they are now exploding all around us, insisting upon our attention. We can divert our eyes no longer.

**The life and death** of Martin Luther King are profoundly symbolic. From the Montgomery bus protest to the Memphis sanitation workers strike, his career embodies the internal development, the unfolding, the evolution of the modern civil rights struggle.

That struggle began as a revolt against segregation in public accommodations—buses, lunch counters, libraries, schools, parks. It was aimed at ancient and obsolete institutional arrangements and mores left over from an earlier social order in the South, an order that was being undermined and transformed by economic and technological forces.

**As the civil rights movement** progresssed, winning victory after victory in public accommodations and voting rights, it became increasingly conscious that these victories would not be secure or far-reaching without a radical improvement in the Negro's socio-economic position. And so the movement reached out of the South into the urban centers of the North and West. It moved from public accommodations to employment, welfare, housing, education—to find a host of problems the nation had let fester for a generation.

But these were not problems that affected the Negro alone or that could be solved easily with the movement's traditional protest tactics. These injustices were imbedded not in ancient and obsolete institutional arrangements but in the priorities of powerful vested interests, in the direction of public policy, in the allocation of our national resources. Sit-ins could integrate a lunch counter, but massive social investments and imaginative public policies were required to eliminate the deeper inequalities.

**Dr. King came to see** that this was too big a job for the Negro alone, that it called for an effective coalition with the labor movement. As King told the AFL-CIO convention in 1961:

"Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs—decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community.

"That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor.

"That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth.

"The duality of interest of labor and Negroes makes any crisis which lacerates you, a crisis from which we bleed. As we stand on the threshold of the second half of the twentieth century, a crisis confronts us both. Those who in the second half of the nineteenth century could not tolerate organized labor have had a rebirth of power and seek to regain the despotism of that era while retaining the wealth and privileges of the twentieth century.

". . . The two most dynamic and cohesive liberal forces in the country are the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement.

". . . I look forward confidently to the day when all who work for a living will be one, with no thought to their separateness as Negroes, Jews, Italians or any other distinctions.

"This will be the day when we shall bring into full realization the American dream—a dream yet unfulfilled: A dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men will not argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character; a dream of a nation where all our gifts and resources are held not for ourselves alone but as instruments of service for the rest of humanity; the dream of a country where every man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality —that is the dream."

**And so Dr. King went** to Memphis to help 1,300 sanitation workers—almost all of them black—to win union recognition, dues checkoff, higher wages and better working conditions. And in the midst of this new phase of his work he was assassinated. Since then, the sanitation workers have won their fight. But the real battle is just beginning.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is the latest in a series of documents —official, semi-official and unofficial—that have sought to arouse the American people to the great dangers we face and to the price we are likely to pay if we do not multiply our efforts to eradicate poverty and racism.

The recent recommendations parallel those urged by civil rights and labor groups over the years. The legislative work of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the AFL-CIO has been vital to the progress we have made so far. This work is now proceeding effectively on a broad coordinated basis. It has pinpointed the objectives for which the entire nation must strive.

We have got to provide meaningful work at decent wages for every employable citizen. We must guarantee an adequate income for those unable to work. We must build millions of low-income housing units, tear down the slums and rebuild our cities. We need to build schools, hospitals, mass transit systems. We need to construct new, integrated towns. As President Johnson has said, we need to build a "second America" between now and the year 2000.

It is in the context of this national reconstruction that the socioeconomic fate of the Negro will be determined. Will we build into the second America new, more sophisticated forms of segregation and exploitation or will we create a genuine open, integrated and democratic society? Will we have a more equitable distribution of economic resources and political power or will we sow the seeds of more misery, unrest and division?

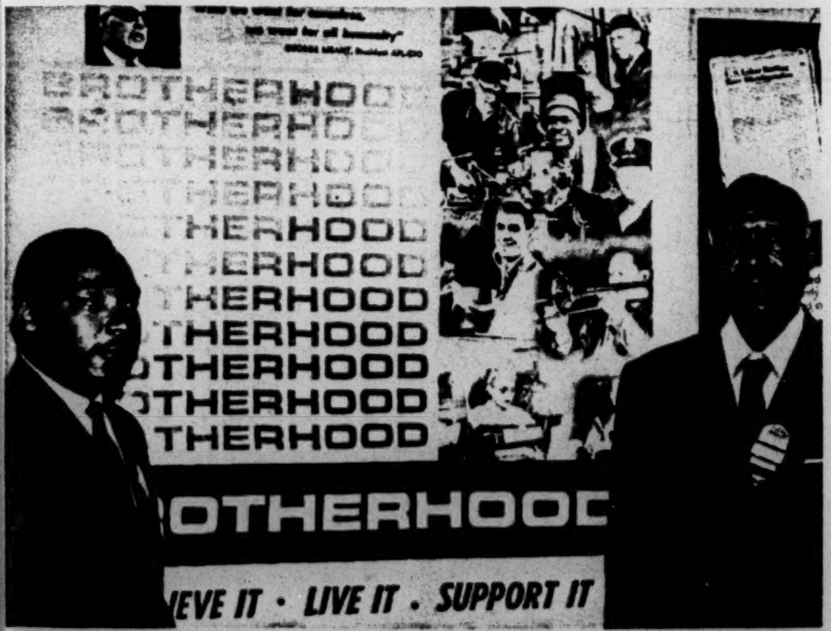
Because of men like Martin Luther King, it is unlikely that the American Negro can ever again return to the old order. But it is up to us, the living, black and white, to realize Dr. King's dream.

**This means, first of all,** to serve notice on the 90th Congress that its cruel indifference to the plight of our cities and of the poor—even after the martyrdom of Dr. King—will not be tolerated by the American people. In an economy as fabulously productive as ours, a balanced budget cannot be the highest virtue and, in any case, it cannot be paid for by the poor.

Next, I believe, we must recognize the magnitude of the threat we face in an election year from a resurgence of the rightwing backlash forces. This threat will reach ever greater proportions if this summer sees massive violence in the cities. The Negro-labor-liberal coalition, whatever differences now exist within and among its constituent forces, must resolve to unite this fall in order to defeat racism and reaction at the polls. Unless we so resolve, we may find ourselves in a decade of vindictive and mean conservative domination.

We owe it to Martin Luther King not to let this happen. We owe it to him to preserve and extend his victories. We owe it to him to fulfill his dreams. We owe it to his memory and to our futures.

King, here with Phil Randolph, stressed labor-Negro ties.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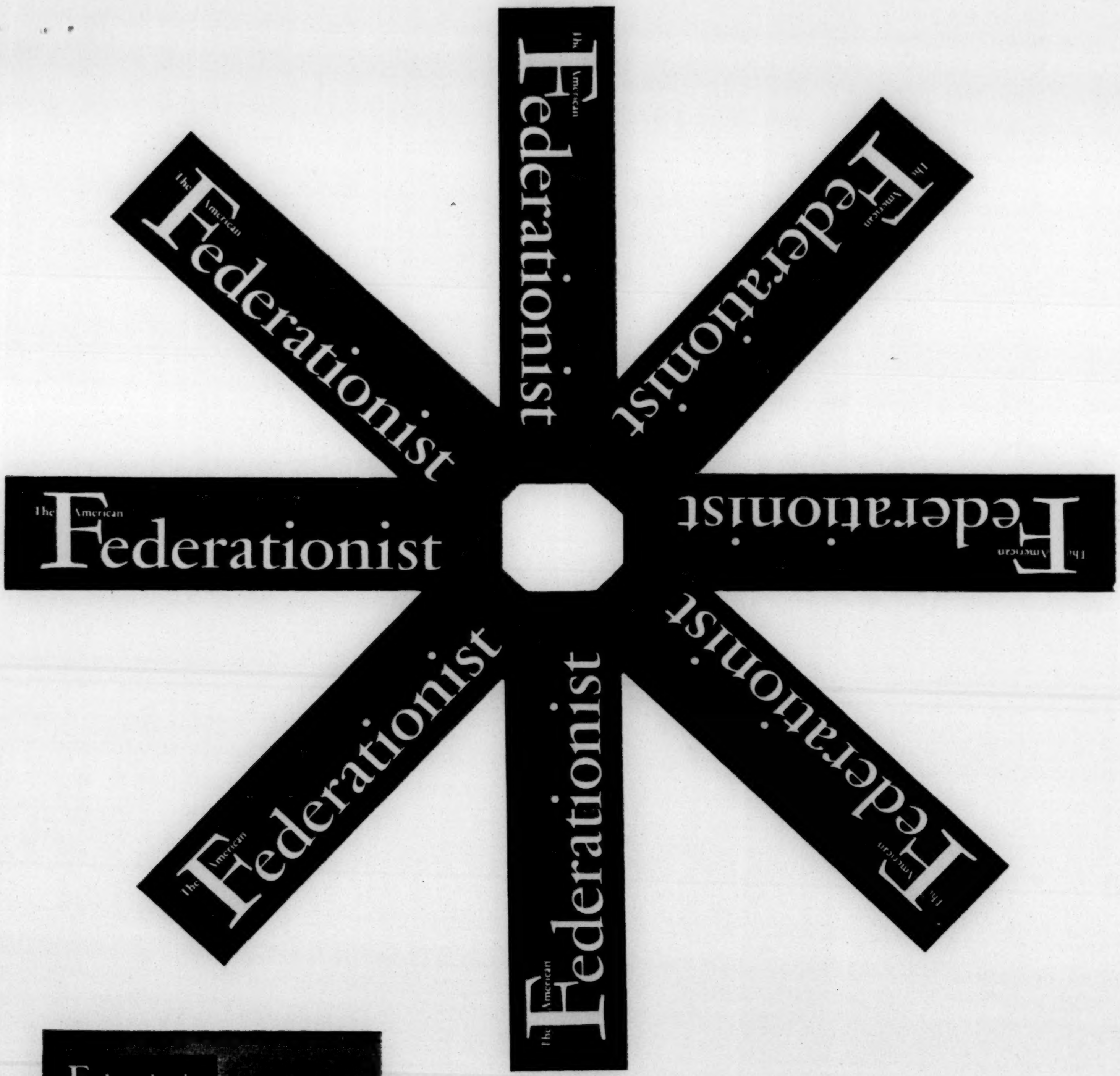
After struggle and tragedy, Memphis strikers cheer victory.

Reprinted from May 1968
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST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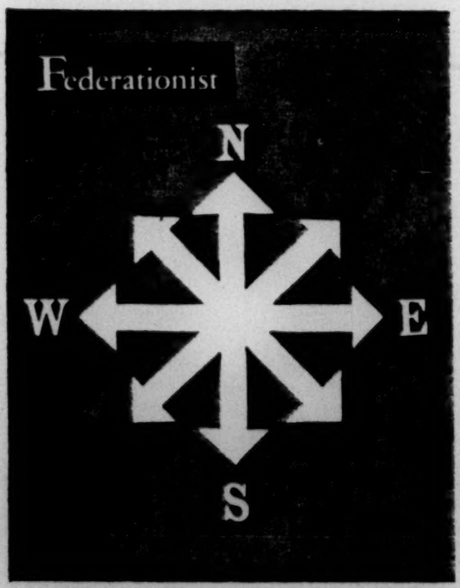
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Article?

May 8, 1968

Mr. T.K. Mahadevan
GANDHI MARG
221/223 Rouse Avenue
New Delhi-1  India

Dear Mr. Mahadevan,

I'm sorry it has taken me so long to answer your letter, but I've been terribly busy. I can do the article you wanted for *GANdhi Marg*, a somewhat longer version will appear in an American magazine published by the AFL-CIO. Please drop me a line if you still want the article.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

*Gandhi Marg*

**journal of the gandhi peace foundation**
221/223 ROUSE AVENUE NEW DELHI-1 PHONE 273376

15 April 1968

Federationist

Mr Bayard Rustin
c.o. The A. Philip Educational Fund
New York City
U.S.A.

Dear Mr Rustin

The assassination of Martin Luther King has come at a time when the black people of America are particularly leaderless. First Malcolm X, then Evers and now King -- the erosion of black leadership in America is ruthless. Nevertheless, we have to go forward in the belief and faith that these and many other named and un-named martyrs have not died in vain. If the black Americans are not to get completely bogged down in despair and anarchy, they will have to walk the future days, weeks, months -- and maybe years -- with the unseen courage and determination that come from faith and hope.

GANDHI MARG would like to devote almost the whole of its next issue (July 1968) to a consideration of the historical role of Martin Luther King in the development of nonviolent resistance. As one close to his work and thought, I feel such a symposium will be incomplete without a brief article from you. Though it might be helpful, I would not like to break up the theme into compartments lest your thinking on the subject is unwittingly inhibited.

The nature and suddenness of King's death has naturally produced a wave of uncritical adulation of the man and his work. What we propose to have in GANDHI MARG is, however, a more balanced, objective and constructively critical assessment of King's contribution. We want his strong points as well as his weak points to be weighed equally; for as with Gandhi so with King, we shall gain most from their life, work and death by honest, critical understanding.

I thought an article from you of between 1500 and 2000 words would be ideal for our purpose -- of course, leaving you the option to write a longer piece if you so choose. The July number is due to be published on 15 July 1968 and we go to press around the first week of June. I should therefore like to have your article in my hands not later than the last week of May.

I shall be thankful if you will drop me an immediate line to say you are writing.

Sincerely

T.K.Mahadevan

I remember our brief
encounter in your office
last year.
M

Gandhi Peace Foundation
221 Rouse Avenue : New Delhi 1

ME/68(Pt)/352
13 May 1968

Mr Bayard Rustin
A Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.10027
U.S.A.

Dear Mr Rustin

Yes indeed, I still want your article; it is not yet late. I get the AFL-CIO journal and it is certainly all right if the longer version of your article would appear in it more or less simultaneously.

Sincerely

T.K.Mahadevan

AhC
Rus

May 16, 1968

Mr. T. K. Mahadevan
MANDHI MARG.
221/223 Rouse Avenue
New Delhi -1 India

Dear Mr. Mahadevan:

Enclosed is the article I wrote you about. You can cut it for use in Ganhi Marg. Would you please acknowledge that a longer version appeared in the Federationist Magazine, published by the AFL-CIO? Please send me a copy of the issue if it appears.

I'm sorry that I couldn't do a special article just for you, but I'm really boo busy. I hope this is alright.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin,
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:

May 16, 1968

Mrs. Diana Collins
2 Amen Corner
London, England E.C. 4

Dear Diana:

Enclosed is the article I told you about. Please cut it for your use. It would be good -- but not necessary -- if you acknowledged that it appeared originally in the *Federationist*, published by the AFL-CIO in this country.

I'm sorry that I couldn't do a special article just for you, but I'm really too busy. I hope this is alright.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin,
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:

Integration Within
Decentralization

Source note

This is Bayard Rustin's acceptance speech to the United Federation of Teachers on being presented with the 1968 John Dewey award "in recognition of his courage, his wisdom, and his unconquerable zeal."

Set entire pamphlet as chapter of text.

2½ pi I do not know of a more important figure in the development of an American philosophy of education than John Dewey. I do not know of anyone whose ideas have played a more crucial part in shaping the theory and practice of American public school education. And though the response of the society does not always bear this out, I do not think there is a group of public servants who share a heavier responsibility for protecting Dewey's vision of a democratic education, or for nourishing the old roots of a democratic ethic in our society, than our public school teachers.

Unfortunately, the work of matching dream to fulfillment is not always easy and has not always been successful. But there are few of us here whose lives have not, in one constructive form or another, been shaped at that point where a democratic educational theory converges most happily with the creative labors of the American teacher.

I happen to have grown up in a town where Negroes had few rights, where they could not safely walk through certain streets, where they could not go to certain schools, where they were condemned to certain menial jobs, where they were barred from public facilities, and where the only certain view of them was that they were worth nothing—and that they had an unlimited capacity for amounting to precisely what they were worth.

I happen also—partly in consequence of that view—to have grown up in a house where there was no father, where the burdens for feeding and rearing young children were borne mainly by grandparents. Theirs was no easy task, and they might well have failed, were it not for the help, guidance and inspiration of an old public school teacher in Pennsylvania by the name of Miss Maria Brock.

Miss Brock did, and did well, what we have come to expect good and creative teachers to do: She not only stimulated in me a great desire to learn, but also introduced me to the possibilities that education had for liberating one

(no extra # between ¶'s throughout)

from the prison of one's inherited circumstances. And she taught me to transcend those ugly passions and rationales by which one group of people maintain such prisons for others.

She also did, and did well, what teachers are not normally expected to do: She took deep personal interest in our social upbringing. And it was due largely to her help that four young people, without a father in the house, and with a minimum of economic resources, were able to go through public school, through high school, and into college.

I have no doubt that the life and labors of Miss Brock made all the difference to mine. I have no hesitation in crediting her for the directions of public service in which my life has proceeded ever since. And I have no reservation about sharing with her whatever satisfaction I have derived from a life devoted to the creation of a more democratic society for all Americans.

For Miss Brock, and for the many other excellent teachers who influenced me, I am honored to receive the John Dewey Award. And I accept it with pride, with pleasure, and with deep humility. (line #)

We find ourselves today in perilous and rapidly changing times, times which demand of us that we reexamine and even give up some of our old and obsolete rigidities. But, far more important, they are times that test the seriousness of our attachment to those values which are indispensable to the survival of a civilized and democratic tradition.

We are neither the first people nor the first generation to have been so confronted. In fact, it is the habit of most generations to see themselves in crisis, and to imagine that their experience is without precedent in history.

On the other hand, it is sometimes useful and instructive to seek parallels in other times. And a period I am reminded of today is mid-nineteenth-century Europe—her traditional certainties shattering in the face of revolutionary discoveries and ideologies in science, industry, religion, and politics.

It was a time in England that led Matthew Arnold—himself, like Dewey, an educational theorist and man of letters—to view the crisis of his old order as "a darkling plain, swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, where ignorant armies clash by night."

Today, and certainly in present company, we can afford to hold Arnold's poetry in higher regard than his "aristocratic" premonitions of doom. For though he was considered a humanist and liberal thinker of his time, by the standards of our time he was a conservative. He would certainly have collapsed at the thought of a trade union movement existing in England. His sympathies remained closer to the genteel agonies of the classes than to the dreadful problems of the masses. And, like some of the strange liberals of our own day, he could attack with equal passion the excesses of his country's colonial administrators in the West Indies and the passage of the Reform Bill at home.

Nor can we share the distress he felt at the advance of new styles of thought and belief upon his tradition-bound society. For many of those ideological innovations have since nourished the growth of a radical humanism and made possible a greater measure of social justice and progress in our own time.

But if we cannot sympathize with the politics of Arnold's judgment, neither can we ignore the human quality of his anguish. The connection he felt to values of his time was perhaps as close as the connection we feel to some of ours. And the visions he entertained of "ignorant armies clashing by night," are precisely the fears that are racking our society today. However, I think that *our* fears are more real and more justified—because the values for whose survival we are now concerned spring from a more democratic tradition; a tradition which, though imperfect, we cannot afford to scrap; a tradition much closer to the egalitarian sentiments of John Dewey than to the qualified and genteel liberalism of Matthew Arnold. 99

100 Leaving aside those differences, one thing that

both Arnold and Dewey would agree upon is the importance of the role teachers play in ensuring the survival of the more attractive traditions of their society. And I cannot underestimate the seriousness of the challenge now faced by schools not only in ensuring the survival of a democratic education, but also in fertilizing the growth of a democratic citizenship among all Americans.

It is a challenge that arises out of racial, political, technological, economic, and social demands more serious than any Dewey was ever asked to contemplate. Yet, it is precisely at this time that we can seek and perhaps find guidance in the example of Dewey—a tireless experimenter, and a man who was neither rigid in his determinations nor determined to be rigid.

The chief task now, it seems to me, is for teachers and educationists to ensure quality education, to foster the ideal of communication

and compassion among all the young people of our society, and to view the teaching process as an integral part of the effort to bring about social change and social justice in our society. All ~~of~~ this can be done only when the educational community is prepared, like Dewey, to innovate, to be flexible, and to be imaginative in the application of educational philosophy.

Line #

More concretely, I would like to touch upon a few realities and strategies that must be of serious concern to teachers and teachers' unions if they are to help keep Arnold's "ignorant armies" apart, and if they are to be more responsive and relevant to the complex demands of our society at the present time.

1. The teachers union is more than just an instrument through which to seek and obtain redress of professional grievances. It happens also to belong to the American labor movement, and therefore it becomes a part of that tradition in America which has historically been committed to the cause of social and economic justice.

I would be the first to admit that, as in all American institutions, discrimination continues to exist in the trade union movement. Nevertheless it has made outstanding contributions to the economic upliftment of millions of blacks and whites in this country. The trade union movement was an indispensable part of that coalition which helped shape and achieve the New Deal—which transformed this nation at an earlier period, and made it safe for the continued right of both blue and white collar workers to organize. In spite of its remaining vestiges of injustice, it is more integrated than our schools, our churches, and American industry. The trade union movement was one of the vital elements of the civil rights coalition of the early 1960's—the most vigorous lobbyists in behalf of civil rights and voting rights legislation. And even now, the trade union movement is the only mass institution in our society that is making the social and economic demands which, if enacted, will eradicate poverty.

Therefore, no arm of the trade union movement, whether it be teachers or office workers, can disassociate itself from that tradition of social concern or from the activities being carried out to win new objectives. What are some of these new objectives? We need a two-dollar minimum wage, a guaranteed income, public works for socially urgent institutions, free medical care, destruction of slums, creation of new towns, increased federal aid, and reorganization of the school system. These are basic demands of the trade union movement, and no religious group, no business group—in fact, no other group in the society—is as dedicated to this program.

Moreover, there is a direct relationship between our social and economic problems and the inability of our teachers to teach or to achieve the best results. Therefore, teachers cannot avoid the struggle to achieve more decent communities, better housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, and a generally more humane environment. It is only when these problems are solved—or begin to appear soluble—that teachers will be able to achieve their full effectivenes and their full potential as professionals.

2. Across this nation, in every city and state, teachers are underpaid; the educational bureaucracy is cumbersome; classes are too large; parents are complaining; children are not learning as well as they should; and their teachers are being reduced to clerks, baby-sitters and cops.

While these problems arise out of the social and economic nature of the society, they are exacerbated by the sterile bureaucracy of Boards of Education and the refusal of the State and Federal governments to appropriate enough money, and to introduce enough facilities, into the school systems. All ~~of~~ this illustrates how adept the educational bureaucracy is at applying the strategy of "divide and rule."

In a situation where children are not learning, parents and teachers enter into a vendetta. Whereas they are precisely the ones who should be in a powerful coalition against the educational bureaucracy to demand the facilities they need.

JOIN OUR FIGHT FOR EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION
TEACHERS WANT THE CHANCE TO TEACH
WE WANT BETTER SCHOOLS FOR ALL CHILDREN
HELP TEACHERS FIGHT FOR BETTER SCHOOLS
JOIN OUR FIGHT FOR EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION
TEACHERS WANT THE CHANCE TO TEACH
HELP TEACHERS FIGHT FOR BETTER SCHOOLS
HELP TEACHERS FIGHT FOR BETTER SCHOOLS
TEACHERS WANT THE CHANCE TO TEACH!

This, therefore, is a new imperative: No effort should be spared to create a coalition between teachers, trade unions, and parent groups to make the educational authorities more accountable and responsive to the needs of students, the demands of parents, and the problems of teachers.

3. Having said that, I am still aware that there are limits to what coalitions can do in the struggle to bring about quality integrated education and a better school system. But it is at those limits that teachers unions are called upon to introduce certain revolutionary strategies in their collective bargaining arrangements — in order to literally wrest concessions from the dead hands of the authorities.

Let me try to illustrate. In 1964, a coalition of Negro and Puerto Rican parents, along with a number of liberal groups, made a strong and bold demand for quality integrated education

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for their children. The first dramatic expression of that demand came in the form of the 1964 school boycott which the Rev. Milton Galamison and I organized. Half a million children stayed home, and shut down the New York City School system. A few months later, the Rev. Galamison led another boycott, in which some 40% of the children stayed out of school. Subsequently, the NAACP, CORE, and other civil rights organizations sponsored a march on City Hall, in which, once again, the demand was for quality integrated education.

per cent

Well, what did we get? Nothing, really. Only a series of meaningless plans and statements from the Board of Education aimed simply at catching and deceiving public attention. In addition to that we also got spectacular sounding proposals for bussing, pairing, 4-4-4, etc. But all ~~of~~ this did nothing. The inadequacies of the school system remained fundamentally unmet and unchanged. Classes were still overcrowded. Teachers were still overburdened and, in many instances, untrained and unprepared. The curricula were still defective
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and inappropriate to the needs of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican children. We were, in fact, no closer to quality integrated education than we were when the great civil rights effort began.

The lessons — at least, to me — were clear. Public protest alone would not get us anywhere. We needed a silent partner in this effort — the teachers' union. And the teachers' union's role in that partnership would be of mutual benefit to parents, children, and the teachers themselves. What would the union do? Just this: Make the issue of quality educational facilities one of the major bargaining points at contract negotiations. In other words, get the demands written in to their contracts.

That was precisely the point I made in 1966 when I addressed the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, ~~and~~ therefore, I was glad last year when the UFT, the largest affiliate of the AFT, did just that in their negotiations with the New York Board of Education last year, and achieved a significant measure of success. The point having been made, all teachers' unions should now move to incorporate demands for quality educational facilities into their basic negotiating strategies.

4. I spoke earlier of the need for flexibility and imagination: of the courage to give up rigid postures which, though they might be comforting, are no longer attractive, creative, or feasible. And which, in fact, now merely hinder rather than advance progress. And I spoke, on the other hand, of the courage to defend and maintain those principles which are indispensable to the survival of civility and a democratic texture in our relationships.

line #

There are now a number of demands being made on teachers which challenge both your courage to be flexible and your courage to remain faithful to ideals which are good.

I will try to deal with just two of these demands. The first one demands flexibility. It asks to recognize that Negro children in this society —and white children also— are being taught biased, edited, and ultimately racist versions of American history and culture. It is not enough to pay lip service to the idea of racial harmony and equality. We must refuse any longer to accept the distorted view of our roots and our past in this country.

As taught in our textbooks, this history reinforces in white children the notion that they are superior and the only creators of this country, and it reinforces in black children the notion that they are inferior and made no contributions.

It may be true that most blacks came here as slaves, but the first of them were here as free men, and gave their lives in the struggle to win independence for this nation. They fought as well as any one else during the civil war; they played their part in the opening of the American West; they helped plan and lay out some of our major American cities; they developed the only indigenous form of American music; they made notable contributions to scientific research; they are to be found in the growth and development of the American musical and dramatic stage; and the best of their writing ranks with the best that has been done in America. This is by no means all, but then I am by no means an historian. In any case, the question is not whether they should have done more. The miracle is that in the circumstances of their history here they could have done so much.

It is because of racism, it is because the dominant value judgments in this society are white, and it is because a consistently poor estimate has been placed on the quality and extent of Negro effort—it is for all ~~of~~ these reasons that the true story of the Negro in America is not told in our history books. And it is for all these reasons that historians continute to tell lies, continue to avert their eyes, and continue to retard the progress of civility, decency, and human dignity in our society.

It is time, then, to give up that old rigid stance. For, however comforting it may be to some, it is a delusion, and it is a violation of the right of all young minds to know the truth and to be free.

Organized teachers can play a major role in the effort to liberate American history books. They can join those who are making an effort to bring truth into the schools through a total revision of the textbooks. Where good texts are not in existence, teachers must bring in supplementary material to their classes. And they themselves can make studies of Negro history and culture.

The second great demand now being made by both white and black extremists is that we surrender our time-honored dedication to the idea of integration and substitute various forms of separation.

I do not have to detail the reasons for this demand: it is being made in the name of community participation, in the name of community control, in the name of quality education, and in the name of several other interests — but ultimately, whether the groups mean it or not, it is a demand being made in the name of segregation.

Therefore, regardless of some of the good arguments in favor of such concepts as decentralization, that concept cannot be discussed independent of the implications it has for institutionalizing one of the worst evils in the history of this society — segregation.

While I am prepared to recognize that some measure of decentralization is feasible and perhaps desirable, I would proceed very carefully, because we may end up creating and worsening more problems than those we solve.

Some of the positive aspects of the proposal to decentralize are (1) that it reflects a concern for the present state of education in our public schools; (2) it promises to bring parents in closer touch with the process in which their children are being educated; (3) that it could foster closer unity between teachers and parents in some communities, and enable them together to affect educational programs and policies; and (4) that it could make teachers more responsive to some of the special needs and special problems of certain communities.

pamphlet )

But there are also some real dangers. *First*, the proposal seems concerned more with political self-determination in education than with quality in education. *Second*, it is meaningless to promise communities control without also promising them the funds to make this control effective. If political control is not complemented by the financial control, then it may ultimately lead merely to an increase in community frustrations. *Third*, there is a real danger of community school boards' being taken over by extremist groups—black and white, on the right and on the left—who are less interested in education than in racial and community politics. The education of children is much too important to be subverted to such interests. *Fourth*, after all the years of our struggle, we are now being asked to accept the idea that segregated education is in fact a perfectly respectable, perfectably desirable, and perfectly viable way of life in a democratic society. 101

102 Needless to say, I do not accept this. Therefore, that measure of decentralization that I support is one in which the school districts should be sufficiently broad to include as wide a degree of quality integrated education as possible. In other words: Integration Within Decentralization.

I know that taking such a position leaves me open to harsh criticism from segregationists both black and white. And to the degree that the UFT holds similar views, they also will come in for criticism.

It is at this point, however, that the second kind of courage I spoke of comes into play: the courage to remain faithful to those ideals which are good, and which are indispensable to the kind of society we want to create. Teachers must therefore stand firmly on the principle that America is a democratic pluralist society. Teachers must reject all forms of educational separatism and elitism. Teachers must become militant integrationists.

(line #)

In closing, let me quote from the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, one of the most serious pronouncements ever made on the state of American society. On the question of public education, the Report states:

2.6

= all roman

Extract

> *We have cited the extent of racial isolation in our urban schools. It is great and it is growing. It will not easily be overcome. Nonetheless, we believe school integration to be vital to the well-being of this country. We have seen in this last summer's disorders the consequences of racial isolation, at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between races be expanded. The problems of this society will not be solved unless and until our children are brought into a common encounter and encouraged to forge a new and more viable design for life.*

2.6

The problems in our schools and the problems in our society will ultimately be solved through political action. Therefore, teachers have no choice but to organize and join the coalition of forces necessary to get programs and money out of Congress.

Teachers are uniquely qualified to be part of this coalition, because they know the problems as well as any other group in our society, and better than most.

This means that teachers must play something other than a 9-3 role; that they must have empathy with the problems and conditions of the communities in which they serve. Finally, if they have faith in the ability of children to learn, then those children, whatever their background and circumstance, will in fact learn. It calls for the willingness to be compassionate, to innovate, to experiment, and to be imaginative. It is a willingness which John Dewey, were he among us today, would have welcomed as an endorsement and an enlargement of his pragmatic and democratic educational philosophy.

# Black Rage and White Fear are twin

**The following excerpts from the speech by Bayard Rustin before the AFL-CIO Convention point out that there are powerful forces in the nation that wish to set union members and Negroes on a collision course. Their divide-and-conquer tactics have the goal of weakening the labor movement, curtailing civil liberties, and rolling back our social progress. Only deeper understanding can prevent them from being successful. UA members are influential in forming public opinion. We should seriously consider supporting those minority leaders who are attempting to use common sense to resolve the problems of their people.**

**In his speech, the militant Negro leader showed that he understands the positive role that unions have played in upgrading the lives of all citizens. The delegates demonstrated an appreciation of his message that unions and Negroes must progress together for the benefit of the entire nation.**

My friends, I did not come here to make a congratulatory speech. I came here to talk to you about what I consider to be two of the most serious problems this nation faces.

What are these difficulties? They are called by many names, but the reality is that there has been so little done to meet the needs of the American people that we have cropped up with two twin evils, and I want to say a word about these evils.

One of them is black rage and the other one is white fear. We hear all about black rage and riots but the newspapers are not telling us about the fantastic fear of many white people—a fear justified in many respects.

These two things feed on each other and they set this nation on a collision course. I believe there are people in this country who want us to be on a collision course. First there is a small handful who want this collision because they see it as the first act of a revolutionary drama of their fantasies. But they are small and sick and a sorry lot with an inflated notion of their strength which comes from seeing themselves too often on television.

But there are more powerful lots. They are not the Left, but the Right. This group knows that revolution by fanatics will not succeed, but they would use this threat as a pretext for an assault—and do not misunderstand me—not only on black people but first of all on the trade union movement, on social legislation, on civil liberties, and on black people, and they will work hard at it. They would seize on the fear of the future to draw us back into the past. If they succeed, then the American dream will be shattered.

My friends, this need not happen. We can get off this collision course, and to do that we must understand what makes for black rage and what makes for white fear.

There are those who say black people have made no progress, we have won no gains in the last decade. But they don't know what they are talking about. Of course we have made much progress.

Despite the progress that black people have made, there are also many parts of our ghettos in which

By BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

# evils that feed on each other

unemployment is double, and there are more rats and roaches in the slums than ever before; there are ghettos in which, 15 years after the Supreme Court decision, there are more Negro children in segregated schools than there were before that decision.

My friends, there is another misery. It has nothing to do with black people but with white people. And that is that they are up to here in mortgages. They appear to own homes which are not paid for; they do not have enough money to feed their families. Therefore these white people have as much fear because they are afraid of losing what they have, as black people have rage because they do not have what they feel they should have.

For millions of these white people their jobs and their homes are all they have got. Because their position is so dangerous they feel threatened by the demands of black people for justice. They argue: "This nation says we will not have enough houses. Therefore, I fearfully cling to mine lest my black brother get it. This nation says there will not be enough jobs. Therefore, I nervously cling to my job lest my black brother get it."

Now, my friends, the only answer to that is adequate housing, adequate jobs, adequate education for all. Then white fear and black rage can be contained.

Now, my friends, I maintain that we have got to build. We have got to build and rebuild. I propose that we tear down all that is dying and dead, all that is ugly and divisive, all that breeds hate and misery, and I propose that we put new towns and cities in their place, new schools in their place, new neighborhoods in their place, fresh air and clean water. I say, friends, let us build.

But the minute I use the word "build," I get right into the middle of a problem which is on all of our minds and which none of us can sweep under a rug. My friends, to use the word "build" brings a subject to the foreground which has caused much controversy and intensely strong feelings.

The problem of minority participation in the building trades is difficult and dangerous, but let those of you who are in the trade union movement not mistake the problem. It is not the problem of the building trades. It is the problem of all organized labor. To this date, while we have done much, none of us has done enough to completely solve the problem, and we cannot make a scapegoat of any segment of the trade union movement, of any segment of the civil rights movement. This is a fight we are all in together, and nothing can be done without the cooperation and affection of all.

There is no doubt in my mind that the events of Chicago and Pittsburgh are a source of tremendous satisfaction to the powerful enemies of the black movement and the labor movement. Read, for example, what was written in last Friday's *Wall Street Journal*. You

# Black Rage and White Fear

know, the *Wall Street Journal* is an interesting paper. The big boys who read that want the truth. There are seldom lies in the *Wall Street Journal*. They don't want to lie to themselves.

This is what the *Journal* says to its people. "It is no accident that the civil rights groups have chosen this particular time to press their attack on the building trades. They clearly are betting that contractors beset by spiraling wage costs and the public in general will be sympathetic to demands for expansion of union hiring and training efforts in the hope that it might slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers."

I don't know whether you got that, because that is a very fancy sentence. But let me proceed.

You and I understand perfectly well what is meant by that delicate and articulate little language—"slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers." Baby, that simply means, let's cut some wages, let's use the building trades to do it, and let's aggravate the Negro to attack them in order to achieve that little bit.

**(Applause.)**

I do not for one minute believe that a single civil rights group would want to take such a position, for we know that it is pointless and self-defeating to get more Negroes into the industries which are skilled jobs and well-paying, only to have the wages in that industry decline. What the hell you want in for then, only to have the wages drop?

After all, one of the main reasons why black workers are now attracted to these jobs is because the pay and the benefits are the best. They didn't get that way because contractors did it, as the *Wall Street Journal* would have us believe, or because the public in general somehow uplifted the building trades. It got that way because the building trades fought hard to make it so.

**(Applause.)**

So I want to say a word to my fellow freedom-fighters in the civil rights movement. We must continue to press vigorously for greater minority participation in the building trades. We will not let ourselves become stooges for those powerful economic interests that would use our struggle to depress wages and standards, or to cripple the unions that won them.

**(Applause.)**

We black Americans have struggled too hard, come too far, and learned too much. We are not dumb niggers now sitting on a cotton bale playing the guitar. We have learned too much to be exploited ever again by the capitalist classes of this country.

***"I came here to talk to you about . . . two of the most serious problems this nation faces."***

There is a great Negro spiritual which says, "No more auction block for me," and along with Brother Randolph I say, "No more union busting, either."

**(Applause.)**

Some unscrupulous interests have mounted a progaganda campaign to blame labor for the high cost of home building and other socially needed construction. They want to divert attention from the profiteering of the large corporations and the tight-money bankers and the real estate interests—and, if I may say so, from the economic policies of the Nixon Administration. They would divert us and our attention from the dismal record in integrating black Americans into the decision-making process.

Now, baby, let's look where the real money is. The real money is in the 500 major corporations in this country. Look at those corporations, and if you can find a black face in any one of them I will give you what money I have. It won't be much, but you can have it.

Look at the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. How many black faces have they got amongst their reporters, editors, and managers? Not enough to make a black power movement, and today you only need two people to make a black power movement.

**(Applause.)**

Well, my friends, having said this I want to say a very serious word to any of our friends who still have a problem left with their unions, and for this opportunity I take off on what has happened with the building trades. I read with profound interest of your recent 55th Convention. I must say that I especially noted your policy statement, which I want to quote.

"We favor the acceleration and expansion of the apprenticeship Outreach programs which have proved successful in actual operation.

"We make the flat and unqualified recommendation to local unions throughout the United States that for a stated period of time they should invite the application of qualified minority journeymen for membership in their respective local unions and should accept all such qualified minority journeymen provided they meet the ordinary and equally administered requirements for membership."

I note further a final quote. "We also recommend that local unions and local councils explore and vigorously pursue training programs for the upgrading of minority workers who are not of apprenticeship age."

My friends, I believe that to be a statement of importance and a statement on which we can base profound progress. But one of the problems is that black people have had 350 years of statements where often things did not really happen. Therefore, today many people are the victims of that unfortunate history though their hearts are totally in the right place. We also know that in the past there has been reluctance on the part of some local unions to comply with such policy statements. It has happened not only in the building trades but throughout that there has been foot-dragging and evasion, and there has been also some implementation. There must now, if our alliance is to remain firm and beautiful, be forthright action. There must be visible results, and now, for policy statements are never read in the ghetto and they cannot close the credibility gap. Action, and action alone, will.

I believe the time has come when such action will be taken. I believe that there will be translation of these words into deeds.

I know that in many cities the building trades themselves have taken the initiative to initiate such programs.

Now, let me give you a few facts. These programs are now operating in 52 cities, and since their inception in 1967, they have brought in 3,862 apprentices. The fact that over 1500 were recruited in the first six months of this year alone indicates that the pace of these programs is accelerating. I was most impressed to learn that of all the apprentices enrolled in the first half of 1968, over 9 per cent came from minority groups. This is nearly four times the percentage of 1960. This is progress. This is moving in the right direction.

My friends, it is precisely because we have made such progress, which no one believed possible a few years ago, that we now know, and everybody else knows, we can do more—and we can and we must.

I do not speak as an outsider, but as one who has been deeply involved in the joint apprenticeship programs of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund, the program directed by my young friend Ernie Green, whom many of you have met.

We know that it is possible to find and train qualified young Negroes and other minority youth to become apprentices. We have done it, and we have done it with the help of the AFL-CIO and the building trades themselves.

What we are saying is we need to do a hell of a lot more of it.

**(Applause.)**

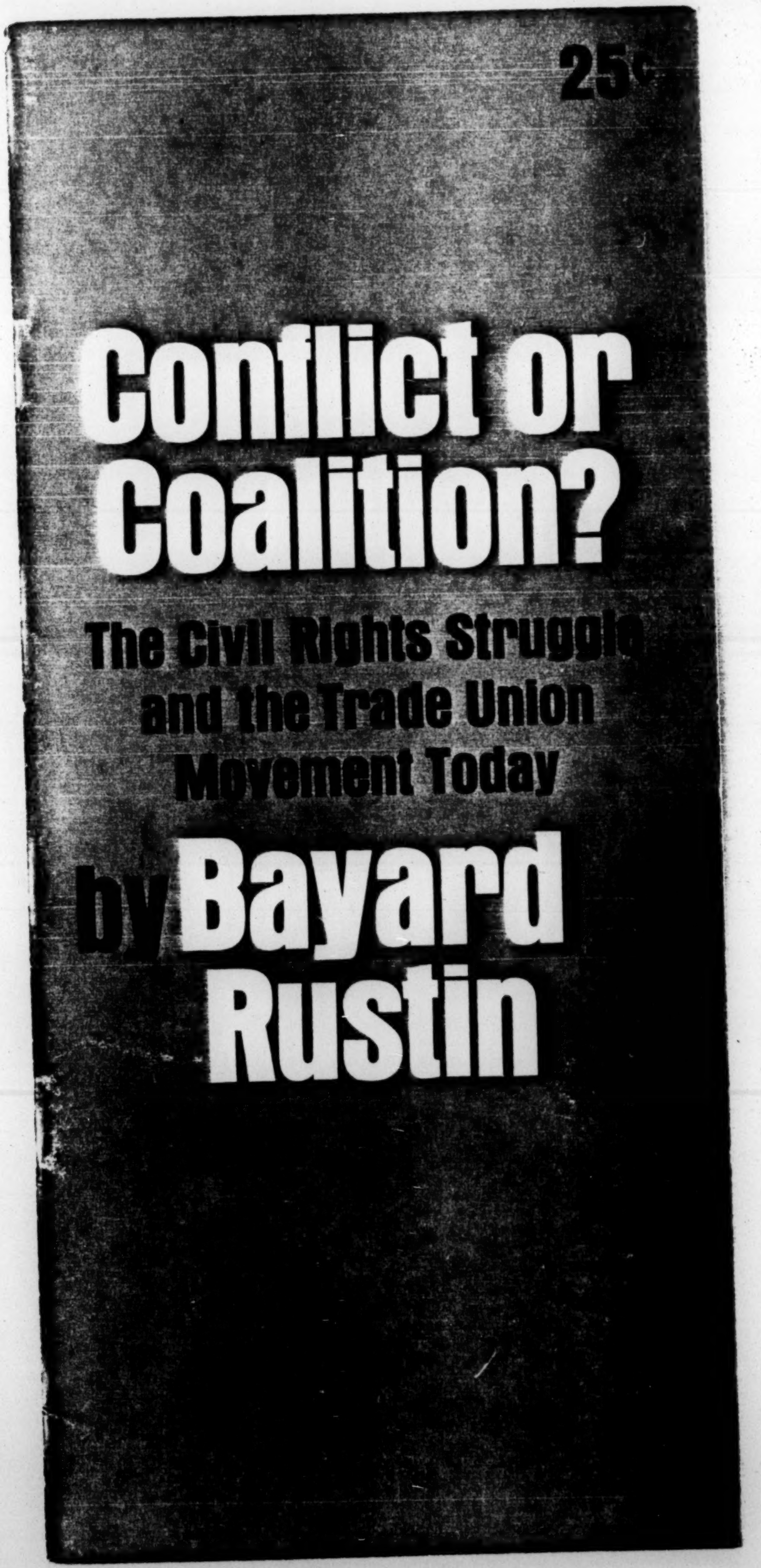
We must do it in ways that do not require the lowering of standards or wages. We do not want to throw out standards. Furthermore, no black boys that I know want to be called black carpenters or Negro plumbers who have lower skills and get less pay. They want to be called carpenters and plumbers. We want them to have the same skills, the same training and the same wages as everybody else, and we will not permit the Federal Government and its Labor Department to impose on the trade union movement in America a second-class citizenship worker in this nation.

The only organization which has a total program for the eradication of poverty, for the eradication of racism which springs from poverty, is the economic and social program of the AFL-CIO.

I believe that of all the mass institutions in America, only the labor movement has the answer to these basic questions because they are economic and these are the key questions which will affect all Americans. They are the key questions which must profoundly affect black Americans. These are the relevant questions; these are the questions which can remove, at the same time, white fear and black rage.

Therefore, I am going to do what Phil Randolph taught me I had better do. I am sticking with the Union.

**(Standing ovation.)**



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# Conflict or Coalition?

## The Civil Rights Struggle and the Trade Union Movement Today

by Bayard Rustin

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## by Bayard Rustin

From an address before the Eighth
Constitutional Convention of the American
Federation of Labor and the Congress
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I am going to discuss a very difficult, trying and agonizing problem which is facing America, the problem of justice for all of our citizens, regardless of color. But before I do, I would like to congratulate Brother George Meany who, in his analysis of Mr. Haynsworth yesterday, pointed out to the foreign visitors to this convention something which I would not want any one of them to forget. That is, that when there were millions of people in this country prepared to let the Haynsworth nomination go unchallenged, there were two people who stood up. The first one was George Meany, representing the labor movement, and the other was Roy Wilkins representing the civil rights movement.

**The fight against Judge Haynsworth is important because he makes us remember what we sometimes forget—that whatever differences we may have among ourselves, we have a lot more in common. For one thing, we have enemies in common.**

In Judge Haynsworth we have a man who symbolizes the old order in the grand style. He is anti-labor and he is anti-civil rights. How often we have met that combination in the past.

And to this combination he adds a certain . . . shall we say . . . carelessness with respect to judicial ethics. This alone should make him unfit for the highest court of the land.

I need not spell out to this audience the details of the conflict of interest charges against this man. But what is even more appalling than his conduct is the double standard used by his supporters.

When the question of Abe Fortas came up, what did we hear from the conservative chorus on Capitol Hill? Here's what that venerable moral leader Strom Thurmond had to say:

> *"Members of the Supreme Court should be above suspicion. I certainly hope for a halt to activities involving outside sources of income by any justice of the Supreme Court."*

He also said:

> *"A man in public office has got to appear to be right as well as be right."*

He also said:

> *"No federal judge should be allowed to practice law, serve in a corporation or partnership or as a trustee or director for any consideration whatever, cash or otherwise."*

And Strom was not alone. Senator Fannin of Arizona said:

> *"A judge's official conduct should be free from impropriety and its appearance . . . In his everyday life he should be beyond reproach . . ."*

It's not often that I find myself in agreement with men like Strom Thurmond, but I agree with these standards of judicial conduct. But, if these standards were applied to Abe Fortas, why aren't they applied to Clement Haynsworth?

We all know the answer. Abe Fortas was a liberal Democrat, but Haynsworth is Strom's man. He is Nixon's engagement ring for the South. I don't know whether it's a shotgun wedding, but I'll tell you one thing: The bride doesn't look too good to me.

**After all, why get hung up on a question of ethics when you've got more important things to do—like packing the Supreme Court with men who will help you overturn the progress that the trade unions and the civil rights movement and the liberals have made in the last ten years.**

And make no mistake about it: That is exactly what the present Administration would like to do. Unfortunately, some of our liberal friends in the Congress have been a little late getting into the fight.

I think we've got Judge Haynsworth on the run. But even if we lose—and I pray that we don't—the Civil Rights movement and the trade union movement deserve profound credit for indicating to the American people the terrible threat to progress which his nomination represents. And for this I congratulate all of the Brothers and Sisters in this hall and all of the trade unionists in this country in whose name Brother Meany acted.

I also want to pay tribute to the people in the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO (COPE) for the near miracle they performed in the 1968 elections. History will record that when the ship of liberalism was sinking, it was the labor movement and the Negro people, almost single-handedly, who put it afloat again.

And I don't know how the rest of you are feeling, but the more I see of what we've got, the more I want what we could have HAD.

Finally, let me salute the AFL-CIO for the work it has done for the sanitation workers in Memphis, for the farm workers in Delano, and for the hospital workers in South Carolina. Then let no man say that together we are not fighting poverty, for that is precisely what we are doing, more effectively than any other combination of forces.

And wasn't that a magnificent march in Raleigh the other week—twelve thousand union members, black and white, demonstrating in solidarity for union wages and working conditions! I commend the North Carolina AFL-CIO and state Building and Construction Council for organizing that great event.

**Alliances of the kind forged in Raleigh and over the Haynsworth issue are not made in the way in which one marries his wife. Alliances are not made out of affection. Alliances are made out of mutual interest, and although there will be difficult times for us, we must remember that this mutual interest does in fact exist and we must hold on to it. We must not permit Negroes and the trade union movement—who together have been responsible for so much progress over the last thirty years—to become divided. Let us build upon that which unites us.**

## Black Rage and White Fear

But we are now in a very difficult period. I think trade unionists know this better than anybody else—better than the journalists and the television commentators and even the politicians. It can be felt in the streets and neighborhoods, in the factories, in the shops and offices. It can be sensed among union members in their communities.

**People call this problem by different names, but fundamentally it consists of two elements—black rage and white fear. They feed on each other, and they are on a collision course.**

I believe there are people in this country who want to see this collision take place.

A small handful wants this collision because they see it as the first act in the revolutionary drama of their fantasies. But they are a small, sick and sorry lot, with an inflated notion of their real strength that comes from seeing themselves on television too much.

**But there are more powerful people who want a collision. They are not on the Left, but on the Right. This group knows that the revolution of the fanatics cannot succeed. But they would use the threat of it as a pretext for an assault on trade unionism, civil rights, social legislation, civil liberties—and all the other things that we have worked to build together.**

They would seize on the fear of the future to drag us back to the past. If they succeed in this the American Dream will be shattered. And it may be generations before we put it back together again.

But this need not happen. We can get off the collision course. To do that, we must first understand the causes of black rage and white fear.

## Progress and Poverty

Anyone who says that the black man has made no progress, won no gains, in the last decade doesn't know what he is talking about. Of course we have made progress. Our struggle has not been for nothing.

Yet trade unionists know that progress is relative. For example, progress in wages is relative to prices. We can say that, across the board, union wages rose last year by 5 or 6 or 7 percent—or whatever. But some unions here represent workers who were robbed of these gains by spiraling prices. And you know the mood of these workers today.

Despite the progress that black people have made, there are many in the ghettos of this country who are as badly off today as they have ever been—and worse.

They cannot find decent housing. They are crowded in like rats. If the population density of the entire United States were what it is in Harlem, you could fit every American—every man, woman and child—in three boroughs of New York City.

They cannot get decent schooling for their children. More Negro youngsters attend segregated schools today than in 1954 when the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation. And make no mistake about it: No matter what some of the so-called black militants and their white intellectual friends are saying these days, a segregated education is an inferior education.

The unemployment rate in the ghettos is still more than double the national average. And among black youngsters it is over twenty percent—despite the general reduction in unemployment in recent years.

The list goes on and on, but you must also understand the state of mind these conditions produce—the terrible anguish.

And that anguish is aggravated when high expectations are disappointed, when promises are undelivered, when hopes are lifted up and cruelly dashed. Everywhere there is the din of rhetoric without performance.

If we did not have the means to end this misery, it would not be so painful. But what must have passed through the minds of countless black people trapped in the slums on that historic day when they heard a voice proclaim: "One small step for man, one giant leap for mankind"?

They asked themselves: "Why must we live in slums when men can go to the moon? If they can build a spaceship, why can they not build homes? When is our giant leap coming?"

And when there is no answer, anguish turns to rage.

**Now I do not want to be misunderstood. As most of you know, I have spoken out vigorously against the irrationalities that black rage has produced, and I will continue to do. But we must understand its causes.**

Likewise, we must also understand the source of white fear. For understanding is a two-way street. So I say to my black brothers that if you would have your white brothers understand how black people feel, you must also try to understand the fears and insecurities that so many white people feel today.

You must understand that there are millions of white people who are poor, and many millions more who have only yesterday escaped from poverty. They are not so affluent as they are made out to be. They find that they have to run fast just to stand still.

Prices have risen so fast that the Department of Labor tells us it now takes $13,050 a year for an urban family of four to enjoy an "American standard of living."

I don't need to tell you that most white families fall short of that. They feel the pinch of inflation. They are squeezed by the criminally high interest rates. They have trouble finding decent homes at prices they can afford. They stand knee-deep in mortgages. And they are paying more than their fair share of taxes, while some millionaires pay none at all.

For millions of these people, their jobs and their homes mean everything. And because their positions are so precarious, they feel threatened by black demands.

Now I say to you that we can do one of two things. We can either spend the rest of this century denouncing these people as racists, and being denounced by them in turn. Or we can attack the root causes of their fear. We can either tear each other and this country apart, or we can build a society which eradicates white fear and black rage by satisfying the real needs of all our people.

**I say let's build. Build and rebuild. I propose that we tear down all that is dead and dying, all that is ugly and divisive, all that breeds misery and hate. I propose that we put in their place new cities and towns, fine schools and wholesome neighborhoods, fresh air and clean water, new centers of recreation and health care. I say let's build.**

## Minorities In The Building Trades

This brings me to a subject which has aroused controversy and strong feelings. I refer, of course, to the events that have recently occurred in Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities.

The problem raised by these events—the problem of minority participation in the building trades—is difficult and dangerous. For it has serious implications that go beyond the obvious and immediate issues.

There is no doubt in my mind that the events in Chicago and Pittsburgh are a source of tremendous satisfaction to the powerful enemies of the labor movement. Read, for example, the snide and almost gloating article in last Friday's Wall Street Journal. There you will find a most revealing paragraph, which I want to quote:

> *"It's no accident that civil rights groups have chosen this particular time to press their attack on the building trades. They clearly are betting that contractors—beset by spiraling wage costs—and the public in general will be sympathetic to demands for expansion of union hiring and training efforts in hopes it might* ***slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers.***

Now you and I understand perfectly well the meaning of this delicate language—"slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers." It means cutting wages.

I do not believe that this could possibly be the motive of any civil rights group. For we know that it is pointless and self-defeating to get more Negroes into an industry with well-paying skilled jobs, only to have the wages in that industry decline.

After all, one of the main reasons why black workers are now attracted to these jobs is that the wages and other benefits in the trade are good. They didn't get that way because of the contractors or the "public in general." They got that way because the building trades unions fought for them.

**And so, I say to my fellow freedom-fighters in the civil rights movement: We must continue to press vigorously for greater minority participation in the building trades. But we will not let ourselves become stooges for those powerful economic interests that would use our struggle to depress wages and standards, or to cripple the unions that won them.**

**We black Americans have struggled too hard, come too far, and learned too much to permit ourselves to be exploited in this way ever again. There is a great Negro spiritual which says, "No more auction block for me," and along with Brother Randolph I say, "No more union busting either!"**

Those same economic interests which are using the Negro to attack the unions have mounted a propaganda campaign to blame labor for the high cost of home-building and other socially needed construction. They want to divert attention from the profiteering of the large corporations and the tight-money bankers and the real estate interests—and, if I may say so, from the economic policies of the Nixon Administration.

They would also like to divert attention from their own dismal record in integrating black Americans into the decision-making process. Look at the boards of directors of the top 500 corporations in this country, and I don't think you will find a single black face. And, if the Wall Street Journal will please take note, you will find precious few black faces among the reporters, editors and managers of the newspapers in this country.

Now I want to say a few words to our friends in the building and construction trades.

I have read with great interest the proceedings of your recently concluded 55th Convention. I have especially noted your policy statement, which says,

> *"We favor the acceleration and expansion of the apprenticeship Outreach programs which have proved successful in actual operation.*
>
> *"We make the flat and unqualified recommendation to local unions throughout the United States that for a stated period of time they should invite the application of qualified minority journeymen for membership in their respective local unions and should accept all such qualified minority journeymen provided they meet the ordinary and equally administered requirements for membership."*

These are good statements, and I congratulate you for them. Yet let me be perfectly frank.

Statements in themselves, no matter how excellent, are not enough. You know this from your own experience, and believe me, we in the civil rights movement know it from ours.

We also know that in the past there has been a reluctance on the part of some local unions to comply with such policy statements. There has been foot-dragging and evasion. Now there must be implementation. There must be forthright action. Now there must be visible results.

For policy statements are not read in the ghetto. They will not close the credibility gap. Action will.

**I believe that you will take action. I believe that you will translate these words into deeds. I know the obstacles that you face, but I believe that you will surmount them. I believe that you will meet this test of your leadership.**

I believe this because I know that you have already made progress, in cooperation with the apprenticeship Outreach programs of the Urban League, of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, and of other groups.

These programs are now operating in 52 cities, and since their inception in 1967 they have brought in 3,862 apprentices. The fact that over 1500 were recruited in the first six months of this year alone indicates that the pace of these programs is accelerating. I was most impressed to learn that of all the apprentices enrolled in the first half of 1968, over nine percent came from minority groups. This is nearly four times the percentage of 1960.

But precisely because we have made this much progress—which no one would have believed possible only a few years ago—we know we can do even more. We can and we must.

I do not speak to you as an outsider, but as one who has been deeply involved in the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund—the program directed by Ernie Green. We know that it *is* possible to find and train qualified young Negroes and other minority youth to become apprentices. We have done it, and we have done it with the help of the AFL-CIO and the building trades themselves.

**We can do it in a way that does not require the lowering of standards or wages. We don't want standards thrown out the window. We don't want special categories labeled "Negro carpenters" or "Negro plumbers" who have lower skills and get less pay. We want Negroes who are carpenters and plumbers—with the same skills and training and wages that everyone else has. We want the same pride in our trade that any worker with dignity wants. And we will not settle for less.**

## The Nixon Strategy

As we grapple with these problems, we should have no illusions about what the Nixon Administration is up to. For I believe that this Administration is playing a dangerous game, and we had better understand it.

**The Nixon Administration has developed a strategy for building a new conservative coalition to keep the Republican Party in power for the next twenty years.**

**First of all, it is trying to win over the Wallace vote by going slow on civil rights, voting rights, and school desegregation in the South. The Administration is paying off Strom Thurmond.**

Indeed, a Nixon aide who is the head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division announced on Monday that if the Supreme Court should order immediate integration in Southern schools, this Administration would not enforce it. I submit that this is a brazen attempt to intimidate the Supreme Court. It is an effort to nullify court decisions. It is a scheme to prolong by executive action—I should say "inaction"—the obsolete and wishy-washy formula of "all deliberate speed" long after it has become clear to everybody that this formula has failed to achieve results.

**The second part of the strategy is to divide black and white workers by going after the building trades. In this way, the Administration apparently hopes to cover up its disgraceful retreat on civil rights, and simultaneously to weaken the most solid force for social progress in this country—the Negro-labor coalition.**

How else can we explain the sudden interest in getting Negroes into the building trades on the part of an Administration which couldn't get a Negro into its Cabinet?

How else can we explain the Administration's pronouncements about getting Negroes into the building trades when it simultaneously orders a 75% cutback in federal construction?

I say to you that if this order stands, then no matter what we do, no matter how much imagination or good will we have, our efforts to get jobs for black workers in the building trades will be undermined.

And to Mr. Nixon I would say this: If you have set out deliberately to throw black and white workers at each other's throats in a fight over scarce jobs, you are doing a pretty good job of it.

**But this strategy will not succeed. It will not succeed because the Negro-labor alliance cannot be broken apart so easily. Demagogues and opportunists cannot in the long run destroy an alliance based on strong common interests.**

## Black Participation—Not Separation

We must strengthen that alliance. And one way to do that is to recognize the growing and legitimate desire of black trade unionists to participate in the decision-making processes of the labor movement.

This means that we must recognize the need for more black representation at the staff level and in policy-making positions.

Only through such expanded participation and representation of Negroes in the mainstream of the labor movement can we ever hope to see more men like A. Philip Randolph. And today we need a hundred A. Philip Randolphs. One is no longer enough.

**Let me say to my black brothers that you also have an obligation. If you want to play a larger role within the labor movement, you must play a larger and more visible role as black trade unionists in the community. If you want representation as a black man in the labor movement, you must also speak as a trade unionist in the black community—in good times and in bad.**

This means steering clear of all the separatist nonsense that parades as militancy, including the reactionary concept of dual unionism. Let us leave the "separate but equal" stuff to George Wallace and some of the misguided young people on campus.

## Labor's Program

Let me say in conclusion, that we should not allow ourselves to be discouraged by the problems we face together on the social and political front. For we know that what counts, in the final analysis, is program.

**To those who say that the civil rights movement is dead and the labor movement is obsolete, I say: What is your program? We have heard your rhetoric, what is your program?**

What is your program for eradicating the causes of black rage and white fear?

What is your program for expanding our economy so that all may share in its abundance?

What is your program for giving every American a job at wages which allow him to live in dignity?

What is your program for giving every American wage-earner and his family a decent home in a wholesome neighborhood?

What is your program for tax reform, for closing the great gap between the rich and the poor?

What is your program for tearing down the slums and rebuilding our cities?

What is your program for guaranteeing quality education for our young people?

What is your program for giving health care to the elderly and the infirm?

What is your program for cleaning our airs and waters?

What is your program for building a new America?

**I believe that of all the mass institutions in American life, only the labor movement has answers to these questions. And these are the *key* questions for the great mass of black Americans. They are the *relevant* questions.**

And that is why, in the words of the old song, "I'm sticking with the union."

Working Paper for Conference of Black Trade Unionists

March 21, 1970 - Nashville, Tennessee

# A CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGY FOR THE SEVENTIES

by: A. Philip Randolph
Bayard Rustin
Norman Hill

## A. The Past Decade: Some Progress Achieved, Many Problems Remain

We have just lived through a tumultuous decade in which some important gains were made in the area of civil rights for black Americans. We have witnessed the dismantling of Jim Crow laws and the enfranchisement of the majority of Negro citizens in the South. And throughout the country, in New York, Memphis, Charleston and elsewhere, we have seen the expansion of the economic power of black workers in good part as a result of their vigorous participation in trade union activities.

Needless to say, however, grievous problems remain. The unemployment rate among blacks is high and it is growing, the housing situation is bad and getting worse, medical costs have skyrocketed so that most blacks (and whites) cannot afford to pay for decent health care, and schools are over-crowded, understaffed, and largely unintegrated, even though it is 16 years since the Supreme Court outlawed segregation. And finally, there is the ghetto and the problems it produces--the utter demoralization of so many of its inhabitants, the population density, the crime, the poverty, the feeling that there is no way out. Some have escaped, of course, mostly middle and some working class Negroes. But their place has been taken by impoverished immigrants from the South, thus leaving the ghetto as crowded as before but more poverty-stricken, more demoralizing.

## B. The Political and Economic Situation Today

If this situation continues to get worse rather than better, the predictions of the Kerner and Eisenhower Commissions will indeed come true--America will become two societies, one white and the other black, one affluent and the other impoverished. If Apartheid becomes the reality in this country, America will cease to exist as a free and democratic society. White fear and black rage, state violence and guerilla terrorism, martial law and the contempt for law--all of these will replace the democratic procedures which have taken so many years to build and whose preservation is essential to our future progress.

Compounding this problem is the pervasive feeling among youth, white as well as black, that the democratic process no longer works. Many have come to the conclusion that social change can only come about through intimidation and violence. Some weak-willed, breast-beating liberals have confirmed this attitude by giving in to all threats. This has added to the confusion of the young for it has given the appearance that social change can come about only through violence when, in fact, the ultimate result of violence will be social repression and regression. In addition, the persistence of gross injustices make it possible for demagogues to say that democracy has failed, that the lack of progress is inherent to our political system rather than the result of our failure to sufficiently mobilize the liberal forces which exist within that system. In light of this growing disaffection among the young today, the policies of the Nixon Administration become not only shockingly inadequate, but dangerously inflammatory.

In some areas there is no progress at all. In many others we are actually moving backwards. The limited advances of the past decade are being undermined at a time when the problems of our society are growing more severe.

The economic gains of the sixties, for example, were in good part the result of a booming economy. The unemployment rate decreased substantially, and with labor in short supply, training programs were established for the hard-core unemployed. These developments helped blacks most of all because they were the ones who suffered most from unemployment. Today, however, the Nixon Administration is deliberately creating a recession. Real growth in the economy has ceased, unemployment is rising , training programs for the jobless are being discontinued. Mr. Nixon tells us that these are necessary sacrifices in the fight against inflation, but aside from the fact that inflation has not abated (it was actually a good deal higher in 1969 than in 1968), his policy is fundamentally inequitable since almost all of the sacrifices are exacted from the poor or near-poor. There is no talk of controlling corporation profits which have risen almost three times more rapidly than wages.

Then there are Mr. Nixon's budget cuts which he also claims are justified by the need to combat inflation. At a time when many school systems are closing down because they cannot meet their expenses, Mr. Nixon has used the veto on one occasion and has threatened to use it on others to reduce congressional appropriations for education by several hundred million dollars. At a time when the housing shortage has become catastrophic, he has raised interest rates and has thereby kept home-building at its lowest level in over twenty years. The inflation argument is made once again, yet it is difficult to take Mr. Nixon seriously when he talks of controlling prices since he has just extended and, in the case of Canadian imports, increased oil import quotas which annually add $5-billion to the bills of consumers.

While these policies have undermined the economic gains made during the past decade, his Southern stategy threatens to erode the modest advances made in the areas of school integration and voting rights. And his Supreme Court nominations give clear proof that he intends to make the judicial branch of the Federal government both more politically conservative and less judicially respectable.

Some liberals and Negroes who have been distrassed by Nixon's policies have praised his Philadelphia Plan as a forward-looking, if somewhat unexpected, exception to the rule. In one respect the plan is progressive in that it calls for more integration of blacks into the building trades. But upon closer examination, it appears entirely consistent with the rest of his policies.

In the first place the Philadelphia Plan does nothing for integration. It only requires contractors to make a commitment to hire a certain quota of black workers on a job where over $500,000 of federal funds are involved. In order to meet this commitment, a contractor could shift the required number of black workers in an area onto a particular job. He would thus satisfy federal requirements for that job, but no new jobs would be created for blacks and no Negroes would be brought into the building trades. In fact, the contractor can even achieve compliance simply by making an effort of good faith, such as contacting certain people in an area who are concerned about black participation in the building trades. If those people do not produce any workers, the contractor has done his job and can get the federal money.

Thus the Philadelphia Plan which some have hailed as the salvation of the black worker does nothing to bring minority group workers into the building trades. But the controversy over the plan has aggravated the relationship between black and white workers. This result is not surprising, given the general thrust of the Nixon Administration's policies. It will be remembered that on almost the very day he proposed the plan, Mr. Nixon also ordered a 75% reduction in federal construction. A cut in construction would reduce the number of jobs available in the industry.

This naturally increases competition for jobs since the number of workers has not changed and it also exerts a deflationary pressure on wages. And when the competition is between black and white workers, one can reasonably expect a racial explosion. Thus, the Philadelphia Plan provides the Nixon Administration not only with a liberal cover for its other anti-Negro policies. It also divides the Republican opposition which is largely made up of black and white workers.

As blacks and as trade unionists, we must be firm in our demands for more integration in the building trades, for this would help black workers and also strengthen the trade union movement. But we must not permit ourselves to be used as pawns by a Republican Administration that is interested only in hurting the labor movement, dividing black and white workers, and in the process deflating wages. The Outreach programs which already exist, and the Chicago Plan which represents a local solution to a local problem and which would train and provide jobs for many minority group workers, are the best ways to achieve integration without doing harm to ourselves and to the entire trade union movement. But we cannot expect even these programs to be fully successful if there is not an expansion of construction (something we cannot expect under Nixon) which would provide jobs for everybody.

### C. Coalition Politics--A Strategy to Counter the Conservatives

The conservatives are in the White House today because the coalition of the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and liberals broke down in 1968. Some liberals supported Nixon while a good many others sat out the election. A minority of workers voted for Nixon or Wallace. There were also blacks who did not vote, some because they did not want to,many others because they failed to register, If all of these people had remained within the liberal coalition, the Democrats would have won a substantial victory in '68. Consequently, if we are to be successful against the conservatives in the future, we must rebuild the coalition so that it can become a vehicle for solving the fundamental social problems of this nation.

There are many opponents of this strategy, both on the right and on the left. Some of them tell us that Negroes should not enter into a coalition with the labor movement since the labor movement is our greatest enemy. The best answer to these people was provided by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his 1961 address before the AFL-CIO convention. What Dr. King said to the delegates then must be said to black people troughout America today:

> Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs--decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow , have education for their children and respect in the community.
>
> That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor.
>
> That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth...
>
> ...The two most dynamic and cohesive liberal forces in the country are the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement.

Dr. King's words were true in 1961, and they are just as true in 1970.

Then there are people in the black community who preach racial separatism and tell us not to enter into coalition with any white people. To them , trade unionists and liberals are as much to be shunned as racists and labor-baiters. This warped view is being put forth today by, among others,the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the result is that CORE has come up with some strange positions. Its Western regional branch, for example, has cooperated with the National Right-To-Work Committee in setting up the Black Workers' Alliance which is a separatist dual union. The National Right-To-Work Committee, we should remember, is composed of some of the most reactionary and racist elements in America.

CORE's reactionary activities have not been limited to unions. Its National Director Roy Innis and two associates recently made a tour of the South where they met with Southern governors, including Lester Maddox of Georgia, whom they tried to win over to the CORE program for school segregation. In addition, CORE's Northeast region has supported the nomination of G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court. CORE has also urged Negroes not to vote in some important elections, including the recent mayoralty election in New York City.

Incredible as these things may seem, they are logical extensions of CORE's separatist philosophy. Their tragic example proves some important points. However "militant" a black nationalist may appear, he is on the side of the white segregationists because of his belief in racial separatism. He is on their side no matter how much he professes to be for the welfare of all blacks. It is equally true that those "black enemies" of the labor movement are making common cause, as did CORE, with white enemies of the labor movement who are invariabley anti-black. And to the degree that they urge black people not to vote, they are assisting the opponents of black people who can be defeated only through the ballot box.

These points can be summed up in a fundamental principle: If you play with anything but a coalition of progressive forces, you are making common cause with the right-wing coalition of reactionary forces. If you are not for a coalition based upon mutual interest, then you are for a coalition of opposites. Those who urge blacks to go it alone are contributing to right-wing efforts to isolate Negroes from their closest allies--the labor movement and the liberal community.

## D. The 1970 Elections

The welfare of the black community depends heavily on the success of liberal candidates in the 1970 Congressional elections. These elections are extraordinarily important. The conservatives have taken over the executive branch of the federal government, and through the power of appointment, are also trying to take over the judicial branch. If we permit the legislative branch to fall to them as well, they will be able to wreak havoc without any resistance at all from progressive elements in the society. During the past year, Congress has been an important buffer against the conservative advance, and we must keep it that way by retaining control of both the Senate and the House. This will not be easy since 25 of the 34 Senate seats that will be contested are today Democratic. If Democrats and Republicans split these seats evenly between themselves in 1970, the Republicans will control the Senate for the first time in almost two decades.

We must mobilize our fellow black trade unionists to vote in the coming elections, and we must also mobilze them to get out the vote in the entire black community. We must organize now so that the poor and the oppressed will be a part of the electoral process in 1970. They must be convinced of the importance of their votes. They must see that their ballots can be decisive, particularly in close elections.

They can, thus, play an important part in determining the composition of Congress in the coming years. And since Congress appropriates funds in such areas as education, housing ,employment, and health care, all of which are vital to the well-being of the poor, it is essential that the poor have a voice in Congress. But they will not have that voice if they are not registered.

So let us forsake those who urge separatism and oppose coalition. Let us defeat the reactionaries and the conservatives in 1970. We have the manpower to do this. We have the organization to do it. We must have the will to do it. Let us rebuild the coalition now and in the process begin the longer task of rebuilding America.

THE Atlantic Monthly

ROBERT MANNING
EDITOR IN CHIEF

March 31, 1970

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am still very much looking forward to your manuscript, and hope that it is coming along all right.

Please give me a call at any time if you want to discuss it.

Yours ever,

Robert Manning

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

8 ARLINGTON STREET • BOSTON • MASSACHUSETTS 02116
(617) 536-9500

THE
Atlantic Monthly

ROBERT MANNING
EDITOR IN CHIEF

May 4, 1970

Dear Mr. Rustin:

An afterthought to my letter of May 1: It seems to me important that you sketch in, at least briefly, a measurement of how the foreign policy positions and actions of the unions (I am moved to this by Mr. Meany's public support of the Cambodian invasion) on international question, does or does not affect the domestic question most pertinent to the blacks. Assuming, as many do, that the hemorrhage of Vietnam detracts from the resources and attention that should be devoted to domestic affairs, what sort of bearing does something like the AFL-CIO President's endorsement of the war and this recent development in it have.

What is your reaction?

Yours ever,

Robert Manning

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

8 ARLINGTON STREET • BOSTON • MASSACHUSETTS 02116 • (617) 536-9500

April 20, 1970

Mr. Robert Manning
Editor in Chief
The Atlantic Monthly
8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116

Dear Mr. Manning,

Thank you for your letter of April 15th. I agree with much of what you say, and would like to cut the article and sharpen it up a bit.

I would appreciate knowing what your suggested cuts are before I begin to work on it. I will get you a new draft soon after you return the orginal copy along with your suggestions.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/ej

THE
Atlantic Monthly

ROBERT MANNING
EDITOR IN CHIEF

April 15, 1970

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you very much for sending the manuscript on "The Blacks and the Unions." I think it contains the rudiments of a useful piece, but I do think that in this form it presents two problems. Problem one is that it is much too long and would come through with much more impact if a great deal of the rhetoric were honed down and the language reduced by about half. If you are agreeable, we will be glad to make suggestions as to how and where those cuts might be made.

The second point is, I think, more difficult and one that you will have to resolve. It seems to me and my associates that you are being very easy indeed in an almost all inclusive way on the unions when, in fact, some have a far better record or prognosis than others when it comes to the issues you are dealing with here. I wish you would bear down harder on some points. For instance, the argument on page 29 - 30 that the unions remain a progressive force: it doesn't do simply to attribute remarks to the contrary to "class hatred."

I don't for a moment want to try to persuade you into an attack on or a polemic against the unions, but I do think in this manuscript you invite attack yourself for making the picture seem very rosy indeed.

I hope you take these comments for what they are, namely a professional reaction aimed not at trying to make you change your argument or your point of view but to make the argument more effective.

Please let me have your reaction when it is convenient, and we can decide how to proceed thereafter.

Yours ever,

Robert Manning

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

8 ARLINGTON STREET • BOSTON • MASSACHUSETTS 02116 • (617) 536-9500

April 4, 1970

Mr. Robert Manning
Editor In Chief
The Atlantic Monthly
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Mass. 02116

Dear Mr. Manning,

Enclosed is the manuscript I promised you. I hope it is what you want for the magazine. It needs some editing, and I presume you will send me the editād copy before it appears in print.

Give me a ring if you want to discuss the article. If I'm not in, please talk to my assistant Rachelle Horowitz. She knows what I am thinking most of the time, and can make decisions in my absence.

I look forward to hearing from you.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin

BR/rh
Enc:

# A CALL TO ACTION

By: A. Philip Randolph
Bayard Rustin
Norman Hill

Working Paper for Conference of Black Trade Unionists
May 1-2, 1971
Chicago, Illinois

## I. INTRODUCTION

A social movement that is workable and likely to survive must constantly adjust itself to the changing realities of American politics. This should be a self-evident rule for social action. Unfortunately, it is often ignored, sometimes with disastrous consequences for the movement. The leaders of the "Black Power" movement, first proclaimed five years ago during a march in Mississippi, are scattered. The group which succeeded them, the Black Panthers, is now more preoccupied with factional intrigue and conflict than with social action, and seems no longer to interest the affluent liberals who once gave it so much praise and money. This group's decline indicates to us that we are now in a new political period, and should help us see with new clarity certain political realities that we should never lose sight of.

## II. THE TORTUOUS PATH FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS

In the past 15 years we have passed through two distinct political periods. The first began with the Montgomery bus protest in 1956. It was the period of nonviolent protest which we now look back on as the classic period in the civil rights movement. This movement's principal objective was relatively limited in scope--the dismantling of Jim Crow in the South. In this respect, the movement was a brilliant success. It did not bring about a Utopia for Southern Negroes. Clearly enormous problems still remain. Yet its impact was at least as great as that of any other social movement in American history. The protest movement was a major factor in the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. We are only beginning to appreciate the impact which this accomplishment has had on our political system.

A less tangible, but equally as important achievement of the movement was that it awakened the social consciousness of millions of Americans who had been lured into complacency during the self-satisfied Eisenhower years.

The problem for the protest movement following the passage of the second Civil Rights Act is similar to what we face today. It is the problem of transition from one period into another. What is required of a movement (and you are part of the two most important movements in this country, the trade union movement and the Negro struggle), is an analysis of the new problems it must confront, the projections of new goals, and a re-evaluation of tactics and strategies.

The new problems you are finding are different from those which the early civil rights movement had to face. Finding solutions is no longer limited to the South. The problems are no longer strictly legal, involving clear and simple violations of civil rights. Nor are they any longer solely racial in character, involving discrimination against a single group. The problems are finally recognized in most respects as being social and economic, involving such things as the redistribution of wealth; re-evaluating our Government's capacity to undertake the necessary social planning to deal with problems of employment, education, housing, health care, transportation, and the quality of our urban civilization. The greater scope and complexity of these problems demands a new approach on the part of what should now properly be called a social and economic movement. If government action is required to deal with problems rooted in the institutional structure of the society, clearly a strategy of protest by a minority group is not sufficient. That strategy can raise issues, and can and did lead to effective action, especially in the field of public accommodations and voting rights. But it cannot provide the essential resource that is needed to bring about massive government action, namely, political power. For this a movement is needed that is durable and capable of actually assuming power. And that movement must include a majority of Americans, black, white and others.

The movement which succeeded the nonviolent protest movement of the early sixties glimpsed this new reality when it put forth the slogan "Black Power."

What it did not understand was that the black minority, even if it could be united around a single political program, was not in a position to do what only a majority movement could accomplish. In this context, "Black Power" could not be a strategy. It could only be a slogan. It could not offer a realistic course of action. It could only serve as a rallying cry that could be used to arouse bitter and discontented people to vengeful action. Inevitably a vicious cycle set in. The people who had been aroused to give vent to their emotions did not have the means for effective political action. The absence of any gains and the growing political polarization increased the very frustrations which led to violence, thereby pushing people to ever more extreme forms of protest.

This period was brought to an end for two reasons:

1. The inevitable reassertion of authority by the dominant elements in the society, and

2. A movement that does not succeed cannot survive. People lose interest in it.

In this sense, the "Black Power" movement was a victim of its own inability to achieve real Black Power.

## III. THE NEW PERIOD - POLITICS

The collapse of the extremist and separatist movement has coincided with the emergence of a new and powerful political movement in the black community. It has been slower in developing because it did not base itself on explosive, short-lived emotions, but took root in gradually evolving political and economic conditions, to the point where today it is beginning to bear fruit in the form of genuine political power.

The movement has two primary goals:

1. The development of black political power through increased voter registration and participation, and

2. The use of this power to elect consistently liberal black and white officials and cultivate alliances with other political elements toward the goal of building a majority movement.

The major factor which contributed to the achievement of the first objective was the 1965 Voting Rights Act. As a result of this Act, more than a million Negroes in the South were brought into the political process.

The effect has been a rapid increase in the number of black elected officials in the South, a development that was dramatized in 1970, when more Negroes were elected to office than in any time since Reconstruction. These successes have reinforced the belief in the effectiveness of political action and have inspired blacks throughout the country to participate in the electoral process. This increased participation has resulted in growing power and influence. Today nobody who is trying to mobilize a progressive political majority in the United States can ignore the black vote. Moreover, a progressive political concern cannot be achieved in America without the black vote playing a central role.

This is now recognized not only by established liberal leaders, but by white politicians who only recently would not have considered the black vote to be of any importance. In their inaugural addresses, newly elected southern governors signaled the change that has taken place. Jimmy Carter, the successor to the segregationist Lester G. Maddox in Georgia, proposed a new era for his State when he said that "the time for racial discrimination is over. No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job, or simple justice." Reubin Askew in Florida, Dale Bumpers in Arkansas, Winfield Dunn in Tennessee, and John West in South Carolina all made similar appeals to the black vote.

The changes in the South are occuring in the context of a fundamental shift in national politics. Over the past twenty years the southern strength in the Democratic Party has been gradually diminishing. At the same time the Republican Party has been gaining ground in the South. The dilemma for the Democrats is that they cannot maintain themselves as a majority party if they write off the South entirely as some liberals have proposed.

The emergence of a moderate to liberal group of southern governors shows that there may be a way out of this dilemma. Race-baiting politics no doubt still exists in the South, but it is on the decline, and a new coalition has emerged just as in other parts of the United States, composed of trade unionists, black and white, the black community, white liberals and moderates. This coalition has a chance to become the dominant political force in this country.

The effect on national politics of such a development will be tremendous. The Democratic Party will have the strength of a majority behind it, and thus will not be retarded in its efforts to achieve social reform by powerful conservatives. The fact that Negroes have already played a central role in moving this development along is additional proof how effective we can be in the political process, and of how vital black trade unionists are to the future of liberalism in America.

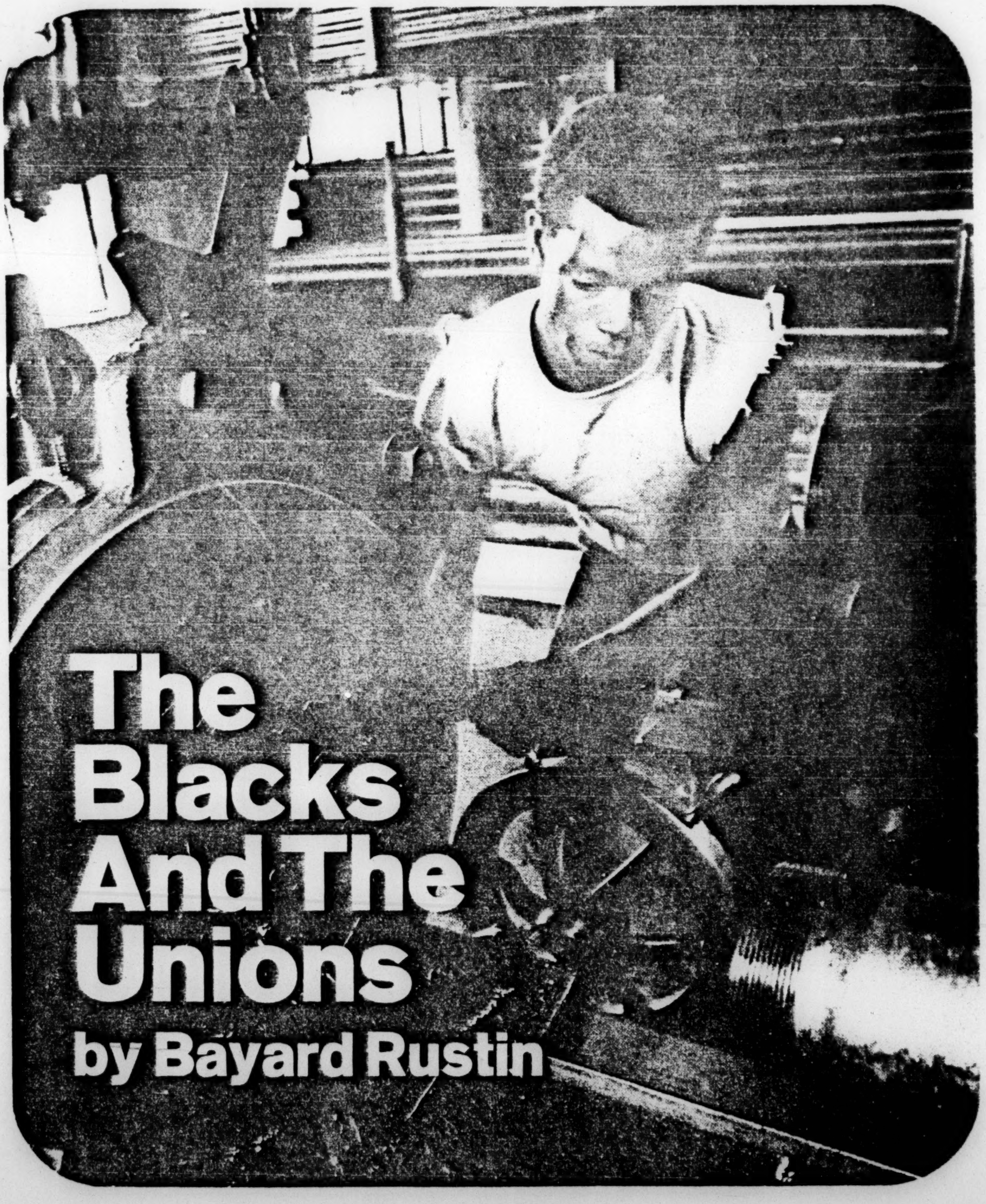
Negroes are an essential element of a majority coalition and a catalytic agent in bringing such a coalition into being. But, if this coalition is to emerge, political alliances are required, and the most important alliance of all is the one between blacks and the trade union movement. If we are going to correct the regressive economic policies of the Nixon Administration, we must work together to educate others to the importance of this movement.

We know from our analysis that in the mid-sixties the key domestic issue shifted from civil to economic rights. The majority of the population is now aware that action must be taken against the grievous social problems that afflict this Nation. We can unite this majority around issues of common interest. Our task today is to carry out a vigorous education program on the local level to ensure that a common attitude toward economic problems leads to a political coalition that will enable people to undertake effective action.

## IV. A CALL TO ACTION

In the last 15 years we have lived through the rise of one political movement and the collapse of another. Today we stand at the beginning of a new period. We are in a position to bring about major changes in the social and economic structure of American society. Never before in the history of the United States have black Americans been in such a strategic and influential political position. Let us not waste this opportunity. We must respond to this call to action, a call to intelligent, sophisticated political action. We must avoid emotional and thoughtless action. We must calculate the nature of the opposition. We must discover the most effective tactics. We must struggle for the most realistic and radical objectives that can be attained. We must learn from the mistakes of the past. We cannot afford to make errors in the future.

Our first task is political--to build a majority liberal coalition. If we are successful politically, we can then proceed to the greatest challenge of all; transforming the institutions of American society to wipe out the evils of poverty and racial injustice and to build a society where equality is the just reward of each and every citizen.



# The Blacks And The Unions

### by Bayard Rustin

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Bayard Rustin

# THE BLACKS AND THE UNIONS

## Which way will the blacks choose—to fight to eliminate all segregation in the trade unions, or to become pawns in the conservatives' games of bust-the-unions?

ONE OF THE MAIN ARTICLES of faith in liberal dogma these days is that the interests and objectives of the American trade-union movement are in fundamental conflict with the interests and objectives of black America. One can hardly pick up any of the major journals of liberal opinion without reading some form of the statement that the white worker has become affluent and conservative and feels his security to be threatened by the demand for racial equality. A corollary of this statement is that it is a primary function of the labor movement to protect the white worker from the encroaching black. Furthermore, the argument runs, since there are no signs that the blacks may be letting up in their struggle for economic betterment, a hostile confrontation between blacks and the unions is not only inevitable but necessary.

It may well be that historians of the future, recording the events of the past five years, will conclude that the major effect of the civic turbulence in this period has been in fact to distract us from the real and pressing social needs of the nation. And perhaps nothing illustrates the point more vividly than the whole question of the relations between blacks and the unions.

This question itself, however, cannot be properly understood except in the larger context of the history of the civil-rights movement. Negro protest in the Sixties, if the movement is in its turn to be properly understood, must be divided into two distinct phases. The first phase, which covered something like the first half of the decade, was one in which the movement's clear objective was to destroy the legal foundations of racism in America. Thus the locale of the struggle was the South, the evil to be eliminated was Jim Crow, and the enemy, who had a special talent for arousing moral outrage among even the most reluctant sympathizers with the cause, was the rock-willed segregationist.

Now, one thing about the South more than any other has been obscured in the romantic vision of the region—of ancient evil, of defeat, of enduring rural charm—that has been so much of our literary and intellectual tradition: for the Negro, Southern life had precisely a quality of clarity, a clarity which while oppressive was also supportive. The Southern caste system and folk culture rested upon a clear, albeit unjust, set of legal and institutional relationships which prescribed roles for individuals and established a modicum of social order. The struggle that was finally mounted against that system was actually fed and strengthened by the social environment from which it emerged. No profound analysis, no overriding social theory was needed in order both to locate and understand the injustices that were to be combated. All that was demanded of one was sufficient courage to demonstrate against them. One looks back upon this period in the civil-rights movement with nostalgia.

During the second half of the Sixties, the center of the crisis shifted to the sprawling ghettos of the North. Here black experience was radically different from that in the South. The stability of institutional relationships was largely absent in Northern ghettos, especially among the poor. Over twenty years ago, the black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier was able to see the brutalizing effect of urbanization upon lower-class blacks: "... the bonds of sympathy and community of interests that held their parents together in the rural environment have been unable to withstand the disintegrating forces in the city." Southern blacks migrated north in search of work, seeking to become transformed from a peasantry into a working class. But instead of jobs they found only misery, and far from becoming a proletariat, they came to constitute a *Lumpenproletariat*, an underclass of rejected people. Frazier's prophetic words resound today with terrifying precision: "... as long as the bankrupt system of Southern agriculture exists, Negro families will continue to seek a living in the towns and cities of the country. They will crowd the slum areas of Southern cities or make their way to Northern cities, where their family life will become disrupted and their poverty will force them to depend upon charity."

Out of such conditions, social protest was to emerge in a form peculiar to the ghetto, a form which could never have taken root in the South except in such large cities as Atlanta or Houston. The evils in the North are not easy to understand and fight against, or at least not as easy as Jim Crow, and this has given the protest from the ghetto a special edge of frustration. There are few specific

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injustices, such as a segregated lunch counter, that offer both a clear object of protest and a good chance of victory. Indeed, the problem in the North is not one of social injustice so much as the results of institutional pathology. Each of the various institutions touching the lives of urban blacks—those relating to education, health, employment, housing, and crime—is in need of drastic reform. One might say that the Northern race problem has in good part become simply the problem of the American city—which is gradually becoming a reservation for the unwanted, most of whom are black.

IN SUCH A SITUATION, even progress has proved to be a mixed blessing. During the Sixties, for example, Northern blacks as a group have made great economic gains, the result of which being that hundreds of thousands of them were able to move out of the hard-core poverty areas. Meanwhile, however, their departure, while a great boon to those departing, only contributed further to the deterioration of the slums, now being drained of their stable middle and working class. Combined with the large influx of Southern blacks during the same period, this process was leaving the ghetto more and more the precinct of a depressed underclass. To the segregation by race was now added segregation by class, and all of the problems created by segregation and poverty—inadequate schooling, substandard and overcrowded housing, lack of access to jobs or to job training, narcotics and crime—were greatly aggravated. And again because of segregation, the violence of the black underclass was turned in upon itself.

If the problems of the ghetto do not lend themselves to simple analyses or solutions, then, this is because they cannot be solved without mounting a total attack on the inadequacies endemic to, and injustices embedded in, all of our institutions. It is perhaps understandable that young Northern blacks, confronting these problems, have so often provided answers which are really non-answers; which are really dramatic statements satisfying some sense of the need for militancy without even beginning to deal with the basic economic and political problems of the ghetto. Primary among these non-answers is the idea that black progress depends upon a politics of race and revolution. I am referring here not to the recent assertions of black pride—assertions that will be made as long as that pride continues to be undermined by white society—but to the kind of black nationalism which consists in a bitter rejection of American society and vindicates a withdrawal from social struggle into a kind of hermetic racial world where blacks can "do their thing." Nationalists have been dubbed "militants" by the press because they have made their point with such fervent hostility to white society, but the implication of their position actually amounts to little more than the age-old conservative message that blacks should help themselves—a thing that, by the very definition of the situation, they have not the resources to do.

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The same is true of black proposals for revolution. For to engage in revolutionary acts in contemporary America—where, despite a lot of inflammatory rhetoric, there is not even a whisper of a revolutionary situation—not only diverts precious energies away from the political arena where the real battles for change must be fought, but might also precipitate a vicious counterrevolution the chief victims of which will be blacks.

The truth about the situation of the Negro today is that there are powerful forces, composed largely of the corporate elite and Southern conservatives, which will resist any change in the economic or racial structure of this country that might cut into their resources or challenge their status; and such is precisely what any program genuinely geared to improve his lot must do. Moreover, these forces today are not merely resisting change. With their representative Richard Nixon in the White House, they are engaged in an assault on the advances made during the past decade. It has been Nixon's tragic and irresponsible choice to play at the politics of race, not, to be sure, with the primitive demagoguery of a "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, say, but nevertheless with the same intent of building a political majority on the basis of white hostility to blacks. So far he has been unsuccessful, but the potential for the emergence of such a reactionary majority does exist, especially if the turbulence and racial polarization which we have recently experienced persists.

What is needed, therefore, is not only a program that would effect some fundamental change in the distribution of America's resources for those in the greatest need of them, but also a political majority that will support such a program. In other words, nothing less than a program truly, not merely verbally, radical in scope would be adequate to meet the present crisis; and nothing less than a politically constituted majority, outnumbering the conservative forces, would be adequate to carry it through. Now, it so happens that there is one social force which, by virtue both of its size and its very nature, is essential to the creation of such a majority—and so in relation to which the success or failure of the black struggle must finally turn. And that is the American trade-union movement.

ADDRESSING THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION in 1961, Martin Luther King observed: "Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs—decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old-age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community."

Despite the widely held belief that the blacks and the unions have not the same, but rather irreconcilable, interests—and despite the fact that certain identifiable unions do practice discrimination—King's words remain valid today. Blacks *are* mostly a working people, they continue to need what labor needs, and they must fight side by side with unions to achieve these things.

Of all the misconceptions about the labor movement that have been so lovingly dwelt on in the liberal press, perhaps none is put forth more often and is farther from the truth than that the unions are of and for white people. For one thing, there are, according to labor historian Thomas R. Brooks, between 2,500,000 and 2,750,000 black trade unionists in America.* If his figures are correct, and other estimates seem to bear them out, the percentage of blacks in the unions is a good deal higher than the percentage of blacks in the total population —15 per cent as compared with 11 per cent, to be precise. And since the vast majority of black trade unionists are members of integrated unions, one can conclude that the labor movement is the most integrated major institution in American society, certainly more integrated than the corporations, the churches, or the universities.

Moreover, blacks are joining unions in increasing numbers. According to a 1968 report by *Business Week,* one out of every three new union members is black. The sector of the economy which is currently being most rapidly unionized is that of the service industries, and most particularly among government employees, such as hospital workers, sanitation workers, farm workers, and paraprofessionals in educational and social-welfare institutions. This category of worker is, of course, both largely nonwhite and shamefully underpaid.

Like other workers, blacks have gained from the achievements of their unions in the way of higher wages, improved working conditions, and better fringe benefits. To be sure, in some unions whites still possess a disproportionate number of the higher-paying jobs and there is not yet adequate black representation at the staff level and in policy-making positions. But the question of what continues to account for the perpetuation of such inequities cannot properly be answered by the fashionable and easy reference to racial discrimination in the unions. Statistical surveys have shown that the participation of blacks in the work force is no higher in nonunionized occupations than in unionized ones. Indeed, as Derek C. Bok and John T. Dunlop have pointed out in their remarkably informed and comprehensive study, *Labor and the American Community*, even in the automotive and aero-space industries, where the unions have been known for dedication to racial justice, the percentage of blacks, particularly in the skilled jobs, is not appreciably higher than in other industries.

THERE HAVE, THEREFORE, TO BE far more fundamental social and economic reasons for present inequalities in employment. Primary among these reasons are certain underlying changes within the entire society which are being reflected in the evolving character and composition of the work force itself. The upsurge of union organization of minority-group workers in the fields of education, sanitation, and health care, for instance, is the result of the rapid expansion of the service sector of the economy.

Another crucial factor here is government economic policy. The tremendous growth in the economy from 1960 to 1968 increased nonwhite employment by 19 per cent, 4 per cent higher than the increase for whites, and during the same period the unemployment rate for nonwhite adult men dropped from 9.6 to 3.9 per cent. A large number of these new black workers entered unions for the simple reason that they had jobs. And now many of them are out of jobs, not because of union discrimination, but because the Nixon Administration's economic policies have so far caused a sharp increase in unemployment.

All of which is not to exonerate the entire labor movement of any possible charge of wrongdoing. It is rather to put the problem of economic inequality into some useful perspective. The inequalities which persist within the unions must of course be corrected. They are in fact being corrected through the work of the labor movement itself—the role of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO is particularly noteworthy here—the civil-rights activities of the federal government, and the efforts of black trade unionists who are taking over leadership positions in their locals and are playing more of a role in determining union policy. The union drive against discrimination was exemplified by the fight made by the AFL-CIO to have a Fair Employment Practices section written into the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Both President Kennedy and Robert Kennedy were opposed to including an FEPC section because they thought it would kill the bill, but George Meany pressed for it. He did so for a simple reason. The AFL-CIO is a federation of affiliates which retain a relatively high degree of autonomy. The parent body can urge compliance with its policies, but the decision to act is left up to the affiliates. Meany felt that the only way the AFL-CIO could deal effectively with unions practicing discrimination would be to demand compliance with the law of the land. He testified before the House Judiciary Committee that the labor movement was calling "for legislation for the correction of shortcomings in its own ranks." And the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act greatly speeded the process of this correction.

Most labor leaders, I believe, are opposed to discrimination against the blacks on moral grounds. But they also have highly practical grounds for their position. They understand that discrimination hurts the entire labor movement as much as it hurts blacks. They know from long experience as unionists that anything which divides the workers makes it more difficult for them to struggle together for the achievement of common goals. Racial antagonisms have undermined solidarity during strikes and have been exploited by management as a means of weakening unions. The following passage from the classic study, *The Black Worker,*

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*"Black Upsurge in the Unions," *Dissent* (March-April, 1970).

written in 1931 by Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, may not be typical of every company's approach to its work force, yet it describes a practice commonly in use till this very day:

> *The Negro is now recognized as a permanent factor in industry and large employers use him as one of the racial and national elements which help to break the homogeneity of their labor force. This, incidentally, fits into the program of big concerns for maintaining what they call "a cosmopolitan force," which frees the employer from dependence upon any one group for his labor supply and also thwarts unity of purpose and labor organization.*

People no longer lend much credence to the idea that management continues to think and operate in such convoluted terms. But it does, and so does labor. Indeed, such terms as "labor solidarity" or "labor disunity" are standard tools of the trade in labor-management relations. A further error is to imagine that unions might from such reasoning increase unity within their ranks by excluding blacks. On the contrary, given the character of the American working class, the *only* possibility for genuine labor solidarity is for the blacks to be fully integrated into every level of the trade-union movement. If they are not, then they will continue to exist outside the unions as a constant source of cheap labor exploitable by management to depress wages or to break strikes.

Another notion which has passed into vogue among some blacks as well as some whites is that the whole problem of integration can be finessed by organizing the workers into dual unions. This is not a new idea; nor is its feasibility any greater today than was evidenced by a record of impossibility in the past. For were there to be racially separate unions, it would naturally follow that the interests of blacks would be diametrically opposed to those of whites, with whom they would be in competition. And once again, no matter how innocently or unintentionally, the blacks would remain in the role of being a reserve army that could be called into action whenever companies felt the white workers needed a good kick in the pants.

Of course, the blacks would also be victims in this situation since they would be at the beck and call of management only if they were chronically unemployed. Thus, exploitation is as much the effect of poverty as its cause. It is only the poor, those who are needy and weak, who can be manipulated at the whim of the wealthy. This introduces another notion concerning the welfare of black and white workers about which there has grown up a misplaced skepticism—namely, the function of the supply of labor. Put very simply, it is in the interests of employers for the supply of labor to be greater than the demand for it. This situation obtains when there is high unemployment or what is often called a "loose" labor market. Under these conditions, the bargaining position of the unions is weakened since labor, which is after all the product unions are selling, is not in high demand, and also because there are a lot of unemployed workers whom the companies can turn to if the unions should in any way prove recalcitrant. Generally speaking, an excess of supply over demand for labor exerts a downward pressure on wages, and, vice versa, there is an upward pressure on wages when the demand for labor outpaces the supply. In addition, this dynamic of supply and demand affects the level of racial antagonism within the work force. If supply exceeds demand, i.e., if there is a high level of unemployment, there will be tremendous competition for jobs between white and black workers, and racial tensions will increase. Under conditions of relative full employment, there will be little job competition and greater racial harmony. As George Lichtheim recently pointed out: "If economic conflict as a source of political antagonism is ruled out . . . the residual cultural tensions . . . need not and doubtless will not fall to zero; but they can be held down to a tolerable level."*

THESE IDEAS SHAPE THE CONCEPTUAL universe as well as the behavior of many of the principal actors in our country's economic conflicts. The fact that they tend to be ignored in so much current discussion of blacks and unions is as much a testimony to the naïveté of liberal journalists as it is to the public-relations skills of corporations. A good example of what I mean is the press treatment accorded the terrible racial conflict in the building trades and the Administration's policies in this area.

Racial discrimination exists in the building trades. It is unjustifiable by any moral standard, and as to the objective of rooting it out there can be no disagreement among people of good will. How truly to achieve this objective is another matter. An important distinction here is often overlooked. One cannot set varying moral standards in judging the performance of institutions; the same standard must be applied equally to all—to the unions, the corporations, the churches, etc. But beyond the realm of moral judgment is the crucial question of social utility. Blacks could attack Jim Crow in the South without regard to the welfare of the lunch counters, the hotels, or whatever, because they had little or no stake in them. This is not the case with the trade-union movement, a social force in which blacks *do* have a stake. If blacks attack the unions in such a way as to damage them irreparably, they will ultimately harm themselves. As it happens, certain presently self-styled friends of the Negro are in fact not at all averse to such a possible development.

Writing in the *New York Times*, Tom Wicker reflected the views of many liberals when he described the Nixon Administration's strong and forthright position on the building-trades issue as "remarkable." Wicker's analysis, however, never advances beyond this point. He never asks why the Nixon Administration—particularly Attorney General Mitchell, and most particularly given other Admin-

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*"What Socialism Is and Is Not," *The New York Review of Books* (April 9, 1970).

istration policies—would suddenly take such an interest in the welfare of blacks. The question is neither gratuitous nor idle. Why, in fact, would a President who has developed a "Southern strategy," who has cut back on school-integration efforts, tried to undermine the black franchise by watering down the 1965 Voting Rights Act, nominated to the Supreme Court men like Haynsworth and Carswell, cut back on funds for vital social programs, and proposed a noxious crime bill for Washington, D.C.—which is nothing less than a blatant appeal to white fear—why indeed would such a President take up the cause of integration in the building trades?

To begin with, Mr. Nixon's Philadelphia Plan—which requires contractors to make a commitment to hire a certain quota of black workers on a job where over $500,000 of federal funds are involved—actually does nothing for integration. In order to meet this commitment, a contractor could shift the required number of black workers in an area onto a particular job, a procedure known in the trade as checker-boarding. He would thus satisfy federal requirements *for that job*, but no new jobs would be created for blacks and no Negroes would be brought into the building trades. In fact, the contractor can even achieve compliance simply by making an effort of good faith, such as contacting certain people in the area who are concerned about black participation in the building trades. If those people do not produce any workers, the contractor has done his job and can get the federal money. The Philadelphia Plan makes no provision for training, nor does it provide a means for blacks to attain the security of journeyman status within the unions. It is geared only to temporary jobs, and even in this area it is deficient. It is designed primarily to embarrass the unions and to organize public pressure against them.

In simple truth, the plan is part and parcel of a general Republican attack on labor. The same Administration which designed it (as well as the Southern strategy), has also sent to Congress a measure that would increase federal control over internal union political affairs. Republican Senators and Representatives have introduced dozens of antilabor bills: one of which, for example, would create a right-to-work law for federal employees; another would restrict labor's involvement in political activities. Moreover, the Administration has turned the heat on labor at the same time that it has cooled pressure against discrimination by the corporations.

The advantages to the Republicans from this kind of strategy should be obvious. Nixon supports his friends among the corporate elite and hurts his enemies in the unions. He also gains a convenient cover for his anti-Negro policies in the South, and above all, he weakens his political opposition by aggravating the differences between its two strongest and most progressive forces—the labor movement and the civil-rights movement.

The Philadelphia Plan and related actions are also part of the Administration's attempt to pin onto labor the blame for inflation in construction costs. The *Wall Street Journal* has suggested that contractors welcome the thrust for integration in the building trades since this "might slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers." There is reason to believe that Mr. Nixon thinks in these same terms. It will be remembered that on almost the very day he proposed the Philadelphia Plan, he also ordered a 75 per cent reduction in federal construction—thereby reducing the number of jobs available in the industry and producing the twofold effect of exerting a deflationary pressure on wages and increasing competition among workers over scarce jobs. When Nixon finally freed some of the construction funds some months later (a move no doubt designed to improve the economic picture for the 1970 elections), he warned that "a shortage of skilled labor runs up the cost of that labor." He said he would issue directives to the Secretaries of Defense; Labor; and Health, Education, and Welfare to train veterans and others toward the goal of "enlarging the pool of skilled manpower."

It should be pointed out in passing that the President's approach to the problem of inflation in construction costs cannot succeed since he has made the typical businessman's error of identifying wages as the major inflationary factor. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, on-site labor costs as a percentage of total construction costs decreased between 1949 and 1969 from 33 per cent to 18 per cent. During the same period, the combined cost of land and financing rose from 16 per cent to 31 per cent of the total cost, Thus land and financing, not labor, have been the major causes of inflation in construction. Nevertheless, the President continues his crusade against "wage inflation."

The concern with increasing the supply while reducing the cost of labor is what motivated the Nixon Administration's most recent act in the construction field—the suspension of the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act. Here the "deflationary" intention is more evident than in the case of the Philadelphia Plan, but the similarity between the two moves is striking, particularly with regard to the anti-union role envisioned for the unorganized Negro worker.

The Davis-Bacon Act requires contractors on federal or federally assisted projects to pay all workers, union or nonunion, the prevailing union wage rates. The suspension of the Act will not directly affect the wages of unionized workers who are protected by their contract. It will, however, enable contractors to cut the wages of nonunion workers, and this, in turn, should encourage the employment of these workers instead of the higher paid unionists. Thus, there will be fewer jobs for organized workers (there is already an 11 per cent unemployment rate in the construction industry), and the bargaining power of the unions will be weakened. Since many of the unorganized workers are nonwhite, it might be argued that this is a boon to their fortunes since they will be more likely to find work. Aside from the fact that they will be working for lower wages, the question is again

"Racial antagonisms have undermined solidarity during strikes and have been exploited by management as a means of weakening unions."

raised whether it is in the interests of blacks to let themselves be used by employers to hurt unions. I do not think that it is. Their interests lie in becoming part of the trade-union movement. Ironically, the current attack on labor may speed the process of their entrance into the labor movement, for in situations where union standards have been threatened by open shops, unions have been spurred on to fully organize their industry.

It should be emphasized that this would only encourage changes that have already been taking place for a number of years as a result of pressure from civil-rights groups and union leaders.

Seventy-nine Outreach programs now operate in as many cities and have placed over 8,000 minority-group youngsters in building-trades apprenticeship training programs. Sixty per cent have been placed in the highest paying trades—the plumbers, electricians, sheet-metal workers, carpenters, pipe fitters, and iron workers. This is far from sufficient, of course, but within the past two years, these programs have expanded by over 400 per cent, and they are continuing to grow. The role of civil-rights activists should be to continue to see that they grow.

THE BLACKS HAVE A CHOICE. They can fight to strengthen the trade-union movement by wiping out the vestiges of segregation that remain in it, or they can, knowingly or unknowingly, offer themselves as pawns in the conservatives' games of bust-the-unions.

The choice must be made on the basis of a critical assessment of the current economic plight of blacks. More than any single factor, the Nixon Administration's policies of high interest rates, "fiscal responsibility," and economic slowdown are undermining the gains which blacks made during the past decade. Dr. Charles C. Killingsworth, a leading manpower economist, predicted some months ago that within a year the unemployment rate is likely to go up to 8 per cent. We could expect the rate for blacks to be twice as high. Nixon's managed recession may calm the fears of businessmen, but it will do so at terrible cost to blacks and to all other working people. There are, no doubt, many well-meaning people who are concerned about the plight of unemployed workers under Nixon, but it is only the labor movement that is fighting every day for policies that will get these workers back on the job.

Thus, it is clear why unions are important to black workers. What may perhaps seem less obvious and must also be sharply emphasized is that the legislative program of the trade-union movement can go a long way toward satisfying the economic needs of the larger black *community*. The racial crisis, as we have seen, is not an isolated problem that lends itself to redress by a protesting minority. Being rooted in the very social and economic structure of the society, it can be solved only by a comprehensive program that gets to the heart of why we can't build adequate housing for everybody, why we must always have a "tolerable" level of unemployment, or why we lack enough funds for education. In this sense the racial crisis challenges the entire society's capacity to redirect its resources on the basis of human need rather than profit. Blacks can pose this challenge, but only the federal government has the power and the money to meet it. And it is here that the trade-union movement can play such an important role.

The problems of the most aggrieved sector of the black ghetto cannot and will never be solved without full employment, and full employment, with the government as employer of last resort, is the keystone of labor's program. One searches in vain among the many so-called friends of the black struggle for a seconding voice to this simple yet far-reaching proposition. Some call it inflationary, while to others, who are caught up in the excitement of the black cultural revolution, it is pedestrian and irrelevant. But in terms of the economic condition of the black community, nothing more radical has yet been proposed. There is simply no other way for the black *Lumpenproletariat* to become a proletariat. And full employment is only one part of labor's program. The movement's proposals in the areas of health, housing, education, and environment would, if enacted, achieve nothing less than the transformation of the quality of our urban life. How ironic that in this period when the trade-union movement is thought to be conservative, its social and economic policies are far and away more progressive than those of any other major American institution. Nor—again in contrast to most of the other groups officially concerned with these things—is labor's program merely in the nature of a grand proposal; there is also an actual record of performance, particularly in the area of civil rights. Clarence Mitchell, the director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP and legislative chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a man more deeply involved in Congressional civil-rights battles than any other black in America, has said, "None of the legislative fights we have made in the field of civil rights could have been won without the trade-union movement. We couldn't have beaten Haynsworth without labor, and the struggle against Carswell would not have been a contest."

Labor's interest in progressive social legislation naturally leads it into the political arena. The Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, the Political Action Committee of the UAW, and the political arm of the Teamsters were active in every state in the last election registering and educating voters and getting out the vote. This year trade unionists were more politically active than they have ever been during an off-year election. The reason for this is clear. With so many liberal Senators up for reelection, and with political alignments in great flux, 1970 presented itself as a year that would initiate a new period in American politics—a period which would see the regrouping of liberal forces or the consolidation of a conservative majority.

One of the important factors determining the kind of political alignments that will emerge from this period of instability will be the relationship between the trade-union movement and the liberal community, and today this relationship is severely strained. Differences over the war in Vietnam are frequently cited as a major cause of this division, but there has been a great deal of misunderstanding on this issue. The house of labor itself is divided over the war, and even those labor leaders who support it have enthusiastically backed dove Congressional candidates who have liberal domestic records, among them such firm opponents of the war as Mike Mansfield, Edward Kennedy, Vance Hartke, Philip Hart, Howard Metzenbaum, and Edmund Muskie.

A better understanding of the trade-union movement by liberals may be developing, but for the present the antagonistic attitudes that exist cast an ideological pall over the chances for uniting the democratic Left coalition. It must be said that the vehement contempt with which the liberals have come to attack the unions bespeaks something more than a mere political critique of "conservatism." When A. H. Raskin writes that "the typical worker—from construction craftsman to shoe clerk—has become probably the most reactionary political force in the country"; or when Anthony Lewis lumps under the same category the rich oilmen and "the members of powerful, monopolistic labor unions"; or when Murray Kempton writes that "the AFL-CIO has lived happily in a society which, more lavishly than any in history, has managed the care and feeding of incompetent white people," and adds, "Who better represents that ideal than George Wallace"; or when many other liberals casually toss around the phrase "labor-fascists," one cannot but inevitably conclude that one is in the presence not of political opposition but of a certain class hatred. This hatred is not necessarily one based on conflicting class interests—though they may play a role here—but rather a hatred of the elite for the "mass." And this hatred is multiplied a thousandfold by the fact that we live in a democratic society in which the coarse multitude can outvote the elite and make decisions which may be contrary to the wishes and values, perhaps even the interests and the prejudices, of those who are better off.

It is difficult not to conclude that many liberals and radicals use subjective, rather than objective, criteria in judging the character of a social force. A progressive force, in their view, is one that is alienated from the dominant values of the culture, not one which contributes to greater social equality and distributive justice. Thus today the trade-union movement has been relegated to reactionary status, even though it is actually more progressive than at any time in its history—if by progressive we mean a commitment to broad, long-term social reform in addition to the immediate objectives of improving wages and working conditions. At the same time, the most impoverished social group, that substratum which Herbert Marcuse longingly calls "the outcasts and the outsiders," has been made the new vanguard of social progress. And it is here that liberals and New Leftists come together in their proposal for a new coalition "of the rich, educated, and dedicated with the poor," as Eric F. Goldman has admiringly described it, or in Walter Laqueur's more caustic phraseology, "between the *Lumpenproletariat* and the *Lumpenintelligentsia.*"

"Today the trade-union movement has been relegated to reactionary status, even though it is actually more progressive than at any time in its history. . . ."

THIS POLITICAL APPROACH, KNOWN AMONG liberals as New Politics and among radicals as New Leftism, denotes a certain convergence of the Left and the Right, if not in philosophy and intent, then at least in practical effect. I am not referring simply to the elitism which the intellectual Left shares with the economic Right, but also to their symbolic political relationship. Many of the sophisticated right-wing attacks on labor are frequently couched in left-wing rhetoric. Conservative claims that unions are anti-black, are responsible for inflation, and constitute minorities which threaten and intimidate the majority reverberate in the liberal community and are shaping public opinion to accept a crackdown on the trade-union movement.

While many adherents of the New Politics are outraged by Nixon's Southern strategy, their own strategy is simply the obverse of his. The potential for a Republican majority depends upon Nixon's success in attracting into the conservative fold lower-middle-class whites, the same group that the New Politics has written off. The question is not whether this group is conservative or liberal, for it is both, and how it acts will depend upon the way the issues are defined. If they are defined as race and dissent, then Nixon will win. But if, on the other hand, they are defined so as to appeal to the progressive economic interests of the lower middle class, then it becomes possible to build an alliance on the basis of common interest between this group and the black community. The importance of the trade-union movement is that it embodies this common interest. This was proved most clearly in 1968 when labor mounted a massive educational campaign which reduced the Wallace supporters among its membership to a tiny minority. And the trade-union movement remains today the greatest obstacle to the success of Nixon's strategy.

The prominent racial and ethnic loyalties that divide American society have, together with our democratic creed, obscured a fundamental reality —that we are a class society and, though we do not often talk about such things, that we are engaged in a class struggle. This reality may not provide some people with their wished-for quotient of drama, though I would think that the GE strike or the UAW strike against GM are sufficiently dramatic, and it may now have become an institutionalized struggle between the trade-union movement and the owners and managers of corporate wealth. Yet it is a struggle nonetheless, and its outcome will determine whether we will have a greater or lesser degree of economic and social equality in this country. As long as blacks are poor, our own struggle will be part of this broader class reality. To the degree that it is not, black liberation will remain a dream in the souls of an oppressed people. ☐

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HARPER'S MAGAZINE

TWO PARK AVENUE
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*Editorial Rooms*

June 3, 1971

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Here is a copy of a letter we've received on your article "The Blacks and the Unions" which I thought you might like to see. Would you be interested in answering it for our Letters Column?

Yours sincerely,

Avery Rome

Avery Rome
Letters Editor

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y.

July 12, 1971

Avery Rome, Editor
Harper's Magazine
2 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Avery Rome:

Enclosed is an answer to the letter you sent me from Craig A. Hetzler.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl:

There are some elements of confusion in Mr. Hutzler's letter which should be cleared up. It is possible to redirect our society's resources on the basis of human need rather than profit within a capitalistic society that bears little resemblance to Adam Smith's laissez faire utopia. To do so, of course, requires a political movement with power since, as Mr. Hutzler correctly points our, "to change the status quo a price will have to be paid by someone." I recognize that social change is an enormously difficult process to influence, especially if one seeks to do so democratically. A struggle is involved, as I tried to point out in my essay, and it is a struggle in which many people have an interest in villifying the labor movement and in manipulating racial divisions within the workforce. Mr. Hutzler, who implies that he supports Nixon's efforts to control inflation by increasing unemployment, demonstrates that he stands with the opponents of labor. Perhaps he takes this position as a result of misunderstanding. There are ways to stop inflation without weakening the economy and putting millions of people out of work. I refer Mr. Hutzler to the writings of the noted economist Leon Keyserling who has shown that a healthy, high-employment economy is usually accompanied by relative price stability. As an aside, I offer the thought (based on some recent figures I have seen) that after each planned recession our country has had the affluent members of our society have ended up with a somewhat greater share of the national wealth than they had before the economic slowdown.

Finally, Mr. Hutzler remarks that some of my statements leave him "with a strong taste of communism or socialism..." Well, which is it, communism or socialism, or does Mr. Hutzler, perhaps, think there is little difference between the two? Nothing I wrote could give Mr. Hutzler the impression that I support communism, a totalitarian system that I detest. Socialism, however, is about as far removed from communism as Golda Meir is from Brezhnev. The essence of socialism is to democratically extend democracy into the realm of economics. If that is socialism, than I plead guilty to the charge.

# # #

# Bayard Rustin
## speaks
## at
# Black Heritage Program

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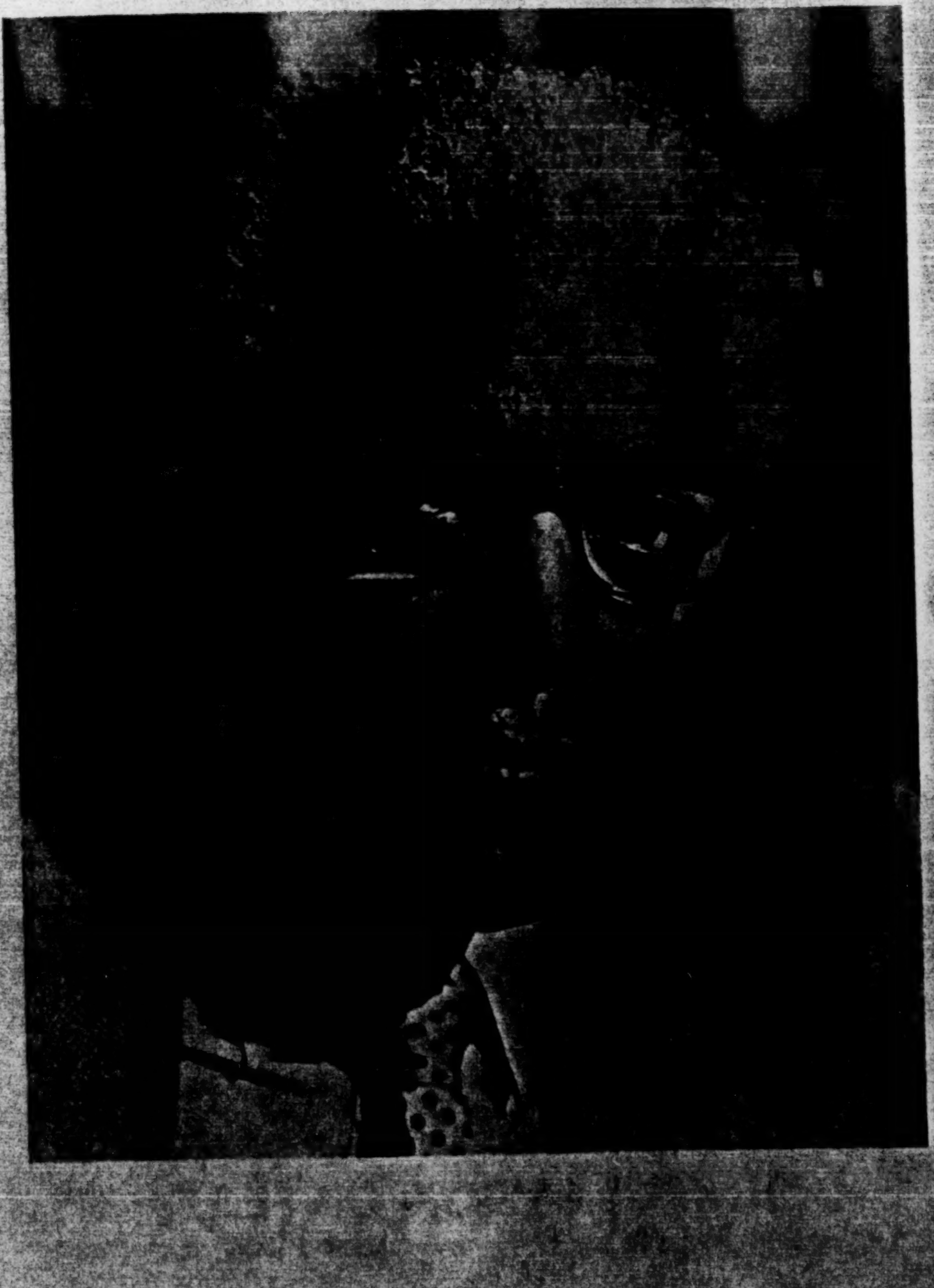
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010



# BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin is Board Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and President of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund -- a sister organization. He has devoted his entire life in the fight for freedom in this country and in many countries abroad. He led the organization for the March on Washington with A. Philip Randolph and helped to organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with Martin Luther King, Jr.

Bayard holds numerous honorary degrees from colleges and universities throughout this country. His broad experiences and wisdom are expressed in his many writings and speeches. This speech was a vital one at the Black Heritage Celebration at the UFT in 1984.

**Albert Shanker**
**President**

**Ponsie Hillman**
**Assistant Treasurer**
**Black Heritage Chairman**

# THE REAL MEANING

# OF

# BLACK HERITAGE

I want to thank the young people who came out today to help with this program. It is to them, essentially, that I address my remarks.

Since slavery began in 1619, there have been many noble black people who fought for their rights. Indeed, there also have been many white people who fought against slavery and for the rights of black people. If I were forced to judge between noble black people who fought for their rights and noble white people who fought for blacks, I should be forced first to declare the whites who fought for black rights more noble than the blacks who fought for themselves. For almost all human beings will fight for his own rights, but may not struggle for others. There is, nobility in fighting for you and yours; but the ultimate test of humanity is whether or not one is prepared to fight as vigorously for others as one does for one's own kind. Beyond this, blacks must not only ask: Did we get an Education Bill? Did we get a Housing Bill? We must also raise other questions as we work for our rights. For example: Did we hurt other people? or Did we fight for our rights in such a manner as to bring nobility to ourselves and to those who oppose us? That is a very hard test, and, ultimately, it is the test as to whether blacks maintain or break the cycle of humanity. In general, we ought not to injure those who oppressed us -- that is what is in our heritage. Thus, two of the three men who called the first All African Conference were black Americans. In 1945 we did not have our own rights yet, but it was Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois and others who called all of the African leaders together in London and said that despite the fact that we are in trouble ourselves, we have initiated this conference in the hope that Africa would be free, ten years later that process began.

We got the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and we struggled for that -- homes were bombed, scores were jailed, children were killed, churches were destroyed, fire hoses and cattle prods were used against the innocent. Many of those who fought against us could not have known what we knew at that time; that if we got our freedom in a civil rights act, thousands of white people would then be free to go into the courts under that Bill to demand justice also; that the women of this nation would depend on that Bill to get their rights and equal pay; that the students of this nation, having seen Martin Luther King walk in the streets, would then use direct action to bring freedom to our colleges and universities. We also see that, following the example of the civil rights groups, the crippled in our nation found a way to fight for buses for people in wheelchairs. We saw the Civil Rights Act used to fight for the rights of the cripples ... the old ... the blind ... women ... the gays. This vast progress is a part of our heritage.

My grandmother once said something to me which I hope I shall never forget. I said, "Mama, I am tired of being mistreated, of being on the bottom", and she said, "Son, being on the bottom looks as if it is the worst proposition on earth. But the worst position is sitting on others the way the white folks sit on us. For we can relax and go to sleep, but they can't ever relax for fear that we might get up. Keeping others down keeps one's self down."

In all the years from the Civil War until 1964 the white Southerners of this nation did not produce the percentage of great singers which they should have. They did not produce the number of great actors, they did not produce even the number of great writers one would have expected, they did not produce many great conductors, they did not produce many great poets. Why? Because one cannot produce greatness while sitting on others. Another aspect of our heritage is this: Our movement freed the white South to be creative.

It is for this reason that we were non-violent. Martin Luther King got the black people in Montgomery, Alabama -- mostly church women -- to march in the streets for a solid year. Their activity brought America to the position that there needed to be a Civil Rights Act, so that blacks could be free to act as full citizens. That was great. History will record that in our honor. But I will tell you what is greater -- that when I went to Poland a year and a half ago to visit Lech Walesa, the Leader of Solidarity, I asked him, "How do you think you can win this non-violent struggle against Polish machine guns and the might of the Soviet Union?" He answered, "We know that if Martin Luther King could do what he did in America, we will make progress here." It is also interesting that the Montogmery Bus Boycott was won in December 1956, and the first major sit-in in South Africa began two months later. When I was in

South Africa recently, I was told -- "We dared to try a boycott because we saw what had happened in the United States in 1956, in Montgomery, Alabama."

In conclusion, my friends, it is agonizing to see the high degree of black unemployment; the degradation of poverty; to see our young people in the streets selling dope; to see the vast numbers of young people going to prison. But we must, nevertheless, continue to hope and to struggle for human betterment. I think of the trouble that A. Philip Randolph went through trying to organize the Pullman Porters. Yet, with determination, he lived to see white trade unionists accept blacks. And then I look at the UFT and I see all the blacks who are a part of it. You are here because of the tradition of a man like Randolph who would not give up the fight but stood in the halls of labor and was humiliated time and time again. Despite all this, he finally won. He won because the trade unionists finally saw him in his totality; he won because he fought for the rights of every working man and woman in America and throughout the world. And for this he is among the most important aspects of our heritage.

# JUSTICE FOR ALL

**Brotherhood is what** the trade union movement is all about.

The men and women attending the AFL-CIO's eighth convention helped forge brotherhood in building their unions, in picket line struggles and in historic campaigns in Congress and the state legislatures for equal opportunity laws.

None of the delegates was under the delusion that passing a resolution or a series of resolutions—would heal the nation's racial scars or bring about the jobs, housing, education, training and income needed to make "justice now" more than a rallying cry.

But the convention's actions mean that the AFL-CIO will enter the decade of the 1970s fervently committed not just to an eloquent statement of equal rights, but also to the programs and policies needed to make it a reality.

No one, the convention said, is going to turn the trade union movement around on the civil rights issue—not black or white racists, not government officials or union-busting employers.

It is the action program that is important because, as Bayard Rustin reminded the convention, "policy statements are never read in the ghetto" and the enemies of labor are all too ready to see "black rage and white fear" feed on each other and "set this nation on a collision course."

Spanish-speaking Americans, too, will have the labor movement's aid in breaking out of economic serfdom.

The nation has made substantial progress toward eradicating discrimination and bringing minority groups into the mainstream of American life. But, the convention stressed, there is no justification for complacency.

"We will continue to delineate shortcomings and move to eradicate them," the convention said.

The Administration was criticized for permitting "a major retreat in the struggle to achieve meaningful school desegregation." Its legislative tactics have endangered the needed extension of the Voting Rights Act, the convention said, and its officials "are covering this retreat in civil rights enforcement by trying to make a whipping boy of unions, especially those in the building trades."

All of this, the convention charged, "is part of a calculated strategy of accommodating conservative elements in the South while, at the same time, trying to divide minorities, labor and liberals."

**On the traditional** trade union front, the AFL-CIO reiterated the labor movement's united support for organizing efforts involving the working poor, where race discrimination is often linked with economic exploitation.

It pledged to back the farm workers on the picket line, at the bargaining table and in the legislative halls. And it called on all affiliates, all union leaders and all union members "to make the farm workers' cause their cause, especially in regard to the national grape boycott, with the goal of keeping fresh grapes off every union table and out of every union shopping basket."

And in a new area, one that has not yet made the headlines, the AFL-CIO called to the nation's conscience the drudgery and exploitation of "more than 2.5 million women who work as domestics" for an average annual wage of $1,300.

The convention called on Congress to protect domestics from the "predatory practices" of private employment agencies and proposed that communities "develop nonprofit cooperative employment agencies for household workers."

# THE FOUNDATION: A Black Working Class

## Labor brings about political change through strong organization, and electoral participation

### By BAYARD RUSTIN

Reprinted from *Ebony*, August 1975

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260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

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AMERICA historically has been reluctant to acknowledge the existence of a mass working class. Even today, in the midst of the most severe economic crisis since the Depression, the belief is widespread that society is separated into but two classes: a huge, relatively affluent middle class (which, according to this definition, embraces such diverse occupations as stockbroker, assembly line worker and department store clerk), and those at the very bottom of the economy—the impoverished, those whose upward mobility has been thwarted by lack of educational opportunity, and disorganized urban families.

Like so many myths about America, the conception of a classless society has carried over to the black community in a form typically distorted and absurd. According to a far too prevalent view, blacks are either bourgeois and middle class or miserably poor. This view entails a sweeping definition of middle class which applies to just about anyone whose job does not demand heavy or demeaning physical labor. Mailmen and clerks are adjudged to be middle class; so are telephone operators, school paraprofessionals and secretaries. A worker's class designation is thus deprived of any meaningful relationship to his income level. To be middle class is to hold down a steady job and lead a stable, family-oriented life.

There is, of course, a black working class. Its numbers include the majority of the black population. It has a long and rich history and a leadership which, at various times during the century, provided the cutting edge in the struggle for racial change. Indeed, its most distinguished leader, A. Philip Randolph, was the first to propose the strategy of direct, nonviolent mass action as a means of advancing the Negro protest movement. And today it is the black working class which serves as the base for political change in the black community through its superior organizational talents, high level of electoral participation, and recognition of the economic dimension of racial inequality.

To ignore the size and strategic importance of the black working class has inevitably led Americans to reach mistaken and sometimes counter-productive conclusions about the needs of its largest racial minority. It is a historical fact that black Americans have faced not one, but two fundamental obstacles: to break down the legally established fabric of segregation while at the same time demolishing the myths and stereotypes which provided the psychological underpinning of the racial caste system. Certainly the black worker faced these mutually reinforcing barriers in his effort to become a full participant in the emerging, increasingly industrialized economy of the 20th century. It was not enough that he had to overcome a pattern of laws and engrained traditions which effectively excluded him from a rightful place in technological society, he also suffered the handicap of a body of beliefs which denigrated his character, questioned his honesty, and diminished his capability as a worker. The black worker was thus not seen as an individual with unique skills, but as a stereotype whose very nature limited the possibilities for advancement and autonomy which were extended to white people as a matter of course.

We experienced a variation of this problem during the 1960s and while the consequences were less virulent, they were serious nonetheless. The stereotyping was less overtly racist: blacks were no longer dismissed as lazy and inefficient. Instead, the black poor was said to be locked into a "culture of poverty" from which they could not escape through traditional means, i.e., better employment opportunities. To an influential segment of social scientists and government officials, the black poor were somehow different from previous generations of the impoverished, and their problems could thus not be resolved through traditional formulas. The ghetto would have to be organized out of its poverty; jobs alone were not enough.

Although there were important differences in their perceptions of black people, the advocates of the community action approach did share a common misconception with those who believed blacks to be inefficient workers: both believed that the principal reason for racial inequality could be found in special characteristics which differentiated blacks from the rest of society. Both believed, in other words, that race, and not the workings of the economy, was the primary cause of mass unemployment and lack of upward mobility. In an earlier era, such beliefs justified the exclusion of black workers from industrial jobs. During the Great Society years, the single-minded concentration on racial factors diverted society from the recognition that the basic functioning of the economy was the principal obstacle to equality.

Clearly, the image of the black worker as unwilling or incapable of accomplishing any but the most menial jobs had a far more devastating impact than the later belief in a black poor mired in an unending poverty cycle. Its morst far-reaching consequence was to force the black worker to assume the role of the outsider, forever consigned to the farther shores of a developing economy. This role took many forms: the strikebreaker willing to work at wages well under what white workers might expect; a highly visible participant in the back alleys of the economy; a frequent member of the unemployed.

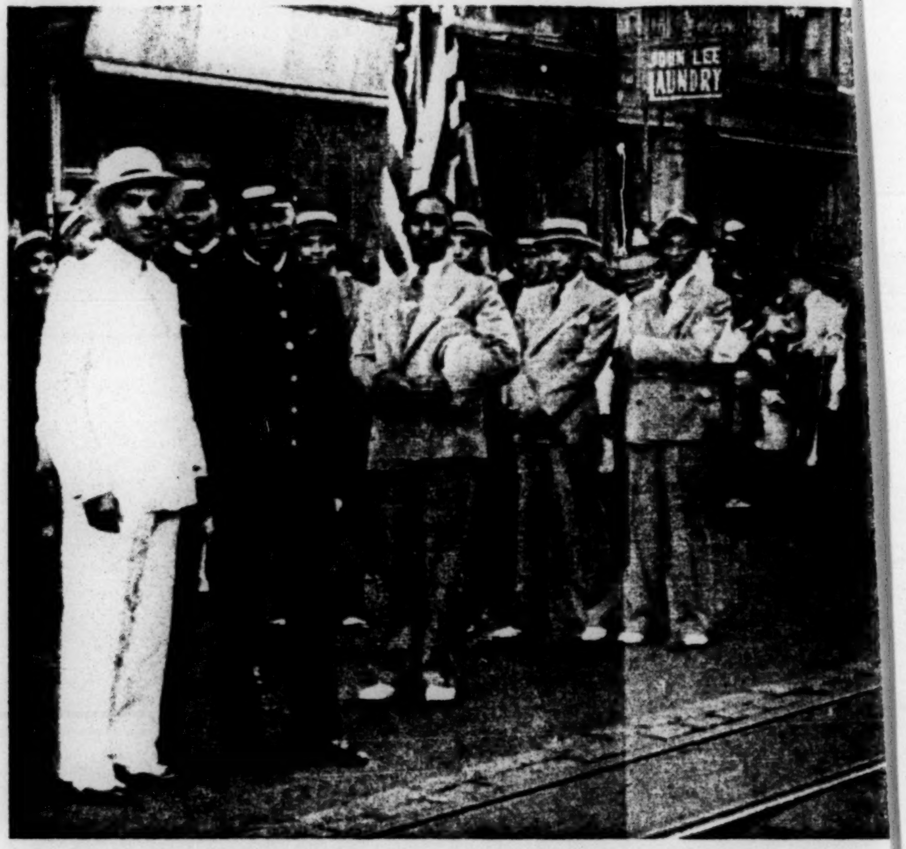
It also severely impeded the development of collective strategies for racial change. Most black workers were employed in industries in which trade union organization was as yet slight; in other areas of the economy, blacks were virtually excluded from regular participation in unions.

Another problem imposed by the role of outsider related to the attitude of much of the recognized black leadership toward tactics and strategy. Many influential black leaders, believing that black workers could not advance themselves through normal channels, encouraged workers to exploit their status as outsider by serving as an alternative reservoir of cheap labor for industries bent on the destruction of the expanding labor movement. Others urged blacks to abandon their effort to enter mass industry and to concentrate on the development of small entrepreneurial enterprises. Marcus Garvey, for instance, urged blacks to "always keep his scale of wages a little lower than whites until he is able to become, through proper leadership, his own employer."

Other black spokesmen with an essentially middle class perspective

A labor rally in New York during the 1920s. (right)

A. Philip Randolph headed the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. (lower right)



were convinced that large capitalists, as the better class of people," would eventually grant the Negro an equal place within the industrial work force out of a sense of social vision they believed to be superior to that of the nation's labor leadership. Thus Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University wrote in 1925:

> "There is every indication that it is the intention of the great industries to foster and favor the Negro workman to the fullest extent of his merit and efficiency. For the Negro wantonly to flout their generous advances by joining the restless ranks that threaten industrial ruin would be fatuous suicide. At present the capitalist class possess the culture and conscience which hold even the malignity of race passion in restraint. There is nothing in the white working class to which the Negro can appeal. They are the ones who lynch and burn and torture him. He must look to the upper element for law and order . . ."

In more blunt terms, blacks could profit as strikebreakers. Some of the most bitter and tragic racial clashes in America—such as the 1917 riot in East St. Louis, Ill.—were triggered by the resentment of white workers over the use of blacks to depress wages in the community.

It is easy enough to condemn the racial attitudes of white workers; what must be remembered is that it was these whites—whose living

WE DEMAND
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WE DEMAND
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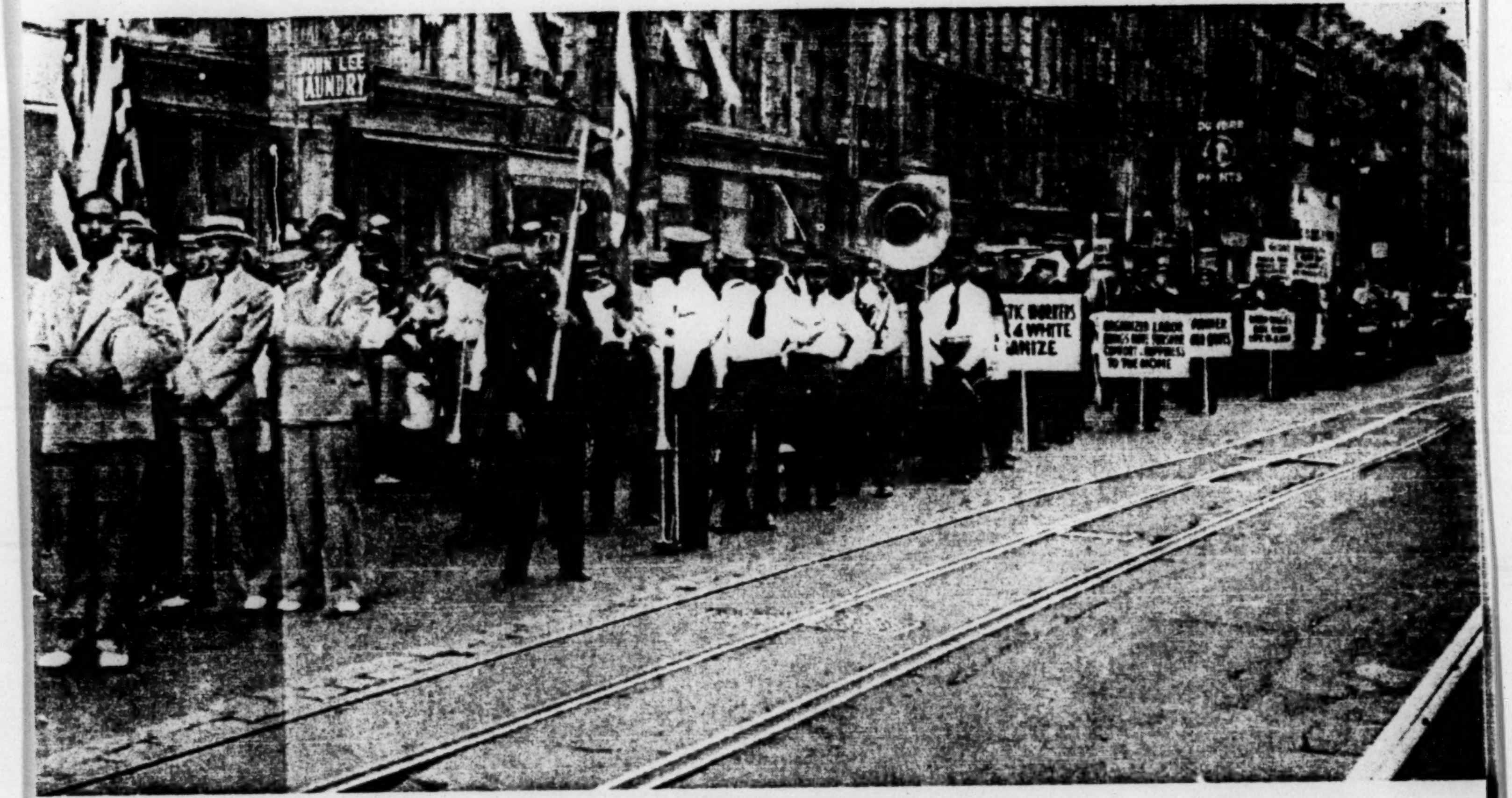
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JOBS FOR ALL NOW!
WE MARCH FOR FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP NOW!
Washington Board of Rabbis
BRUTALITY NOW!
FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP NOW!

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conditions were often little better than the blacks—who were placed in bitter competition with blacks in a struggle for scarce jobs.

Although some black leaders endorsed the concept of Negro workers serving as strikebreakers, this practice was denounced by early black labor leaders. Black unionists were persistent in their effort to win recognition of the importance of biracial labor organization, even though their pleas were largely ignored by the established unions in the early part of the century. There were, however, a number of white labor leaders who, either out of principle or because of their pragmatic evaluation of the current situation, attempted to organize black workers along with whites. This was particularly the case after several incidents where black workers were imported as a means of breaking strikes. Writing on this problem, C. H. Wesley noted:

> "Such conditions (strikebreaking) caused greater activity in the organization of Negro labor. It was thought by labor leaders that it was better to have the cooperation of Negro workingmen than to have their competition, and therefore efforts were made to perfect their organization. The local labor unions as a rule would not accept Negroes, and with organizations refusing membership to them and their members refusing to work with them, the Negro's way to skilled labor was effectively barred."

As the above might indicate, the relationship between the black community and organized labor has often been a difficult one. There was, on the one hand, rampant discrimination within individual unions which angered and distressed black workers; on the other hand, many within the black community did not fully recognize the essentially progressive role that labor played in upgrading the conditions of working people.

If one were to accept much of what is written in the liberal press about the relationship between blacks and the unions, one would have to conclude that the differences of a half-century ago are as deep as ever. Indeed, one of the most assiduously nurtured myths current among certain liberals is that the dominant characteristic of the black-labor relationship is the irreconcilable differences between the two, rather than any mutuality of interests.

It is no doubt true that individual unions still practice racial discrimination, just as it is true that racism is still an unfortunate part of every institution of American life. But the inequalities that persist are being corrected—through the efforts of the AFL-CIO and its affiliate unions and through the initiatives of individual black unionists who are seeking and winning an increasing number of union elected offices. The union struggle against racial discrimination is, if nothing else, a pragmatic move for union leaders know from bitter experience that a divided working class will ultimately serve the interests of business. The leaders of business well recognized the benefits to be derived from driving a wedge between various racial and ethnic groups within the work force. As Abram Harris and Sterling Spero, in their classic study, "The Black Worker," noted in 1931:

> "The Negro is now recognized as a permanent factor in industry and large employers use him as one of the racial and national elements which help break the homogeneity of their labor force. This, incidentally, fits into the programs of big concerns for maintaining what they call 'a cosmopolitan force,' which frees the employer from dependence upon any one group for his labor supply and also thwarts unity of purpose and labor organization."

PERHAPS the most dramatic, and largely unnoticed change brought about by the civil rights revolution was a massive transformation in the composition of the black work force. Prior to 1960, black workers were concentrated in the poorest paying occupations offering minimal opportunities for upward mobility: farm labor, unskilled work, domestic and household work, and service jobs. By 1970, a combination of anti-discrimination laws, federal manpower programs, and a rapidly growing economy acted to pull most black workers out of the ranks of the working poor and into the solid working class. Some 60 percent of all black workers held jobs as skilled or semi-skilled operatives and craftsmen or as white collar workers. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of blacks holding working class jobs rose from 2.9 million to 5.1 million, a shift in occupation status unprecedented in its dimensions and rapidity.

This transformation in occupational status brought with it a dramatic change in the relationship of the black worker to the larger society. Specifically, the black worker could no longer be said to be an outsider to American life, as he had been during the previous 400 years of slavery and Jim Crow.

There are two basic reasons for the transformation of the black worker from an outsider to the economic mainstream to a participant in the economy. One, obviously, is the passage of various anti-discrimination statues by the federal government, going back to Executive Order 8802—issued at the demand of Randolph by President Roosevelt—banning discrimination in defense industry employment and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Commission and including, most importantly, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The second was the emergence of a strong, industrially-based labor movement during the 1930s. Although the new industrial unions were certainly not free of the prejudicial attitudes and policies which permeated the entire society, they made a practice of organizing black and white workers as equals wherever possible. Today this may not seem important, but at the time it was a gesture of revolutionary significance. No other mass institution in American society was so fully open to the participation of blacks; for the first time, Negroes could play an active role in an institution which vigorously sought to change the direction of society.

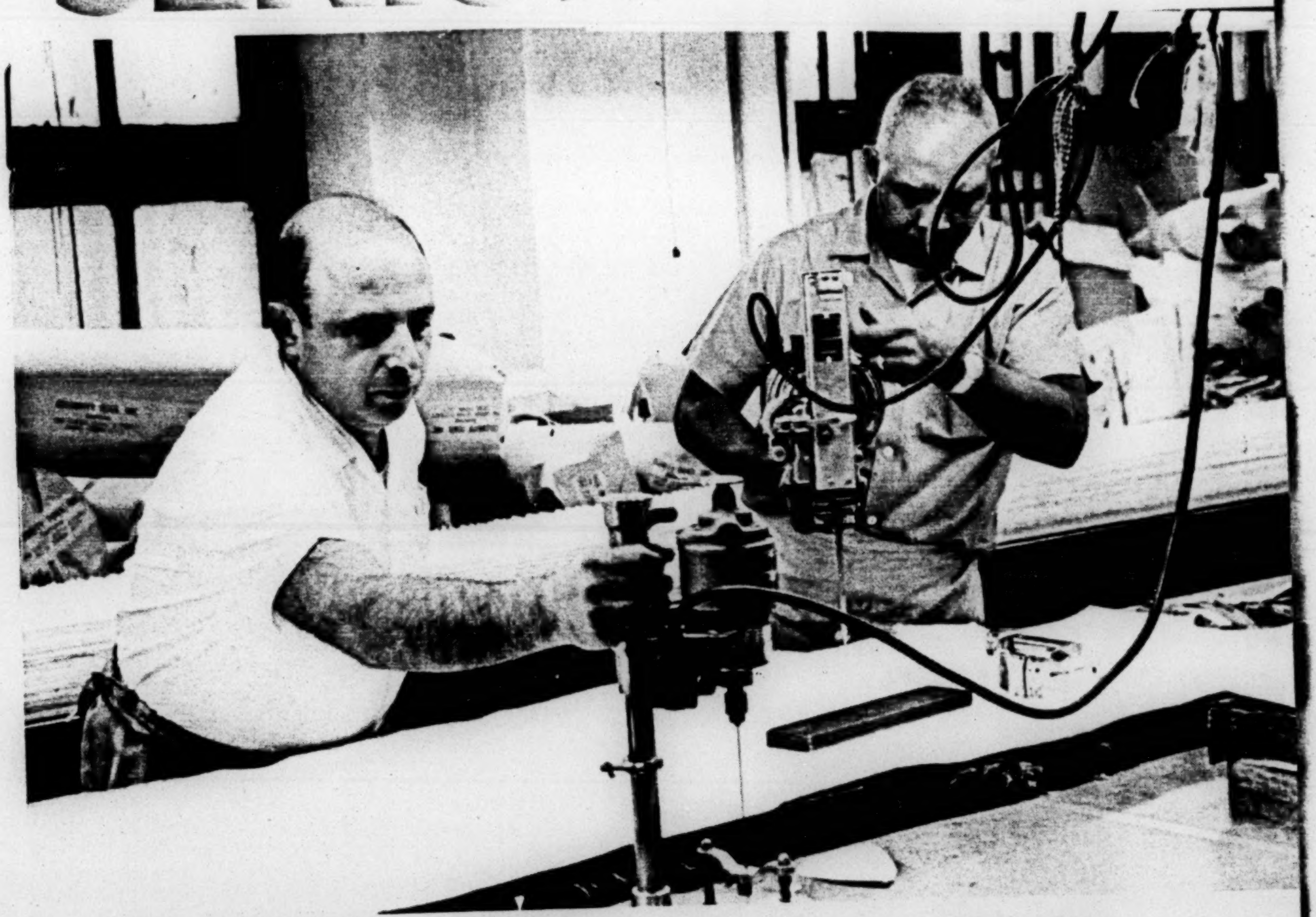
Organized labor has played a key role in upgrading the status of the working poor in industries where heavy concentrations of minority workers have traditionally found employment. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated while helping to mobilize sanitation workers in Memphis; there have been important organizing campaigns among hospital workers, garment workers in the south and southwest, and school paraprofessionals in New York City. In real, tangible terms, the success of union organizing drives in industries with large black work forces has meant a measurable increase in the living standards of the workers involved. But there is another consequence—one recognized by A. Philip Randolph when he was organizing sleeping car porters—and that is the dignity which the protection and solidarity union membership confers on an individual. With union protection, a worker has a measure of control over the forces which shape his destiny, not only in terms of the level of salary and fringe benefits, but insofar as it provides a protection against the capriciousness of the boss and a safeguard against inhuman or unsafe working conditions.

Labor's most important contribution to the advancement of the black community, however, has been in the political arena. Organized labor was, of course, a principal driving force behind the most significant social reforms enacted during the New Deal and Great Society periods. Taken in sum, labor's economic and social agenda, including the major civil rights legislation which it wholeheartedly supported, has been a vital factor in the steady improvements experienced by black workers.

If this was true in the past, it is even more relevant today at a time when a steadily mounting rate of unemployment threatens the most fundamental gains which blacks won during the 1960s. Of all the various leaders of the civil rights struggle, it was A. Philip Randolph, drawing on his experiences as a labor leader, who understood most clearly the essential nature of the economic question. In his address at the 1963 March on Washington, Randolph declared that Negroes "know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty . . . It falls to us to demand full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits."

Right now, with nine million unemployed, organized labor is the only mass social institution which perceives full employment as the single most important social objective for America. And in the coming period, it will only be through the realization of a full employment economy that black people will achieve the full participation in society that was the overriding objective of the civil rights movement.

# SENIORITY



# AND RACIAL PROGRESS

by Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

# SENIORITY AND RACIAL PROGRESS

by Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

Job seniority is under fire as never before. As economic decline and stagnation threaten to wipe out the gains made by blacks, other minorities and women, criticism of the seniority system has increased. This should come as no surprise, for hard times have always generated intense racial and ethnic competition for jobs.

With the offical rate of black unemployment hovering at 14 percent throughout 1975 it is only natural that blacks should anxiously seek solutions to the devastating effect that unemployment is having on their communities and lives. Those who propose that seniority rights should be abrogated by court decision, legislative action, or public pressure honestly believe that this would benefit the black unemployed and underemployed. They argue that it is the seniority system itself which is the cause of the excessively high unemployment among blacks. They imply that if the seniority system were abolished then many economic problems of black Americans would be overcome.

We disagree profoundly with this view. It is based on a lack of understanding of the nature, purpose and history of the seniority system. It lacks an analysis of the conditions which are actually responsible for the economic oppression of black Americans. And, because it also ignores the political consequences of attacking seniority it does not present a realistic or effective strategy to reverse the deteriorating economic conditions of black Americans.

The attacks on seniority are nurtured in the soil of despair and frustration over the dismal economic outlook for blacks if excessive unemployment continues until 1980 or beyond. But like all ideas born of frustration, the attack on seniority rights essentially provides expression for anger without altering the underlying conditions that produce it. Indeed, it may well be that a strategy of attacking seniority will prolong the economic devastation of black Americans.

If some blacks feel that seniority is against their interests it is in part because the principle of seniority seems to resemble the slogan that summarized the employment discrimination which so long brutalized blacks—"last hired, first fired." Under this principle of systematic discrimination, employers hired blacks only when there were no available whites and fired blacks at the first available opportunity.

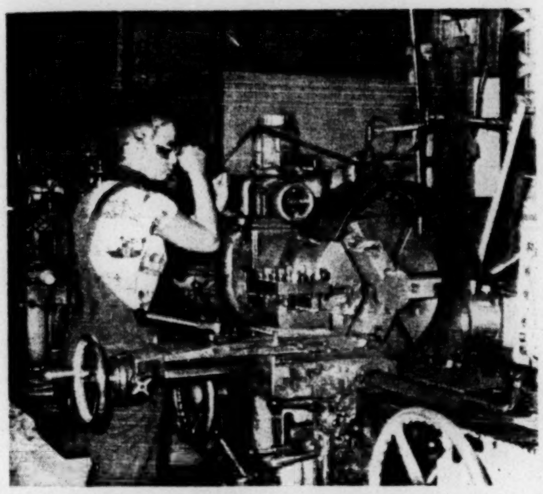
The principle of seniority is often summarized by the same slogan—"last hired, first fired." The similarity of the slogans obscures the fundamental differences in the way in which the two principles operate.

Employment discrimination meant that blacks were hired and fired on the basis of their color. Seniority is exactly the opposite. Seniority is a necessary right that protects workers from the whims and prejudices of employers. Not the least of its protections is its preventing employers from arbitrarily forcing the brunt of layoffs on blacks, according to the old "last hired, first fired" racial principle.

Seniority is an equitable principle; it treats workers on a fair and rational basis not related to race, religion, creed, or sex. But it is more than this. It is a just and humanitarian principle accepted overwhelmingly by the American people. Next to the union card itself seniority is the most important possession of American workers as it protects them from the arbitrary and capricious decisions of employers.

Seniority does not simply govern who is to be laid off first. It is also the criteria by which is decided who should work the graveyard shift, who will have the first opportunity for transfers, upgrading, and promotion, who will get the first choice of vacation time. The courts have termed seniority a vested right. That is, they have said that seniority is *earned* by the worker's service for a company.

While some critics acknowledge the importance and value of seniority, they conclude that seniority must be abridged during the emergency of the recession. While we sympathize with their senti-



ments that something must be done to ease the plight of black workers who have been laid off we do not believe that the answer to black unemployment is to abolish or weaken seniority.

If seniority were to vanish tonight, there would not be more jobs tomorrow. Even if seniority were to disappear and blacks were to be given preference in rehiring, no new jobs for blacks would be created by throwing whites out of their jobs. If black unemployment were as "low" as white unemployment (eight percent or more throughout 1975) there would still remain immense problems of unemployment, underemployment, and poverty for blacks.

Seniority is being blamed for social conditions, particularly discrimination in hiring, which it did not create and which its abolition will not solve.

The critics of seniority are correct in concluding that unemployment in general and the disproportionate unemployment among blacks are the result of society's failure. They are correct in judging that it is society's responsibility to remedy this failure. But doing away with seniority would not end unemployment. It would not make society as a whole correct its shortcomings. Instead it would place the burden almost entirely on workers whose economic condition is not much better than those who would be given their jobs.

The attack on seniority is particularly tragic for it pits blacks against one of our oldest and staunchest allies, the labor movement. The tragedy is compounded because the critics of seniority have attacked labor on erroneous and unfair grounds. Labor is blamed for not adopting a fallacious and ineffective solution to unemployment. Attention and energies are devoted to a confrontation with the labor movement instead of joining with the labor movement to fight for jobs.

The labor movement, like every other American institution, is not without a record of racial discrimination. Nonetheless, it is today the most integrated segment of American society. The labor movement not only provided the crucial political muscle that was necessary to enact the civil rights legislation of the '60s, it was far out in front of other institutions in its willingness to set its house in order. In 1963, for example, George Meany was successful in getting Congress to add a title to the Civil Rights bill banning discrimination on account of race, sex, religion and national origin, by employers, employment agencies, *and unions*.

The myth of union racism, nonetheless, remains very powerful. Unions, to be sure, play a role in the problem of job discrimination in the United States, but we should see that role in perspective. The overwhelming majority of hiring done in this country is done by employers. Of the charges of job discrimination by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 85 percent are brought against employers and the other 15 percent is divided between employment agencies and trade unions. Despite this, the lion's share of public attention to the problem is focused on discrimination by unions. If we are serious about combatting the problem of black unemployment we will keep this in perspective and remember that the union movement has fought harder, longer, and more effectively than any other institution to improve job opportunities for minority workers.

The unions are a concrete target, an identifiable enemy, while the economy is a complex and amorphous system. It is much easier to attack the labor movement by proposing the abolition of seniority than to come up with a program that will achieve full employment. But simplistic answers will not make any real contribution to ending black unemployment and underemployment.

The critics of seniority make unsound proposals because they do not fully understand the changes in seniority that have been made in the struggle against discrimination. There is a big difference between, on the one hand, plant-wide seniority and phantom or fictional seniority, on the other.

There is no doubt that there has been employment discrimination. It is reasonable to conclude that in some instances the seniority system might perpetuate those injustices. For the black or other minority worker who was discriminatorily denied employment or promotion, the just solution is that he or she be given the opportunity to advance to his or her "rightful place," by granting the seniority that would have accumulated but for the past discrimination. In the past, and to a lesser extent today, employers have often segregated blacks in menial tasks and dead-end jobs. Seniority systems based upon length of service in a specific job or department without the privilege to advance with full seniority would obviously perpetuate the effects of past discrimination. The courts have recognized the injustice of this procedure and have correctly determined that a seniority system based on job or departmental service is not a bona fide seniority system, within the meaning of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 if it has a harmful effect on women or minorities. They have insisted when this occurs that departmental or job seniority be replaced by plant-wide seniority. Thus a black in one department, on the basis of his seniority in the plant will have priority in filling a position in another department where there will be greater opportunities for advancement, without loss of seniority and sometimes with full rate retention. Retaining pay rates is, unfortunately, not automatic; it has to be negotiated at the bargaining table, and not every bargaining unit has succeeded in gaining it.

Fictional or phantom seniority is an entirely different matter. The proposal here is that blacks as a class should receive preferential or fictional seniority. Thus, some prominent black leaders have actually called for whites with 20 years or more seniority to lose their jobs to young blacks who would not have even been old enough to have held the job when the whites were initially hired. It would be foolhardy to expect whites to sit back and accept arrangements of this sort as fair and equitable.

Indeed we anticipate that the reaction would be quite different. As fiercely as whites have rejected busing and housing integration, they will even more determinedly defend their jobs. Losing one's job because of the breaking of seniority rights is more than an inconvenience; it is being deprived of one's livelihood.

Lest there be confusion about what we are saying, we want to emphasize that the reaction of white workers to the loss of seniority would not be racial. What whites would object to is not a black getting a job, but losing their own. Of course, their frustrations at what they would see as a monumental injustice would be expressed in racial terms.

But whites with seniority would react just as violently if these taking their jobs were some other ethic group or if the beneficiaries were younger whites. The white worker who vigorously protects his job is not necessarily anti-black. He might well vote for candidates who would put America back to work and probably would support spending tax dollars to train the poor and unemployed. But it doesn't make any sense to him to be asked to sacrifice his job while the Rockefellers and the giant corporations go untouched.

The argument over seniority only appears to divide workers along racial lines. The real division is between those who have more and those who have less seniority. In fact, it is conceivable that situations will arise where blacks are asked to give up the protection of accumulated seniority in order to protect some other group. There is a relatively simply way for blacks to understand why whites oppose breaking seniority rights. Ask black men with four years seniority if they will give up their jobs for women with two years seniority, for black women with two years seniority. We have frequently asked such questions and have, thus far, found no one who accepts such a principle. Whites oppose giving up their jobs to insure a certain percentage of black workers for precisely the same reasons that black men resist giving up their jobs to insure a certain percentage of women workers.

There is a world of difference between proposals to wreck or tamper with seniority rights and reforms of the seniority system to make it more fully reflect the principles of equity. The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and International unions have made major efforts to speed the transition from departmental to plant-wide seniority.

Some unions have adopted work-sharing and similar proposals. When done voluntarily to maximize the economic condition of the whole work force, such steps do not divide workers. Some unions have been able to negotiate collective bargaining agreements providing incentives for senior employees to opt for early retirement, thereby giving work opportunities to junior employees. Other unions have provided for the sharing of reduced work by all employees during a temporary emergency period.

As important as these measures are, it would be a major mistake to mount a public pressure campaign to force more unions to adopt work sharing. A campaign for work sharing would only divert energies from the more crucial struggle for full employment. And even if work sharing were more widely adopted it would mean a reduction in the total economic benefits available to the working force as a whole.

As the primary motivation for the attacks on seniority is a response to high unemployment, the argument against seniority must ultimately be accepted or rejected on economic grounds. Restriction or abolition of seniority is only one of a number of gimmicks that have been put forward to deal with the crisis of unemployment. Like proposals for shortened work weeks, reduction of benefits, or across-the-board pay cuts, attacking seniority would be little more than an equitable sharing of poverty.

The acceptance of anti-seniority formulas means a lessening of the commitment to full employment. When blacks employ anti-seniority rhetoric, they are accepting the proposition that it is inevitable that economic stagnation and high unemployment continue for years to come. Though seemingly radical, the anti-seniority mood means a lowering of our sights and aspirations. It pushes to the forefront the economic goals of equal unemployment for blacks and whites, while deemphasizing or ignoring the urgent need for more jobs for blacks and whites alike.

Paradoxically, by one measure, the ratio of black to white unemployment, the economic condition of blacks has actually improved during the recession. In March of 1974 there were 2 blacks unemployed for every white unemployed but in March of 1975 there were "only" 1.8 blacks unemployed for every white unemployed. Similarly, during the year from March 1974 to March 1975 white unemployment increased by 56 percent and black unemployment by only 44 percent. Of course, the reason for these surprising statistics was that black unemployment was already at recession levels in March of 1974.

But these statistics do illustrate two facts of crucial importance to the debate over seniority. First, it is not blacks alone who have suffered from the recession; unemployment has also had a devastating effect on white workers. Second, the causes of black unemployment are infinitely more deeply rooted than a senority system which lays off junior workers first.

To the extent that blacks suffer disproportionate unemployment during recessions it is not primarily the result of present discrimination but the consequence of past discrimination, poor education, lack of job training and skills, and inadequate job opportunities.

The only periods in which blacks have been able to make economic advances are during periods of economic growth and near-full employment. Black economist Andrew Brimmer warns that "If . . . the higher national (unemployment) rates were to prevail, at the end of this decade, the effects on blacks would be particularly adverse. Under those circumstances, blacks would have little chance to resume the progress (checked by two recessions) toward closing the economic gaps they suffer vis-a-vis whites."

The political implications which Brimmer drew from this dismal outlook is that when the black community recognizes the consequences of this unpromising outlook it will mobilize its political power, which is considerable and growing, to lift the economy above the sub-par performance it might otherwise produce in the years ahead.

Whatever else it might do, attacking seniority is not a program to lift the economy above its sub-par performance. But it *will* divert energies from the need to achieve a real economic transformation. For even if the more optimistic predictions of the Ford administration come true, blacks will still be stuck in the recession. If the national unemployment rate were to decrease to 5 percent in 1980, black unemployment would be about 9.1 percent. This high rate of unemployment and the entry of over 1.5 million blacks into the labor force would mean that black unemployment would decrease only from 1.4 million in 1975 to 1.1 million. This would be no improvement over 1974 when black unemployment was about 1 million. The only solution to black unemployment is full employment. Instead of engaging in debate among ourselves and disputes with the labor movement over the seniority system we should join in fighting for a national commitment to reduce unemployment to 3 percent or less.

Some of the attacks on seniority are based on the mistaken notion that if whites suffered the same degree of unemployment as blacks the nation would not tolerate high unemployment. There is a grain of truth in this. But that does not mean that a strategy of increasing white unemployment to the levels of black unemployment will lead to a political movement to decrease unemployment. Far from it. The result would be instead to inflame already volatile racial tensions.

Others suggest that seniority should be temporarily modified to preserve black jobs until there is a national commitment to full employment. The moderation of this proposal has much to commend it, but its political and therefore economic consequences would have equally disastrous results. It, too, would pit black worker against white worker to the detriment of both. The cardinal rule of political life for black Americans is that we do not *by ourselves* have the political or economic strength to accomplish any of the things we so desperately need. We have never gotten anything by simply being right. Instead we have required allies to get what is right. Thus the second rule is that we must define our agenda so as to win the support of groups with similar goals. We will not be able to solve the problem of black unemployment if we present it as a black issue. The only way to solve the problem is to define our goal as *full employment for all.*

The advocates of seniority-busting have forgotten these rules. By excluding white workers from being part of the problem and by asking white workers to pay the cost of the solution, they divide workers along racial lines. By making the issue jobs for blacks they force white workers to see the dangers to their jobs as the demands of black workers and not an economy that doesn't produce enough jobs for everyone. The anti-seniority efforts drive a wedge between black workers and white workers. Moreover, the seniority issue presents the opportunity for the worst sort of racial demagogues to further separate whites and blacks.

Virtually every black leader is committed to full employment, but what is lacking is a political strategy to achieve full employment. In all too many cases, the conception is entirely negative—that is, the idea is how to prevent high black unemployment, not how to achieve full employment. Thus proposals like tampering with seniority are put forward which, in a misguided effort to halt the the economic deterioration of black Americans, actually make it more difficult to achieve full employment by frustrating the building of the coalition which is required to obtain full employment.

The only possible solution for black unemployment is full employment. We should not waste our energies and resources fighting a hopeless and counterproductive battle to abolish or weaken seniority rights. But by joining with the labor movement and others there is an excellent chance that a national commitment to full employment can be won. That is the task that is before us.

# The A. Philip Randolph Institute

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was established in 1965, the year in which the black struggle won one of its greatest legislative victories, the Voting Rights Act. The premise on which the Institute was founded was that to go beyond the achievement of civil rights would require a movement which sought basic, far-reaching institutional changes in the nation's social and economic structures. The means of effecting this transformation, moreover, would be political. Thus the Institute's programs are directed to extending democracy to those who have been traditionally disenfranchised or discouraged from participating in the political system.

The changes in the ensuing years have been dramatic. Millions more blacks are voting each year, and over 3,000 blacks serve as elected officials. But representation in and of itself is not enough—witness the scandalous rate of black unemployment, the deterioration of housing in the ghetto, and the inability to stem inner-city blight. Blacks alone cannot secure the changes in national policy necessary to complete the legacy of the civil rights movement.

This is why the Institute has worked for the creation of a broad-based, national coalition of those forces who believe in social progress for minorities, the poor and working people. The labor movement occupies a pivotal role within this alliance, since it serves as a biracial organizational vehicle of working people, and because of its principled commitment to social change.

Another lesson of the past decade

is that separatism, no matter how it is expressed, is self-defeating and as crippling to blacks as was Jim Crow before it. The Institute believes in integration in all aspects of society, as well as in a strongly interracial political alliance.

We also believe in the black trade unionist as a source of strength in society. Our programs seek to enhance the role of the black unionist, both in the black community and in the labor movement itself.

These are the ideals which guided A. Philip Randolph in his life-long struggle for racial and social progress. They are the principles which produced the March on Washington, the successful campaigns to organize black workers, and the struggles against discrimination in federal employment and Jim Crow in the armed services.

## VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

The Randolph Institute was founded on the premise that racial equality would ultimately be won at the ballot box. This belief is reflected in the Institute's priorities. Its most important project is a voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaign in black neighborhoods which has helped to transform the American political system. This program is responsible for adding hundreds of thousands of minority voters to the rolls during the past few years. It has been a vital force in extending democracy to communities which for years were disenfranchised and lacked political tradition.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Each year the Institute sponsors a conference which draws leading black trade union activists from across the country. The participants represent a broad cross-section of the labor movement.

While those who participate in the conference represent different social arenas, they share in common a commitment to building a bi-racial coalition whose program and leaders appeal to the majority of Americans who are working people.

## COMPLETING THE CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA

The adoption of the civil rights laws and anti-poverty measures during the 1960s did not represent a total fulfillment of the civil rights movement's basic program. The persistence of poverty and inequality, the difficulty in achieving integration, the increasing cost of such basic social services as housing and medical care—together demonstrate the need for broad changes that can only be effected through the legislative process.

In the past few years the Institute's efforts have moved in two directions. The first is the campaign to beat back the assault on civil rights and social legislation.

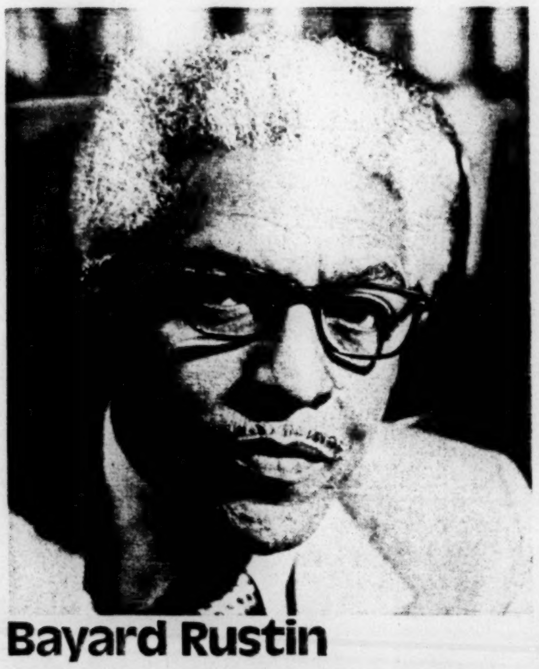
The Institute is also active in the struggle to achieve further legislative progress to expand economic equality, social freedom and political democracy.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM

The Randolph Institute is in the forefront of support for freedom movements abroad. A foundation of the Institute's philosophy is that those who have been the victims of prejudice should be the the first to speak out when other minorities are oppressed.

## SUPPORTING THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Randolph Institute is committed to advancing the cause of trade unionism. It has assisted workers in their struggles to organize, helped coordinate boycott campaigns, and provided valuable assistance in crucial strike situations.



## Bayard Rustin

was born on March 10, 1910 in West Chester, Pa. After graduating from West Chester High School, where he was a a member of championship football and track teams, he traveled extensively, doing odd jobs to earn money for college. In 1931, he enrolled in Wilberforce University and later attended Cheyney State College and the City College of New York, where he earned his tuition by singing with Josh White and Leadbelly.

From 1941 to 1953, Mr. Rustin served as Race Relations Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. During that period he was also a youth organizer for A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington (1941), and became the first field secretary of the newly formed Congress of Racial Equality (1941). In 1942, he went to California to help protect the property of Japanese-Americans who had been placed in work camps. The following year Mr. Rustin was imprisoned in Lewisburg Penitentiary as a conscientious objector.

Upon his release in 1945 Mr. Rustin became chairman of the Free India Committee and was frequently arrested for sitting-in at the British Embassy. Three years later, at the invitation of the Congress Party, he made his first of several trips to India.

In 1947, Mr. Rustin participated in the first Freedom Ride—the Journey of Reconciliation which was designed to test enforcement of the 1946 Irene Morgan case outlawing discrimination in interstate travel. Arrested in North Carolina, he served 30 days on a chain gang. His report of this experience appeared in the *New York Post*, prompting an investigation which led to the abolition of the chain gang in North Carolina.

In 1951, Mr. Rustin went to West Africa where he worked with Azikewe and Nkrumah. He helped organize the Committee to Support South African Resistance, which in 1953 became the American Committee on Africa. At this time he also became Director of Mr. Randolph's Committee against Discrimination in the Armed Forces, which secured President Truman's executive order eliminating segregation in the military services.

In 1953, Mr. Rustin became Executive Secretary of the War Resister's League, a pacifist organization. Two years later he went to Montgomery, Alabama at the invitation of Martin Luther King, to assist in the organization of Dr. King's boycott. The following year he drew up, at Dr. King's request, the first plans for the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For seven years Mr. Rustin served as special assistant to Dr. King.

In 1957, Mr. Rustin coordinated the 35,000-strong Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington for civil rights. The Youth Marches for Integrated Schools, which he directed, followed in 1958 and 1959. In 1960, when Dr. King was indicted on false charges of perjury in connection with his income tax returns, Mr. Rustin was appointed director of the defense committee which succeeded in winning Dr. King's case.

Mr. Rustin was Deputy Director of the

March on Washington of August 28, 1963, which brought over 250,000 persons to the nation's capital and paved the way for passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. He directed the New York school boycott of February 3, 1964—the largest civil rights demonstration up to that time. He aided the striking Memphis sanitation workers in raising $100,000 and organized the massive march following Dr. King's assassination in 1968.

Mr. Rustin has been arrested 24 times in the struggle for civil rights. He is currently President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which, since it was founded in 1964, has conducted voter registration programs, worked to solidify relations between blacks, liberals and unions, and pushed for laws and policies which promote economic equality. He helped plan and put into operation the Recruitment and Training Program, which has been responsible for placing over 13,000 minority youths as apprentices and journeymen in the skilled building trades. Mr. Rustin also serves as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and has received a number of honorary degrees. *Down the Line,* a collection of his essays and journalism, was published in 1972.

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## Norman Hill

was born in 1933. He attained his degree in sociology at Haverford College in 1956. After finishing military service he joined the civil rights movement in Chicago, working as Chicago Coordinator, Youth March for Integrated Schools; Secretary, Chicago Area Negro American Labor Council; Staff Chairman, Chicago March on Conventions; and Secretary of the Chicago Wade-Ins, integrating Rainbow Beach.

Mr. Hill then joined the staff of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), first as East Coast Field Secretary, then as National Program Director from 1961 to 1964. He coordinated the Route 40 (Baltimore to Washington, D.C.) restaurant desegregation campaign, as well as the campaigns that increased and upgraded non-white employees at the Waldorf Astoria, A&P Stores and Trailways Bus Company. He also led the civil rights demonstration at the 1964 Republican National Convention.

Later Mr. Hill initiated national action program in jobs, housing and education. He convened a series of regional conferences for CORE's internal education program on the thrust of the civil rights movement, and developed national program guides and how-to books for CORE.

Working with Bayard Rustin on the March on Washington, he initiated coalitions that mobilized participants from Baltimore, Chicago, Louisville, Cincinnati, Minneapolis and St. Paul. He represented James Farmer, then national director of CORE, on the organization's March Policy Board.

From 1964 to 1967 Mr. Hill served

as Legislative Representative and Civil Rights Liaison of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. He helped coordinate Dr. Martin Luther King's six-city, 1964 get-out-the-vote tour. He lobbied to increase the minimum wage. He was in the labor delegation in the Selma-Montgomery march against racial discrimination in voting in the Deep South.

From 1967 to the present he has been associated with the A. Philip Randolph Institute, where he now serves as Executive Director. With the Institute, he helped coordinate the Memphis march at the time of Dr. King's assassination.

In addition to fulfilling speaking engagements throughout the country, Mr. Hill organizes local A. Philip Randolph Institute chapters which carry out voter registration, voter education and get-out-the-vote campaigns. The members of these local groups come mostly from the ranks of trade unions.

Mr. Hill was one of the planners of the Recruitment and Training Program, which has been responsible for placing over 13,000 minority youths as apprentices and journeymen in the skilled building trades.

Mr. Hill has published major articles in AFL-CIO and American Civil Liberties Union publications. Among other activities he serves on the governing boards of the Workers Defense League, the Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund for Racial Equality (SEDFRE), and the World Without War Council. He is on the American Friends Service Committee and the Equality Committee of the ACLU.

NO. 9-70 Rustin speeches. April 27, 1970

MEMO from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
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GEORGE MEANY, Chairman LANE KIRKLAND, Secretary-Treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN, National Director

# Coalition: the Only Route to Victory

*(Following is the text of a speech by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin to a recent COPE Area Conference. Rustin is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.)*

We are undoubtedly in the most difficult period of our nation since the end of the Reconstruction period almost 100 years ago. And whether we like it or not, what happens in the elections of 1970 will set the mood, the social atmosphere and the political alliances which will control this country through 1972 and 1976.

The battle is now in progress to determine the direction this country is going to take. Now, people may argue that this is a very philosophical position and not politically demonstrable at the moment. But I would call attention to the fact that almost 100 years ago, in 1876, we were in the same kind of period.

RUSTIN
. . . Coalition has been basis of progress

The great decision at that time was over whether Hayes or Tilden was to become President of the United States. A "southern strategy" was adopted in which the man who had actually lost the presidency, Hayes, was made president. And a decision was made at that time similar to the "southern strategy" decision that President Nixon appears to have made, which led to a compromise between the most reactionary forces in the south and in the north—in which northern business was permitted to dominate southern business, in which the whites of the south were pulled into the bargain on the basis that they would get nothing out of the arrangement except the right to call colored people "niggers" and to feel better. And on that basis the Union army was withdrawn from the south, and it was not until 1954, the year of the Supreme Court desegregation decision, that what had occurred then could begin to be erased.

Now, my friends, we had better look closely at the danger this administration and its southern strategy poses. The danger is that this strategy is calculated to destroy the coalition of forces which Franklin D. Roosevelt built and which has been the basis of all progress for working people, black people, poor people and minority people in this country.

There is not a single bit of legislation to which you can point that is of any significance that did not emerge from the Roosevelt coalition of laboring people and minority people, with some students, some intellectuals and some middle class people.

**Now Nixon is out to break this, and he is out to break it by capturing the Wallace vote. There is only one way for him to capture the Wallace vote, and that is to out-Wallace Wallace, while wearing a grey flannel suit instead of jeans such as Wallace wears politically.**

And this is done by creating the strategy of scarcity. There is only one way to destroy this labor-minorities coalition, and that is through scarcity, because scarcity will bring about further divisions between old and young, between rich and poor, between black and white—but more seriously, between those who believe in the political process and those who don't.

Now, what President Nixon is depending on is division. While he talks about unity, his objective is division, and he creates this division through policies that make whites fearful and make blacks, who are already frustrated, enraged.

*(Continued on Page 2)*

# Coalition Only Victory Route

*(Continued from Page 1)*

The "Philadelphia plan" is a good illustration of this. He climbs on a white charger supposedly in the interest of black people in order to discredit trade unions.

The Philadelphia plan does not say a thing, except that a contractor must make a good will effort to get Negroes in. So the contractor writes a letter to an Urban League guy or an NAACP guy, and he picks up five blacks who are not new to the trade, but come off another job.

So he picks up five. Now he's OK. He's made a "good will" effort. The building goes up. He fires them two weeks later and they are hired by another contractor who wants to make a "good will" effort, and not a single new job for any blacks.

But while Nixon is on this charger in the interest of black people, he says, incidentally what I forgot to tell you the other day was we have to cut back construction 75 percent. Now I ask you, how can the building trades bring in more minorities while the administration is cutting back federal construction 75 percent?

The result purely and simply is to make the black community angry with the building trades, and a lot of blacks and liberals are falling for that foolishness, not understanding what this administration's objective is.

My friends, so long as there are inadequate houses in this nation, blacks will be enraged because they do not have them, and whites will be fearful that someone else will come and get their house. This is what the President's "southern strategy" advisers know.

**As long as there is unemployment, and as long as the President intends to deal with problems of inflation by making more unemployment, he knows as well as I know that blacks, who have not had jobs for generations, and still do not have them, will be enraged. And whites will be fearful that blacks will come and get the few jobs that are left when there is a scarcity of jobs. The same goes for housing, education, medical care and the likes.**

Now, it is in the face of this threat that we must not permit the foolishness of some in the Negro community to obstruct our brothers in the trade union movement who are white from keeping their heads and being sensible. And we must not permit the vestiges of discrimination in the trade union movement, which have not yet been cleared up, to obscure in the eyes of the Negro community the positive things labor has done.

This must be done because some in the black community are making common cause with the foes of black people and of unions. One self-styled black leader went south to see the governors of Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia in the interest of segregated schools, and of course he was applauded, brought in and given some fried chicken at the same table. Segregationists have no objection to eating at the same table with you if your objective is to separate everybody.

Then, this same man goes out to California and endorses "right-to-work" and becomes in effect a tub-

*(Continued on Page 4)*

## *Mondale Blasts Rights Retreat*

**The Nixon administration's retreat on equal rights has been blasted by Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.) as "a steady pattern of lawlessness . . . where it comes to enforcement of human rights laws."**

**MONDALE**

**Asked on a network broadcast about Attorney General John N. Mitchell's statement to a Republican leadership conference that citizens have "the right to reject unreasonable requirements of busing," Mondale replied that Mitchell seemed to be saying "that the people have the right to disobey the law as issued by a court . . ."**

**"If so, I not only think he is wrong, I think he is counseling illegal action," Mondale said. "And of course, that is not a surprise coming out of this administration. They have . . . actually counseled opposition to court orders. They have appealed the order out of Charlotte (N.C.). The President has openly and in unprecedented fashion criticized the court in Los Angeles.**

**"The President of the United States was very silent, strangely, when the Governor of Florida openly flouted the law of the land and the orders of the Federal District Court in Manatee County. (EDITOR'S NOTE: GOP Gov. Claude Kirk "stood in the schoolhouse door" to prevent desegregation.) The President could not find it possible to be critical of the Lamar, S.C., situation where, through violence, they attacked the school bus with schoolchildren on it. We have a steady pattern of lawlessness on the part of this administration where it comes to enforcement of human rights laws."**

# Rustin: A Need for One Another

(Continued from Page 2)

thumper for the Right-to-Work Committee. Then, he says Carswell is good for the Supreme Court because he will set up separated Negro school districts.

This is not a sensible black man. And on the other side we have the same types of white people in the trade union movement who went out to vote for George Wallace and who support all kinds of people.

Now, we have to see, my friends, that we make a new bargain—not the old bargain made in 1876. We'll make a new bargain. And it is that if the black people have endured the Ku Klux Klan and George Wallace and their ilk for 300 years, white people can endure a few blacks like Rap Brown and Stokeley for a while without getting the notion that the basic labor-minorities coalition is obsolete.

**My friends, there is great strength in this movement, in this coalition, and don't let anyone tell you it's dead. This coalition can only be destroyed if we destroy it from within. It cannot be destroyed from without, if we stand firm.**

We beat Haynsworth back and we beat Carswell back, and I think the most important lesson we have to learn from Carswell we learn from George Meany.

Somebody said to George Meany, "George, what do you know about Carswell's record on labor?" And George Meany said, " I don't know what his record is on labor because he has never been active enough in this regard to have a record." Then he added what was the wisest word said about the Carswell nomination "What I do know from history," he said, "is that any man who has a record on civil rights such as Carswell has must have an anti-labor bias—because the two go hand in hand."

Now let me say in conclusion, my friends, that an alliance is not necessarily based, as a marriage is, on love and affection. You know, people often jump on me for defending the labor movement. How can I do anything but defend the labor movement since all black folks are workers? We either make it or we don't make it in the trade union movement.

Do you realize that if you added up all the money that the two million black people who are in the trade union movement make and then on the other side add up all the money that those who are outside the trade union movement make, that 37 percent more money is made by blacks in the trade union movement.

**I don't defend everything about it, but I have to, and want to, defend it. But, you have got to defend the right of minorities to political power to the degree that they deserve it, because there is not a single state where there is a "right to work" law or other anti-union act threatened that it could come if the black brother stands firm with the trade union movement, and that goes down the line on anything that is anti-labor.**

We are one, and we are one because we have mutual need for one another. It's simple mathematics. We need you, and you need us.

But, my friends, if this coalition is to work well two things have got to cease. The black brother today is not what the black brother was five years ago. He can perform in the trade union movement and in the black community to the degree that he has visibility in decision-making within the trade union movement and in administration of the trade union movement.

And secondly, the black brothers have got to understand that no matter what we are faced with in the fight for visibility and the fight for elimination of any vestige of discrimination in the trade union movement, we must work for them **not outside of the trade union movement but inside** where we can democratically achieve the unity we need and continue to build the coalition of labor and minorities without which no progress is possible for either of us.

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# A RENEWED ATTACK ON LABOR
by Bayard Rustin

America's labor movement has rarely received a square deal from the press. Therefore it should come as no surprise that trade unions are currently being subjected to a consistent barrage of criticism. What is surprising, however, is the particular vehemence with which the trade union movement is being criticized at a time when it is attempting to move in directions which would increase its involvement in the political process and at a time when it is beginning to formulate a response to the Reagan Administration's economic proposals.

Press criticism has come from all corners. From the left, one critic has lashed out at "entrenched leaders" who "not only control the mechanisms of power, but sit astride bureaucratic structures that work to defuse opposition." One prominent business weekly has criticized the AFL-CIO's Executive Council for generating "disappointingly stale bluster" and "blind repetition of well-worn platitudes." At root, is the labor leadership's unwillingness to address questions of labor productivity and job performance. A labor reporter for this newspaper has suggested that "labor is losing its grip." And President Ronald Reagan has accused organized labor of being out of step with its rank-and-file.

Let's take a look at these charges one by one. Critics charge that labor is controlled by entrenched bureaucrats. The fact of the matter is that labor's leadership is democratically elected and elections are often close and hotly contested. Critics accuse labor of being uninterested in productivity. In truth labor is not only worried about American industry losing its competitive edge but there is statistical evidence which shows that in manufacturing, the productivity of unionized workers is substantially higher than that of unorganized workers. As for the charge that organized labor is politically ineffective, the evidence of the last election shows that union members and their families voted for Jimmy Carter by a higher percentage than any other segment of the population with the exception of minorities. No one can deny that there was a shift away from Democratic candidates in the last election, but the blame for this shift must rest squarely with the Democratic Party which has minimized the input of labor leaders in its highest councils. And finally, President Reagan's suggestion that labor is out of step with its members is simply untrue. Union members are deeply concerned about such issues as plant relocation, workplace safety, job security, the minimum wage, and unemployment. It is Mr. Reagan's stand on these questions that is out of touch with worker needs and desires and not the labor leadership's.

The recent spate of poor press and President Reagan's criticism is not only ill-founded but it has obscured the fact that the labor movement is moving forward in a number of innovative directions. This month (March) the AFL-CIO is involved in a series of regional conferences at which the Federation's President Lane Kirkland and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Donahue will sit down with local and state trade union leaders as part of an effort to "help strengthen state federations and local bodies."

The AFL-CIO is also moving forward in an attempt to get the United Auto Workers to rejoin the fold. The federation has embarked on an effort to abandon its neutrality in party primaries and to take part more collective bargaining results in strikes), while the undramatic day-to-day work of the local union is unreported and invisible to most Americans.

Meanwhile, labor's national leaders, intelligent, capable spokesmen for constituencies often larger than those of Congressmen and some Senators, are rarely solicited by the media to express opinions on vital national and international issues.

The events of the last year in Poland have evoked a great deal of favorable attention in our press. But little attention has been paid to the role of a strong labor movement in guaranteeing the survival of a democratic society. Even less attention has been paid to the evidence that countries like Germany, Japan, and Sweden (all of which have experienced phenomenal growth in productivity since World War II) have more than twice the percentage of unionized workers as has the U.S.

A debate is beginning about productivity in our country. The first salvos in that debate have been fired by the press against the labor movement. Clearly, the labor movement can play a role in helping to increase worker productivity. But worker productivity and job performance can only be improved if the labor movement is successful in enhancing a worker's sense of shared commitment in the workplace. Whether this is accomplished through increased profit sharing through co-determination as in Germany, or through consultation with union leaders on such issues as plant closings, plant relocation, and corporate secrecy, the central role of organized labor must be acknowledged.

The answer to increased productivity lies in greater cooperation between employers and workers and their unions on the one hand and a renewed commitment to social justice on the other. An attack on the legitimacy of unions undermines such an effort and is against the national interest.

directly in the nominating process for national office. The Service Employees have launched an ambitious attempt to organize office workers. The Clothing and Textile Workers have won a major victory in the South against the J.P. Stevens Company by utilizing innovative techniques which involved consumer boycotts, pressure on the Stevens Company's business partners, demonstrations, and shareholders' proxy fights. And the labor movement has had tremendous success in increasing the levels of participation of black unionists, who today account for over 17 percent of the AFL-CIO's membership. Moreover, a recent study has found that black union members are far more active in the political process than their white counterparts.

With several exceptions, these developments have been given short shrift by the press, which for the most part treats labor unions as an anachronism or an obstacle to progress and productivity. A mythology has arisen about trade unions which portrays them as an amalgam of special interests led by "cigar chomping" bureaucrats.

What the labor movement is really about, however, is a national network of 60,000 union locals. Each of these involves scores and often hundreds of union members in voluntary administrative, political, and community activities. For the most part, local trade unionists are part-time unpaid volunteers who hold down full-time jobs outside the labor movement and who have roots in their own communities. While the activities of the Moral Majority and conservative political action committees are given extensive play in the media, the wide-ranging activism of the union local is ignored unless a strike erupts. But the truth of the matter is that strikes are ane exception rather than the rule (only 2 percent of

Bayard Rustin, the noted civil rights leader, is chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and of Social Democrats USA.

# Negro-Labor Alliance Keystone to Better Life for All

### By BAYARD RUSTIN

Remarks to a group of African delegates to the ICFTU congress in Amsterdam last month by the noted civil rights leader who helped organize the famous 1963 March to Washington.

AFRICAN Brothers, I bring you greetings from your black brothers in the United States who are engaged in a great battle for freedom. We are winning that battle with the help of millions of white Americans of conviction and good-will.

The civil rights movement in America is in principle committed to a free and democratic trade union movement. And we know that the ICFTU throughout the world and the AFL-CIO in the United States are committed to freedom for all men regardless of color, race or creed.

The past and present protest on the part of black men and women in the United States, has, in large part, been made possible by the economic uplift that resulted from the great organizational drive of the unions in the 1930's. Labor's struggle from that period on organized more and more Negro people with the result that economic degradation gave way to the creation of an employed proletariat capable of organization and political and social protest.

**Dr. Martin Luther King recognized that our greatest and most significant protest took place in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, precisely because Birmingham has the strongest trade union organization of any large city in the South. It was logical that Birmingham should have begun the new phase of the struggle.**

One of the chief reasons that the great march on Washington of August 28, 1963, achieved such worldwide attention sprang from the fact that tens of thousands of trade unionists marched and because the trade unions provided thousands of dollars to make it possible for thousands of unemployed Negroes to travel from their homes in the deep South to the nation's capital.

In 1964, for the first time in a century, the Congress of the United States passed a truly important civil rights bill. This bill outlawed discrimination in employment, in public accommodation and in voting. Our movement, and particularly the Negroes in it, are deeply indebted to the trade unions for the great part they played in getting Congress to pass the bill over the most strenuous opposition of Southern politicians.

Roy Wilkins, leader of the largest civil rights organization in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has stated again and again that "without the work of the trade unions and the religious groups, we should never have had the 1964 Civil Rights Bill."

But now that we have achieved the voting bills of 1964 and 1965, we see that the great remaining problems to be solved are economic in nature. Since 1954, the economic condition of the American Negro has increasingly and steadily worsened.

The technological revolution has challenged our economy. Automation has adversely affected all of America's poorly educated and unskilled workers. This revolution has created static unemployment. But it has most grievously crippled the Negro since he (out of this history of slavery and segregation and discrimination) is the least skilled and the most poorly educated.

**In this situation, all of America's poor, black and white, discover that the basic economic program outlined by the AFL-CIO must of necessity become the program of all those who would bring about the adjustments required in our economic life if the machines are not to brutalize men. The civil rights movement now seeks that we must adopt such a program if we are to help eradicate poverty and create a better life for all men regardless of color.**

And so the new and exciting directives of the civil rights movement are from protest to politics, from the struggle for dignity in public accommodation to concrete economic objectives. But, since the Negro is only one-tenth of the American population, he must make alliance with other groups in our society with similar objectives. First among such groups is the trade union movement—and then the religious groups, students, intellectuals and professional groups increasingly affected by automation.

Together we shall work for a $2 minimum wage, increased coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, full and fair employment, public works, shorter work week and shorter work day and year, etc.

Such a Negro-labor alliance is the most essential element in maintaining and extending economic and political freedom in our nation.

Before closing, African Brothers, let me say what a great contribution your trade unions have made to the freedom of my people in America. You know better than I do, that the backbone of most of your revolutionary movements were the workers organized into militant and democratic free trade unions.

It is not insignificant that the protest movement in my country began soon after you began to win your freedom. You gave us heart. You gave us courage. If black men in Africa could win freedom, so could we. Your presence at the United Nations, speaking for all black men and for freedom for all further encouraged us and deeply affected the attitude of our government toward segregation and discrimination.

We are deeply grateful to you, for again you have proven what every democratic and free trade unionist knows: Freedom is indivisible. I wish Africa well in the most difficult task of building further in Africa the most dynamic free trade union movement in the world.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
55 West 42nd Street New York, N. Y. 10036

# The Ballot Box and the Union Card

by

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

In the long history of the black man in America, no decade has been filled with more significant events than the one which will terminate at the close of this year. In the 1960's we have witnessed great social and political triumphs, and also saddening defeats. We have seen men of great stature emerge and suddenly disappear. There has been an unprecedented rise in the hopes and aspirations of black people, and we have seen the frustrations of these hopes lead to despair, violence, and withdrawal. We would have to go back a century to the time of the Civil War and Emancipation, to find a decade that approaches in significance the one we are now living through.

The sweep and complexity of events demand that we resist the temptation of an emotional and simplistic response and instead try to analyze the present situation with the utmost precision. What is demanded of blacks, therefore, is not undirected rage, however compelling this emotion may be, but a clear definition of political and economic objectives, as well as a strategy for achieving them. In the absence of such a program for social struggle, rage can only feed upon itself and lead to comforting but self-defeating forms of withdrawal, or to violence which would be destructive to all concerned. It will also induce in the white community the uncreative emotions of fear or guilt. This emotional dynamic of rage, fear and guilt is occurring with unusual force today, and its social consequences can only be reactionary.

The prevalence of confusing emotions has led many people to identify white racism as the most pressing and immediate problem that must be solved. I reject this analysis not because I think that white Americans are innocent of racism--many, I'm sure, are guilty of prejudice, as are some people of all races--but because it cannot lead to a constructive programmatic solution to the plight of black Americans. In the first place, if we locate the source of the problem in the attitudes of the white people, it follows that the solution must be mass psychoanalysis, something I find neither practical nor appealing. More importantly, white breast-beating will hardly help the black youth who is unemployed or the black child who is being miseducated. But what it will do will be to compel the guilty individuals, by a soothing process of rationalization and self-delusion, to justify their position. Thus, unintentionally, and perhaps even unconsciously, they may eventually give their tacit approval to the growing white reaction against the movement for equality.

We have, therefore, to focus our attention on the social and economic conditions which have produced poverty, segregation, deteriorated housing, inferior schools, and poor health. If we can alter these fundamental difficulties, I do not think it unlikely that we shall also see a marked reduction in rage, fear, and racism, as the emotions and attitudes of individuals adjust to new and more equitable social conditions. But of course such conditions do not evolve spontaneously out of the natural development of the society. They can be brought about only by a political movement that has as its specific objective their attainment.

But no such movement exists today. Nor is there any serious thought being given to how to build this movement or what it should be composed of. What we have instead are various go-it-alone proposals that are made more out of the desire to withdraw from social struggle than the hope that anything worthwhile can thereby be achieved. And to fill the vacuum that has been created by the absence of effective programs, we have a melange of cheap solutions, new forms of exploitation, and psychological palliatives.

There is, for example, the peculiar notion of drawing industry into the ghetto through tax incentives. The new concern of business leaders with the plight of the poor is admirable, and the Urban Coalition and similar organizations have an important contribution to make. But it is highly misleading to propose the concept that private enterprise can rebuild our slums more cheaply than the Federal Government. On the contrary, I think it would be more expensive precisely because private enterprise, unlike the government, demands a profit margin which in this case would be provided by tax advantages. As the 1969 Report of the Council of Economic Advisers pointed out, "a dollar of direct expenditure and a dollar of tax incentive have identical effects upon the budget, requiring either a reduction in other Federal programs or an increase in taxes. One technique adds to Federal expenditures; the other lowers Federal tax receipts." Thus, by the latter technique, funds that might otherwise build homes would be used to guarantee earnings for the investor. At a recent meeting of bankers, lawyers, and businessmen who favor tax incentive proposals, it was explained how a private investor, by sponsoring a Federal housing program, might earn an income of $126,000 and avoid paying anything in taxes. The source of enthusiasm for such proposals is financial profit, not social justice.

There is also much talk of black capitalism as the means by which Negroes can achieve "self determination." This is also a highly dubious economic strategy. Negroes are overwhelmingly a working class people, and where they have engaged in enterpreneurial activity, it has usually been in the marginal area of small-scale neighborhood services. In general, therefore, Negroes have little to gain from black capitalism, but it is highly popular today among a small, vocal minority of black nationalists. For them, profit and separatism are interdependent, for behind the walls of segregation they will be able to monopolize the ghetto market. Andrew Brimmer, the only Negro member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, has pointed out that the recent progress of desegregation has eroded "the considerable protection which segregation provided for Negro businessmen." The proposal for black capitalism is an attempt to reestablish a separate and profitable economy, and that it is being made at a time of heightened black nationalism is thus not entirely coincidental. But segregation--for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many--can by no means be considered a progressive proposal.

Nor can the idea of reparations. James Forman's "Black Manifesto" is actually only an aggressive form of begging and hustling. It sounds militant, and it provides masochistic churchmen with the opportunity to expiate their guilt, but, in effect, Forman is asking for a handout amounting to only $20 for every black person (although the money, if ever given, would certainly not be so evenly distributed). The payment of this pittance would hardly set straight the balance of injustices committed against black people, and it is absurd to even think in such terms. It is the opportunity to work with dignity--not charity--that black people today need and desire.

And finally, there are those who propose violence as the solution to the problems of poverty and injustice. The rationale here is that by threat of force, black people can extort from the white community the resources they need to improve the conditions of their lives. This tactic is suicidal. Whites may for a time make minor concessions to blacks who use violence--and thereby help to discredit non-violence as an effective means for achieving social change--but the point must inevitably be reached when the state will take repressive measures which will inflict untold harm upon the black community. Those who romanticize black violence--particularly the pseudo-revolutionaries of the New Left who can retreat into their universitites and suburbs when the repression comes--deserve special condemnation.

I should add that blacks have already suffered great losses from the ghetto riots of recent years, not only in lives, but also in property and jobs. The burnt-out homes and places of business have not been rebuilt but remain as glaring monuments to the futility and self-destructiveness of violence. And a study has shown that in Washington, D.C. alone 4900 employees--the majority of them Negroes--lost their jobs as a result of the riots which swept the city following Dr. King's death. Violence may indicate to America the despair which blacks feel, but its major effect is the aggravation of the degrading social and economic conditions which have nurtured and perpetuated that despair.

All of these proposals reveal a preoccupation with peripheral issues and a failure to come to terms with the problem of altering the basic forces which shape the lives of the poor in America. Thus businessmen, out of altruism or a need for workers in a tight labor market, have hired thousands of hard-core unemployed, yet at the same time they are supporting proposals to curb inflation which should leave millions without jobs, including those who have recently benefited from their generosity. Moreover, since these proposals are predicated upon the maintenance of the ghetto, whatever small contribution they can make will be negligible compared with the massive social injustices which are magnified daily by ghetto conditions. Thus, black capitalism or "reparations" may bring several hundred thousand dollars into the ghetto, while from Central Harlem, South Bronx, and Bedford-Stuyvesant alone, $223 million are siphoned out annually by racketeers. A forest fire cannot be extinguished with a garden hose.

If this fire is to be extinguished, a political strategy must be devised and an economic program planned which attack injustice at its source. I am not concerned here with programs that might elect a local official or employ a few individuals, but with building a movement that can alter the fundamental social and economic relations in the society. What is essential, therefore, is to identify those institutions which can provide black people with the maximum power and leverage in their efforts to achieve equality. The institutions I am referring to are the Democratic Party and the trade union movement, and the instruments that black people must use to make them more viable and progressive are the ballot box and the union card.

The Democratic Party is essential to the black struggle because it is the only mass-based political institution in the society that has the potential to become a majority movement for progressive social reform. Today it is not a majority party, and there remain within it powerful reactionary elements, particularly the Southern Conservatives. But at the Chicago convention many of these conservatives were driven out by insurgent delegations from Mississippi and Georgia composed of Negroes and white moderates. The dominant forces within the Party are now precisely those groups--Negroes, liberals, and the labor movement--who form the basis of a majority coalition of the democratic left, and who thus can move the Federal government to act upon the problems which so afflict our nation. It is toward such a coalition that we must build, and we can only do so through the active and effective use of the ballot box.

And the trade union movement is essential to the black struggle because it is the only institution in the society capable of economically uplifting the masses of impoverished and exploited Negroes. Its legislative program for job creation, urban reconstruction, education, health, and tax reform is designed specifically to help the lower and lower-middle classes in which blacks are so disproportionately represented. And by its efforts to organize the unorganized--whether they be farmworkers in California, sanitation workers in Memphis, or hospital workers in New York and Charleston--it is enabling hundreds of thousands of poor Americans to escape the lumpenproletariat and to achieve a measure of dignity and economic security. It is the union card, therefore, together with the ballot box, that must become part of the basic dynamism of the black struggle.

There are many young blacks today who would deny that the electoral process and the labor movement can play an effective role in the black movement. But they have no comprehensive strategy with which to replace the one I have just outlined, and without such a strategy their protest, though militant in rhetoric and intention, may be reactionary in its effect. For in the present political period, protest is a value only to the degree that it can creatively and nonviolently call attention to social injustice and enhance the use of the ballot box and the organization of the unorganized. To the degree that protest becomes violent, it will strengthen the rightist forces in the country and make impossible the further development toward political and economic equality.

While the objectives I have proposed can be achieved nonviolently, let me be clear that their realization would amount to a revolution in this society, by which I mean a fundamental reorientation of our social and economic priorities. And indeed, the problems of our cities cannot be solved by anything less than a revolution. But even if we are to achieve these objectives, I must caution that there would still be protest, for the revolution we are presently undergoing involves also the demand for dignity and the democratic participation in the political process. There must, therefore, be visible representation of minority people in those bodies where decisions are made. And more importantly, these bodies must become responsive to the needs and aspirations of their constituencies. Until this final objective is achieved, we cannot in all honesty claim to have built a democracy in this country.

# The Union Card And The Ballot Box

Published by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 260 Park Avenue South, 10010, Bayard Rustin, Executive Director 21L

# Over 800 Black Unionists At Randolph Institute Fifth National Conference

SHERATON
CLEVELAND

The conference ends with "Solidarity Forever."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute held its largest and most important national conference in Cleveland on May 17 to 19.

Over 800 delegates – representing the 10,000 black trade unionists who belong to the Institute's 130 voter registration groups – attended the workshops and plenary sessions at the three-day conference. The delegates came from 53 national and international unions and represented practically every state with a substantial black population.

The conference was entitled "Beyond Vetoes," a theme which symbolized the determination of the labor movement and the black community to forge a political movement capable of moving the nation beyond the point where presidential vetoes and impoundments constitute the principal domestic policy-making weapons.

A second theme was the central role which black trade unionists occupy in this new political movement. Both Bayard Rustin, the Institute's Executive Director, and Associate Director Norman Hill stressed the important position black unionists have in the black-labor alliance.

These themes were developed further in a series of workshops which were the highlight of the conference. One workshop centered on the relationship between black unionists and elected officials; a second dealt with current political issues; while a third examined the role of black unionists within the internal structures of the political parties.

The conference stressed the need for black unionists to play more important roles both within their unions and within the black community.

They were specifically urged to:

1. Monitor the performance of local elected officials to ensure that these officials were responsive to the basic needs of the black community.

2. Encourage black elected officials to play responsible roles within the political parties.

3. Assume a central role, in alliance with the labor movement, in rebuilding strong, working-class based political organizations in the cities.

As a symbol of the important challenge of rebuilding urban political machinery, the conference honored the newly-elected black mayors. James Cul-

(Continued on Page 3)

# New Political Priorities For Black Community

### By Bayard Rustin

*Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute*

I would like to have a moment of silence so that we might pay tribute to those who are suffering throughout the world. We should remember our black brothers who are struggling and dying for freedom in Angola and Mozambique. We should remember our Mexican-American brothers, struggling to keep alive the spark ignited by Cesar Chavez in the harvest fields of California. We should grieve for the teenagers who died in Maalot, in Israel, just this week.

As black Americans who have known suffering for centuries, it is particularly important that we remember the oppressed of the world. For we have nothing to offer mankind if we are concerned only about ourselves. We become full human beings only when we reach out to embrace all aggrieved men and women, and take their cause as our own . . .

The American people are faced today with a situation that has no parallel in our history. We live in a time of crisis, and the responsibility for that crisis can be laid at the doorstep of Richard Nixon.

There have been presidents who have lied; there have been presidents who have stolen, or at least stood by silently while others stole; there have been presidents who have impounded funds; and there have been presidents who have ignored the needs of the poor. But never before in the history of this country has a president done more to destroy the faith of the American people in the democratic system, than has Richard Nixon.

People today equate politics with corruption. They won't participate, because thay have no faith that their participation means anything. They do not wish to be contaminated with the moral rot that politics, under the Nixon Administration, has come to symbolize.

But Nixon is not alone responsible for this crisis. The Democrats have a burden to bear as well. At a time of economic uncertainty, when poor people and working people are crying out for leadership and demanding an alternative to the failed programs we are currently enduring, the Democrats offer only confusion and hesitation. They propose a tax cut, a half-hearted and insubstantial measure, as a means of curbing inflation. Or they

(Continued on Page 2)

# Political Priorities

*(Continued from Page 1)*

propose the reimposition of wage-price controls, the very thing which helped bring on the crisis.

Black people, more than anyone, have the right and obligation to demand that the Democrats offer a program for social change, a program which ends unemployment, holds forth the promise of free medical care, equal access to education, and a guaranteed income for the poor, rather than serving up a warmed-over version of what the Republicans have proposed, implemented, and watched fail.

### Futile Debates

On the other hand, black people have a responsibility too. Tonight marks the twentieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision which put in motion the most important social revolution of our time. And just as that decision determined the direction of black progress for a generation, so will our actions today determine the future of black people for years to come.

One of the most important challenges is to address ourselves to the basic, gut issues of economic equality, and avoid being diverted into unproductive and counterproductive debates.

The debate over "black unity" is one such issue we would do well to lay to rest. Black unity is a phantom issue; it is irrelevant and, at any rate, impossible to achieve. We are confronted today with the challenge of unifying, not necessarily with all black people, *but with all segments of society that have the same hopes, needs and aspiration that we as working people have*.

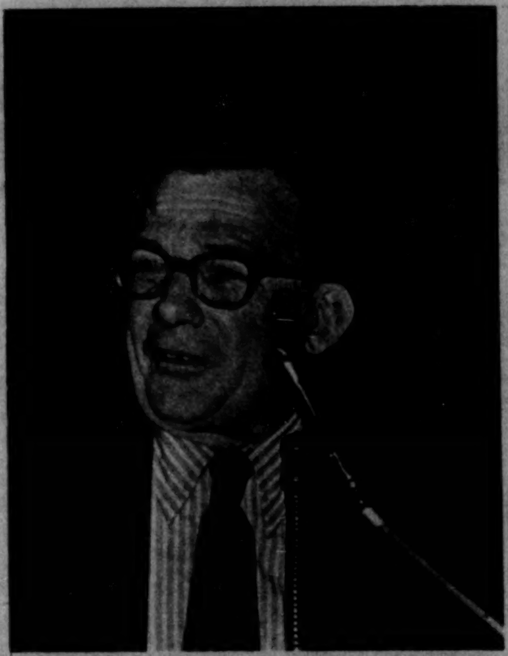
There are, in fact, any number of blacks I would be opposed to unifying with. I want unity with Roy Wilkins, who has retained an enduring commitment to integrated schools; I do not care to unite with Roy Innis, who wants to resegregate society.

I want to stand united with A. Philip Randolph, who for decades has preached the need for free medical care; I do not want to ally myself with those black physicians who have opposed national health insurance.

I want unity with blacks who see the labor movement as the essential force for improving social conditions; I do not want to be identified with Carlton Goodlett, the black publisher who has lined up with Right-To-Work groups.

And I certainly have very little in common with those blacks who supported Richard Nixon in 1972. I want rather to identify with those blacks and those whites who recognize Richard Nixon for what he is, and are prepared to struggle against his goals and ideals.

Another myth that goes hand-in-glove with the mirage of "black unity" is the belief that a social program can be forged from "blackness" — from raising racial consciousness and embracing racial fads. Developing a sense of racial pride is an important goal, but it is a goal most black people have already achieved. And racial pride cannot substitute for political program. To the degree that we attempt to replace program with"blackness", we shall succeed only in impeding our own drive for full political and economic empowerment.



**AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland speaks at dinner-dance.**

Another point: unless we forge a powerful *national* alliance of like-minded forces, the impact of our own black officials will be seriously blunted. Kenneth Gibson, the Mayor of Newark, was re-elected this week. Kenneth Gibson is a skilled and intelligent black man, and a dedicated public servant. But if he has learned anything in his four years in office, it it that being a black man is not enough to reverse the process of urban decline. One of the tragic byproducts of the Nixon Administration's economic failures is that the increase in black mayors has been accompanied by a rise in unemployment, a decline in the schools, and a general disintegration of the cities. These problems are in no way the responsibility of the new black mayors; the tragedy is that some people may eventually conclude that they as blacks have contributed to the urban decline.

### A National Movement

Thus our program must essentially be national in scope. For without a Congress committed to systematic, basic change, and without a President with a progressive, realizable program we are simply not going to witness the rebirth of our great cities, no matter how many decent mayors, black or white, are elected.

At the same time we must ensure that our own black officials are acting responsibly. I'm not talking about their voting records. Black Congressmen will always vote for measures which benefit working people. The problem is how black officials function within the Democratic Party. Are they helping to build a unified Democratic Party, capable of attracting the support of the majority of working people who supported Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson? Or do they contribute to its all-too-numerous divisions? Are they primarily concerned with the superficial manifestations of representation — or are they instead concerned with whether the Democrats are offering a broad program of economic and social reform? We must make it clear to every black politician that we cannot endure the meaningless, divisive debates which split the Democrats in 1972, and handed the election to a conservative, scandal-ridden administration.

Our concern for these new issues is a result of the black struggle having entered a new phase. In the past, we marched to obtain rights which white people enjoyed as a matter of course, but which were denied to blacks: the right to vote, the right to public accommodations, the right to swim where whites swam and eat where whites ate.

We have these rights now. But the rights we don't have today are rights which many whites don't have either. We share with many whites a new and virulent economic deprivation: deterioration of the housing market, rising unemployment, the deterioration of the schools, the spiral in medical costs. For every black who is in desperate need of economic advancement, there are three whites in the same situation. Blacks may be suffering disproportionately, but they are not suffering alone.

We are experiencing the phenomenon of the convergence of class and race. To put the matter graphically, if all the

*(Continued on Page 3)*

**The importance of the black-labor coalition was dramatized by the recent struggle to thwart anti-busing forces in Congress.**

**An anti-busing measure, known as the "Gurney Amendment", was defeated in the Senate by a 47-46 vote after a similar measure had been adopted by the House, Passage of the amendment, which was endorsed by President Nixon, would have severely restricted the use of busing as a means of integrating schools.**

**The key to the defeat of the anti-busing forces in the Senate was the opposition of the labor movement and civil rights organizations. Both labor and black groups lobbied hard against the Gurney Amendment; the one-vote margin of defeat for the measure was a tribute to the black labor alliance.**

# A New Coalition In The Cities

**By Norman Hill**

*Associate Director,*
*A. Philip Randolph Institute*

One of the greatest challenges is the rebuilding of a viable political structure in the cities. Today, as we all know, the old urban machines are dying, no longer able to cope with the new realities of urban political life.

I do not necessarily celebrate the decline of the machine as a good thing. For whatever their shortcomings, the urban machines were primarily organizations which looked to the needs of working people. And as they have declined, so have the political leverage of working people.

The question then is what will replace the machine. I really don't think that the reform movement provides a very appealing alternative. The history of the reform movement in the cities is one of factionalism and obsession with procedure. The reform movement has neither served the needs of working people, nor offered working people the chance to achieve political representation.

Therefore the only alternative is the coalition you represent here today – the coalition between blacks and the labor movement. For it is only a movement that is based in the solid working class which has the combination of a strength of numbers, organizational vehicle, and commitment to social change which is necessary to forge a principled majority coalition.

We believe that the minority trade unionist will really occupy a central role in this emerging coalition. Whether he is black, or Mexican-American, or Puerto Rican, he knows from direct personal experience the devastating effects of segregation and discrimination. And as a member of organized labor, the minority unionist understands the distinctive values, traditions, goals and needs of working people. Thus the position of the minority unionist is really that of a bridge between the two most powerful and numerically important forces within liberalism.

**Associate Director Norman Hill addresses plenary session.**

# Conference

*(Continued from Page 1)*

pepper, chairman of the Institute chapter in Atlanta, Ga., accepted an award on behalf of Mayor Maynard Jackson. Both Jackson and Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley sent greetings lauding the Institute for helping to revitalize black political participation.

Other speakers included Congressman Louis Stokes; Lane Kirkland, Secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO; Alexander E. Barkan, National Director, AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education; Robert Georgine, President, AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department; Jacob Clayman, Secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department; and Maida Springer Kemp, consultant to the Aftican-American Labor Center.

The Institute demonstrated its continuing commitment to the principles of basic trade unionism by endorsing the boycott campaigns of the farmworkers and the Aladdin Can Company. The Institute also expressed its commitment to helping to alleviate the plight of the drought-ridden countries of the sub-Sahara.

# Political Priorities

*(Continued from Page 2)*

whites in Appalachia suddenly woke up and found they had turned black overnight, and all the blacks in the Cleveland ghetto woke up and discovered they had turned white, neither group would find that their material situation had changed one bit. Their housing would be just as deplorable; there would be no more jobs for the unemployed than there were before; the welfare lines would be just as long.

This coming together of class and race has serious implications for the future of the black struggle. We can no longer rely on tactics and strategies geared to fighting segregation and discrimination, since segregation and discrimination are really no longer our most pressing problems. We cannot employ tactics and strategies which deal with *exclusively black problems*, because the injustices we endure are injustices also familiar to millions of whites.

We must develop new programs and a new set of priorities. It is no longer enough, for example, to simply demand more jobs. One of the reasons black unemployment is as high as it is is because society no longer needs the muscle power of the uneducated. In past times, when European immigrants flooded the nation, muscle power was sufficient. But today you can't work unless you have an education. So we must fight those who assert that the schools don't matter; that education in itself isn't important. It *is* important. In fact it is necessary that we have more and better schools if blacks are to enter the economic mainstream.

### Mr. Galbraith's Dilemma

Nor can we any longer afford to ignore the rarified world of economics. For it is the ideas propounded by economists which are often translated into national policy and in turn determine the future of black people.

The economists in the Nixon Administration, for example, tell us that a five per cent unemployment rate is not merely acceptable, but even *necessary* to curb inflation. The fruits of this profoundly flawed thinking are over one million unemployed black workers.

On the other side of the political spectrum, John Kenneth Galbraith assures us that Zero economic growth is a socially progressive policy. I don't have to dwell too long on the consequences of a no-growth policy: the rich would simply remain rich, and the poor would remain poor.

We also have to be concerned about the political problems within the black community, particularly at a time when there are political problems all over the

*(Continued on Page 8)*

**The Spring primaries and municipal elections brought new victories for black candidates. The highlights include:**

**– The re-election of Kenneth Gibson as Mayor of Newark. Gibson gained 54 per cent of the vote, including about 30 per cent of the white vote, in defeating State Sen. Anthony Imperiale.**

**– State Sen. Mervyn Dymally's victory in the California lieutenant governor Democratic primary. Dymally will face Republican John Harmon in November. Should he win, Dymally will become the second black statewide official in California.**

**– A massive increase in the number of blacks in the Alabama state legislature. At least 13 blacks will serve in the House and at least one and probably two blacks will serve in the Senate. There are currently three blacks in the House; none in the Senate.**

**– The election of the first black State Senator in Louisiana since Reconstruction.**

THE PLAIN DEALER
OHIO'S LARGEST NEWSPAPER
[illegible] CLEVELAND, SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1974

# Labor must lead the way in rights fight, Rustin says

By John Nussbaum

Organized labor represents the only hope in the fight for civil rights, Bayard Rustin told some 800 civil rights and labor leaders here last night.

taurants, swimming pools and universities have been won, and the needs blacks fight for today are shared by many Appalachian whites, Mexican Americans and other disadvantaged groups, he said.

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BUFFALO New York Challenger NEWS WEEKLY

# Black Unionists The Key To Social Change

**The nation's three million Black trade unionists were urged to take a leadership role in building a mass movement committed to social change at the National Conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, held in Cleveland May 17-19.**

**t step in asserting this leadership, according to Bayard**
**e Institute's Executive Director and keynote speaker at**
**rence, is for Black unionists "to totally commit themselves**
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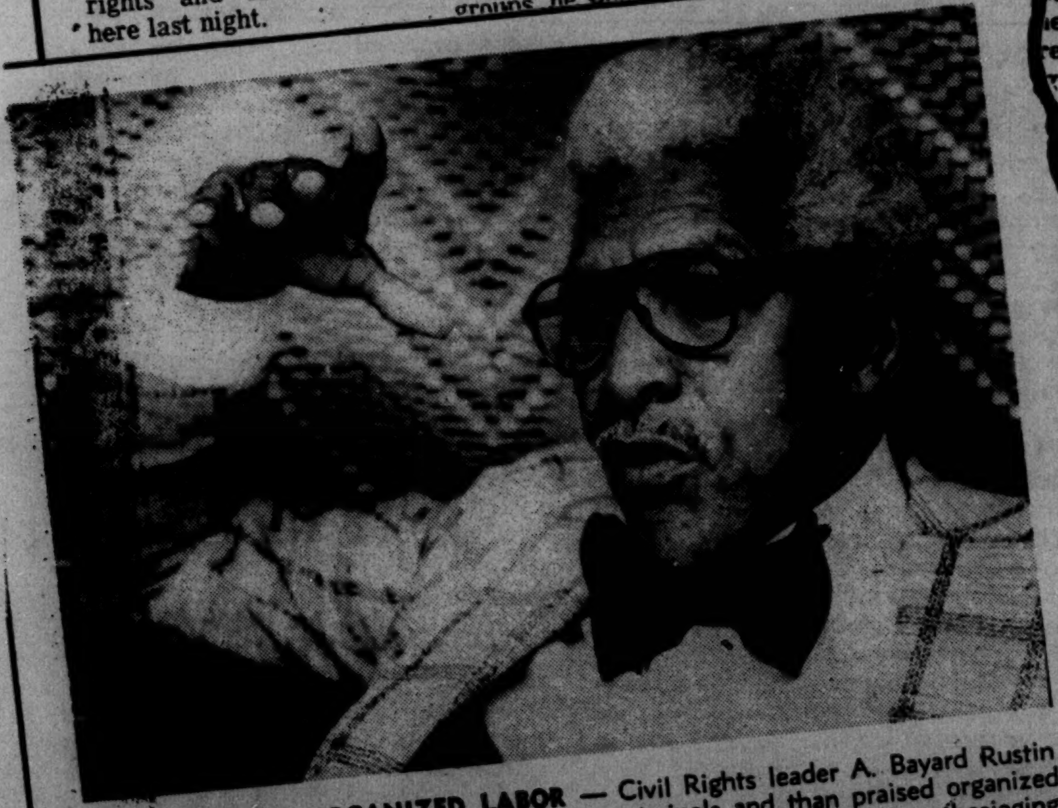

RUSTIN PRAISES ORGANIZED LABOR — Civil Rights leader A. Bayard Rustin denounced what he considers white collar criminals and than praised organized labor for doing more than any other institution to correct the problems besieging America. Rustin ishere for the fifth national conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which will bring some of the top national labor figures to Cleveland this weekend. (Press photo by Tony Tomsic)

# Rustin, here for seminar, calls Nixon worst criminal

By NORMAN MLACHAK
Labor Writer

A. Bayard Rustin, regarded by some as the intellectual giant of the Civil Rights movement, today issued an indictment of what he considers crimes against the people by politicians, corporations, President Nixon and "the nincompoops who surround him."

Rustin, whose battle for social justice spans nearly 40 years and extends from

Turning his attention to white collar crime, Rustin charged:

"The most serious trime is the crime being committed by the politicians and the corporations.,

"They bilk people of billions, destroy the atmosphere, dirty the seas and destroy man's (potential) for growth . . ."

Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which is sponsoring the Cleveland seminar,

a "veto-proof" Congress to immobilize Nixon's "antisocial behavior" and force him to invest the $12.5 billion Congress appropriated for social change.

The Cleveland Press
The Newspaper That Serves Its Readers

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THE MIAMI TIMES
Thursday, May 30, 1974

# Black Unionists The Key To Social Change

Cleveland— The nation's three million black trade unionists were urged to take a leadership role in building a mass movement committed to social change at the National Conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, held here May 17-19.

The first step in asserting this leadership, according to Bayard Rustin, the Institute's Executive Director and keynote speaker at the conference, is for black unionists "to totally commit themselves to electing a 'veto-proof' Congress this November."

Delegates cheered as Rustin denounced President Nixon as "one of the worst criminals of the Twentieth Century." Rustin, who was named on the famous White House 'enemies' list, said that Nixon was responsible for a degree of corruption "which has shaken the faith of many Americans in the democratic process.

"We must redouble our efforts to restore that faith," he added.

Over 800 delegates representing 10,000 Institute members attended the conference. They represented Institute chapters located in throughout 23 states
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Rustin cautioned tha
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Rustin warned that
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By NORMAN
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AFL-CIO News
Saturday, May 25, 1974

At Cleveland Conference:

# Randolph Institute Presse Social Change, Vote Goal

Cleveland—The immediate goal of helping to elect a veto-proof Congress and the objective of forging a majority coalition for social change topped the agenda at the A. P dolph Institute's national conference here.

The conference also addressed itself to the challenge of "making the black trade unionis tant, permanent force for political change." Executive Director Bayard Rustin said.

The conference, the institute's

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# INSTITUTE MEET ; POINTS TO "VETO-PROOF" CONGRESS

Voice

The election of a "veto-proof" Congress in 1974 and the mobilization of a liberal coalition powerful enough to win the presidency in 1976 are the themes of the Fifth National Conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, to be held May 17-19 in Cleveland, Ohio.

"Our goals are quite simple," declared Bayard Rustin, the Institute's Executive Director. "We want to help ensure the election of a Congress that will not acquiesce to the of minimum wage

effectively work with elected officials; political issues in 1974; and how black unionists can function within the structure of political parties.

There will also be a panel discussion on: "The Labor Movement: Are Its Goals Being Fulfilled?". Presentations will be given by Jacob Clayman, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department; Murray H. Finley, President of the mated Clothing gin Bui

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# Black unions meet here, map goals

By NORMAN MLACHAK
Labor Writer

Bayard Rustin

Eight hundred black trade unionists will convene in Cleveland this weekend for the fifth national conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The three-day institute, opening Friday in the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, is considered one of the most important national seminars in the twin spheres of organized labor and civil rights.

Berthina Palmer, Cleveland School Board member and a staff member of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor, will preside at the conference which will attract nationally prominent labor, politi activists

The Cleveland Press

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AN APOSTLE OF INTER-RACIAL GOODWILL
THE WILMINGTON
JOURNAL
ALL THE NEWS WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR

## RANDOLPH INSTITUTE TOL

# Black Unionist The Key To Social Change

**CLEVELAND--The nation's three million black trade unionists were urged to take a leadership role in building a mass movement committed to social change at the National Conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, held here May 17-19.**

**The first step in asserting this leadership, according to Bayard Rustin, the Institute's Executive Director and keynote speaker at the conference is for black unionists "to totally commit themselves**

**Congress this November.**

**Delegates cheered as Rustin denounced President Nixon as "one of the**

**seeking things which both black people and most whites need--things like better housing, improved schools, and more jobs."**

**Rustin warned that unless blacks developed political strategies to meet these new priorities, the goal of an equal society would continue to elude them. He added that the most important strategy in the current situation was the formation of political alliances with other forces sharing common interests.**

**The most important of these forces, Rustin said, is the labor movement.**

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THE ATLANTA INQUIR

# Changes In The Building Trades

### By Robert A. Georgine

*President,*
*Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO*

Some of you here may be too young to remember that it is 20 years since the historic Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education, and I think that no one will deny that we have come a long way in those 20 years. In fact, I might say a long way further than any comparable organization in the United States.

While there's not too much point in just patting ourselves on the back, it's a good idea, once in a while, to look around, to see where you came from, so you can have a clearer idea of where you're going.

Are our goals being fulfilled?

You may know that the first president of the AFL, Sam Gompers, had the view that the goals of labor could never be completely fulfilled because as you approach a goal, you begin to find it's inadequate and you are constantly developing new goals to meet new needs and new aspirations.

But, at the same time that we always have before us the goal of constantly improving the hours, wages, and working conditions of our members, we do have some specific goals, and I would like to discuss some of them with you, particularly as they touch on the work of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

This work has been of extreme importance to the Building and Construction Trades Department and a great deal of credit has to go to men like Bayard Rustin, also to Ernie Green and countless other staff members and to the Building and Construction Trades Councils across the country.

We are particularly proud of the Outreach programs precisely because they represent an area where our goals *are* being fulfilled. The latest available figures from the Labor Department show that Apprentice Outreach has indentured 29,201 apprentices and the Journeyman Outreach Program has recruited 8,675 minority workers. 15.1% of the apprentices in construction are now minorities and among new entries, the figure is 19.3%. I think these figures add up to an impressive achievement, particularly since we are now in a period of high unemployment and widespread insecurity in the economy.

The building trades unions have for a long time been singled out for discriminating against Negroes and other minority workers. As President Meany once pointed out, "We make no attempt to deny that there was discrimination in unions – lots of unions in this country; that the trade union movement in this country really is a picture of the whole country. We have members with all sorts of prejudices, not just against the color of a man's skin. And we have unions that have lived in the fear of unemployment, and fear of short work all their lives . . . . they were sharing the work that was available. And the work that was available didn't give much work. If they got laid off in September, at the conclusion of the speculative building year, they didn't go to work until the following March. And they didn't like to see new people coming into the union with whom they would have to share an amount of work that was not sufficient for even those that were, at the time, in the union . . . ." So while we have not been unaware of our own shortcomings, we would rather get on with correcting them than with deploring them.

**Divide and Conquer**

But times have changed. Our unions today have plenty of members in the minority groups. They are training them, training more and more each day, and we are going to continue to do this.

So, while there were accusations which had some basis in the past, for some people it was simply the old game of divide and conquer – divide workers on the basis of race so that they fight each other instead of working to solve their common problems. I would like to just repeat a remark made once by the venerable A. Philip Randloph, "regardless of what contitions are, they must remain within the trade union movement and in a friendly manner, develop with trade unionists the means by which these workers can become a part ot the working class."

We understood, as did the Randolph Institute, that it wouldn't do minority workers any good – and it sure wouldn't do us any good – to make jobs available at the cost of weakening the construction unions. The wages on construction jobs are good because building trades unions fought for them. We want everyone at *our* wages and at *our* standards. We're against second-class citizenship and we're against second-class craftsmanship. Bayard Rustin put it well at the 1969 AFL-CIO convention when he said, "We can do it in a way that does not require the lowering of standards or wages. We don't want standards thrown out the window. We don't want special categories labeled "negro carpenters" or "negro plumbers" who have lower skills and get less pay. We want Negroes who are carpenters and plumbers – with the same skills and training and wages that everyone else has. We want the same pride in our trade that any worker with dignity wants. And we will not settle for less."

Our fundamental agreement with this statement by Bayard Rustin is expressed through our support of Outreach Programs since 1967.

While we have supported civil rights legislation, we also say that enacting laws is necessary, but not sufficient. Laws do not solve problems in and of themselves and so on the question of increasing the opportunities of skilled jobs for minority workers, we adopted the policy of affirmative action and since 1967, we have cooperated on Outreach programs.

In 1969, the 55th convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department adopted a statement of policy which has guided our actions. In that statement there are a number of points which I think are worth a brief restatement:

1. "We cannot accept the simplistic idea that the arithmetic of a population ratio shall become the standard for selection and entry into employment in the building and construction industry."
2. "We are convinced that the goal of increasing Negro and other minority worker participation in the building and construction trades can be accomplished with due regard to the rights of the existing original work force. We think such an approach is preferable to unthinking actions which tend to pit one part of the population against the other."
3. "It should also be obvious that a stroke of the pen will not transform

*(Continued on Page 8)*

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# Why We

### By Alex

*National Director,*
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# Why We Need A Veto-Proof Congress

### By Alexander E. Barkan

*National Director, AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education*

**Al Barkan: "The scandals go on and on."**

I want to talk to you about the White House of Washington, of Lincoln, of Roosevelt, of Kennedy, that is now surrounded by the stench of corruption. This great and proud country of ours bows its head in shame because of an administration steeped in scandal, twisted by corruption. Do I exaggerate?

Let's look at the shameful record of one scandal after another, starting with the President himself. For the second time in history we have a president facing impeachment. We have a vice-presidential scandal, with Nixon's choice for vice-president a convicted felon, guilty of accepting pay-offs right in the sanctity of the vice-presidential office. There is an attorney general scandal. For the first time in the history of this country, we have an attorney general, the chief law enforcement officer, if you please, pleading guilty to a crime. We have the staff scandal. Just a few days ago, the President's own appointment secretary, Dwight Chapin, found guilty of dirty campaign practices. He is one of twenty staff people either convicted or indicted and awaiting trial. And there is the President's personal tax scandal. Doesn't it make you feel good to know that in 1969 and 1970 you paid more taxes than Nixon paid on over a $200,000 salary.

Compare Nixon with Washington, who had to borrow $500 in order to go to his inauguration. Or with Jefferson, who left his presidency a poor, impoverished man, so that when he died his widow had to sell Monticello. Or with Truman. When Truman left office, he was offered six figure salaries to go on the board of directors of corporations and insurance companies. But Harry Truman knew that they didn't want Harry Truman, the man. They wanted Harry Truman, President of the United States, and Harry Truman, again a man of modest means, had the character to say no. He wasn't going to commercialize the highest office this country can bestow. Could you expect that kind of an example from Nixon?

**Political Enemies**

The scandal goes on and on. This country's greatest strength is that we can oppose anybody in office, no matter how high their estate, and that we have freedom of speech. This separates us from the dictatorships.

What is Nixon doing? He sets up, for the first time in history, an enemy list, making political opposition a crime, a treason. Just the other day, you found the Washington Post being singled out by Nixon; and he was going to get them and he went after T.V. stations that the Washington Post owns in Florida. He threatened to go after Edward Bennett Williams, and, of course he was going to use the FBI, Internal Revenue and everything else. I tell you the proudest moment in my thirty years in politics was when I was named by Nixon as number two on his enemy list.

I got the treatment: income tax checking, tapped telephones, intercepted mail. But fortunately I'm armed with the experience, as I said, of thirty years in trade unionism. I went through the struggle of the CIO in the 1930's. I've been in jails as a result of picket line fights as many times as I've got fingers on my hands, and I don't scare easily. I pledge you this: Nixon can do his damnedest, he can get Internal Revenue and the Secret Service and the FBI, but I am not going to stop attacking him, not today, not tomorrow, not while there is still breath in my body.

So the scandals go on and on. The presidential election bought for sixty million dollars. Seven million dollars from just from two contributors, Clement Stone of Chicago, the big insurance tycoon, and the president of Gulf. Five million from the oil companies, millions from the insurance companies, the Wall Streeters, the big mules, the fat cats, the coupon clippers. If there was ever a bought presidential election, it was in 1972.

I don't know why we should be surprised. Those of us who followed Nixon's career from 1946 to today know that his whole career is studded with just that kind of dirty politics. In 1946, he went after Congressman Voorhees, and used the worst kind of McCarthy smear tactics. He did the same thing to Helen Gahagan Douglas. In 1952, he was the vice-presidential candidate. When the news came out that he took $17,000 in a secret slush fund from banks and insurance companies in California, Eisenhower almost threw him off the ticket. But then he gave that famous Checkers speech. He didn't deny that he took the money. He pleaded poverty. He was so poor, all he could afford for Pat was a cloth coat.

**A History of Deceit**

Well, he fooled a lot of people. Eisenhower kept him on the ticket. And that's the history of Nixon. In 1952 he spoke in Boston. He's talking about the Truman administration. And this is what he says. Listen closely. November 15, 1951. "This administration has proved that it is utterly incapable of cleaning out the corruption that has completely eroded it, and re-establishing the confidence and faith of the people. The investigations which have been conducted to date have only scratched the surface. For every case which is exposed, there are ten which are successfully covered up. The great tragedy is not that corruption exists, but that it is defended and condoned by the President and other high administration officials. If they won't recognize that corruption exists, how can we expect them to clean it up."

That was Nixon in '51.

He tells you to read all the transcripts. Well, remember that Alka–Seltzer commercial on T.V., the guy who says, 'I ate the whole thing'? Well, I tell you, if you read the whole thing in the transcripts you'd need a hell of a lot more than Alka-Seltzer!

I would be the last one to point a finger at anybody who uses profanity. But the hypocrisy of the man with his Billy Sunday Prayer Breakfasts. Here he is in the 1960 campaign in a debate with Kennedy. Again, he's taking a shot at Truman, because of Truman's salty language. "I only hope," Nixon says, "should I win this election, that I could approach President Eisenhower in maintaining the dignity of the office, and to see to it that whenever any mother or father talks to his child, he can look at the man in the White House and whatever he may think of his policy he will say, well, there is a man who maintains the kinds of standards personally that I would want my child to follow."

So I say, why should any of us be surprised at the scandals of Nixon and this administration? We're paying an awful price. In addition to the most corrupt administration in two hundred years of American history, we've got an economic mess. Inflation robs you every day: since Nixon took office five years ago, the cost of living has gone up over 46 percent the first quarter of 1974 it's gone up over 12 percent. If you haven't had a wage increase of at least 50 percent since Nixon took over, you have taken a wage cut.

Interest rates are the highest in a hundred years; the dream of every American to own his own home has turned into a nightmare. I don't know what you're paying for mortgage money in the parts of the country you come from, but where we come from, in Maryland, you've got to pay 10 and 12 percent for mortgage money.

There is unemployment. Over five

*(Continued on Page 8)*

# Political Priorities

(Continued from Page 3)

world. But we must be quite clear about what our problems are, and how serious they are.

There are those who insist that blacks have lost faith in the democratic process. Perhaps they would like to *believe* that blacks have lost faith in democracy. But the facts are not that simple.

In the South, Black political participation has been steadily growing, while in the North there has been a decline. Among black unionists, faith in the political process is solid; among the unorganized, there is no doubt confusion and disillusionment.

But the total picture is by no means bleak. Otherwise we would not be witnessing the election of black mayors, black congressmen, black state legislators, in record numbers.

I point this out not because I want us to feel good, but because I believe it's essential that we understand how much progress we in fact have made. For if black people are continually told that the civil rights movement failed, that all the sacrifice was for nothing, that we are in as bad or worse a shape as ever, they are not going to respond by continuing the struggle. They are simply going to give up in demoralization. You do not stimulate people to join in struggle by complaining about goals that are unachieved; you encourage them by stressing the progress that has been made, and urge them to complete the agenda that is yet unfulfilled.

There has also been considerable misunderstanding about the concept of political coalition. A political coalition is not a marriage; the partners in a coalition do not have to like each other, or even regard each other with affection. A coalition is simply an alliance of people or social forces who have have common needs and common political goals. And if we are to participate in coalition politics, we are going to find that we are sometimes allied with people who may have mistreated us yesterday, and who may not understand us tomorrow, but who right now are trying to achieve the same social progress that we are trying to achieve.

But while a coalition is not a permanent entity – while we may be allied with someone today, and struggling against them tomorrow – there are bound to be some enduring relationships in a strong, majority alliance. The alliance between the labor movement and minorities is just such a permanent relationshop. And again, it is not simply because black people and the leaders of the labor movement like each other, but because white working people and black working people have the same needs and share the same problems. Blacks do not look to the labor movement out of sentimentality, but because black organized workers earn 50 per cent more than their unorganized

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# Veto-Proof Congress

(Continued from Page 7)

million homes are heavy of heart because the breadwinner is without employment. Multinational companies, encouraged by this administration, are exporting hundreds of thousands of jobs to cheap wage foreign subsidiaries.

The trouble lies exclusively at the doorstep of Nixon. And the question is what are we going to do about it? They talk about Nixon resigning, they talk about him being impeached. Well, have you ever looked at the voting record of Gerald Ford? Out of 109 votes on the COPE score card: 103 times wrong, six right. On 23 gut issues – I'm talking about Landrum-Griffin, minimum wage, social security, Taft-Hartley – 23 times this man went to bat, he didn't even vote once with us by mistake!

So there'll be no improvement if Gerald Ford takes over. We're going to have to wait, one way or the other, until 1976, to do something about the White House. But in the meantime, we can do ***something***. We can help elect a veto proof Congress, a Congress that can turn this country around, a Congress that will override his vetoes. The political arithmetic of a veto-proof Congress is very simple. We need 23 additional seats in the House, and we need seven seats in the Senate. That's the battle ground.

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brothers and sisters.

This conference is proof that black people have moved from protest to politics. Our challenge, however, is to translate to all black people what political action really means.

We must forge a program in the 1970s designed to improve the lives of all working people and all poor people. Otherwise none will be entirely free. There is no program which can liberate *only* blacks, or *only* Puerto Ricans, or *only* Mexican-Americans. And to try to make such a program is reactionary.

We must rather demand those social and economic reforms which would confer full dignity on all people.

The Randolph Insititute stands for the freedom of all men, women and children who live in poverty and want. We are not for any one segment. We are opposed to injustice wherever it exists, and first of all in ourselves.

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# Building Trades

(Continued from Page 6)

the learning process so as to graduate a qualified skilled craftsman in 8 months when the existing system of apprenticeship has required 4 years. This proposal and others like it compare with efforts to establish special curriculums for minority college students. There have been strong expressions from responsible sources that such educational proposals cheat the black student because they will fit him for a sheltered work shop occupation – rather than competition in the open market. It has been our approach through the Apprenticeship Outreach Program and the Journeyman Training Programs to raise less qualified applicants to meet industry standards rather than to lower the standards to meet the lack of qualifications. We do not believe that it is in the interest of the nation, the industry, or the black worker to take the easy way."

4."We are unalterably opposed to the quota system."

The result of our policy has been that while discrimination may still be a factor in some cases, it is certainly a declining factor. We have learned that what is much more important is solving the problems of finding qualified applicants, recruiting, training, and counseling.

When this is done by people who understand the building trades, who know how to go into minority group communities and find youngsters, motivate them, and help them apply and quality, the result is a significant increase in the number of minority youngsters in apprenticeships. It is very evident that your people in the leadership and the working staff of the A. Philip Randolph Institute have done all of these things with a great deal of perseverance and skill, but most of all with dedication in helping our brothers.

I think in doing so, you have made an extremely important contribution towards fulfilling the goals of the labor movement.

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**A. Philip Randolph Institute**
260 Park Avenue South New York, N.Y. 10010 (212) 533-8000

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# LABOR-NEGRO ALLIANCE—ANTIDOTE TO

By **BAYARD RUSTIN**

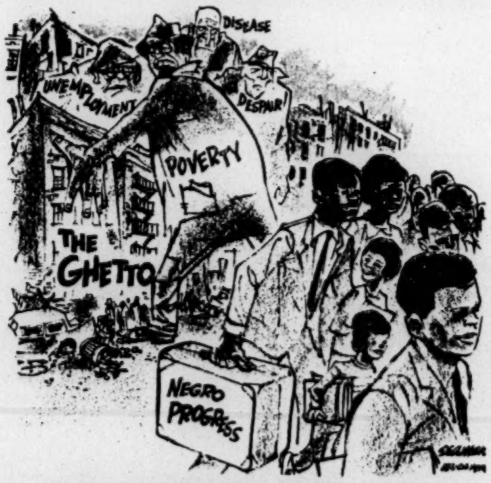
THE most pressing task of the moment is to analyze the factors that permitted the conservatives to triumph in the 1968 U.S. presidential election so that we can develop a political strategy which will insure that their ascendency will be short-lived. The most visible, yet perhaps the most misunderstood, of these factors is the racial polarization which reached its peak during the presidential campaigns of Eldridge Cleaver and George Wallace.

No two individuals, it would seem, could be farther apart politically than Cleaver and Wallace. Cleaver [leader of the Black Panther Party], on the one hand, embodies and articulates the rage that has gripped large segments of the black community in recent years. Born of desperation and despair, this rage has produced burnings and lootings in the ghetto as well as a philosophy of black separatism that represents more a withdrawal from an intimidating and unresponsive white society than a positive program for political action. This rage was also the source of Cleaver's influence. He could ride its powerful currents to fame and notoriety—which the mass media were more than willing to heap upon him—but he could not begin to propose a solution to the injustices that had produced it. Indeed, to assuage the anger and frustration in the black community would have threatened his own base of power.

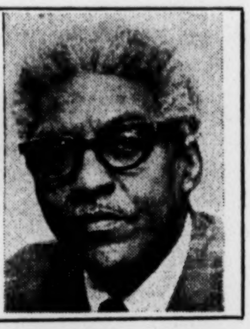
## Fulcrum of Fears

Wallace [former Alabama governor who articulated segregationist policies], on the other hand, has often been called the embodiment of white racism and reaction. That he is, but more precisely, his pre-eminence was a result of the fear which gripped large sections of the white community throughout the country. The Wallace movement grew to frightening proportions not because of anything that Wallace did, but because the politically polarized atmosphere in the country called forth the need for a man who would represent the fears and the very worst instincts of millions of people.

**While Cleaver and Wallace seem on the surface to be so very different, they are both simply the manifestations of the same social evils.**



The Problem Remains



Bayard Rustin, a veteran civil rights leader, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Black rage and burnt-out ghettoes are the product of the economic deprivation of Negro Americans; and white fear and the Wallace vote are the result of the economic scarcity that motivates whites, particularly those in the lower-middle class, to feel that they must protect the little they have against the rising demands of the blacks. The conditions of deprivation and scarcity, and the consequent growth of racial hostility and political polarization, formed the context within which the events of 1968 unfolded.

During the presidential campaign defeatism and indifference were popular attitudes among some Democrats. As was expected and forewarned, these attitudes contributed in part to Humphrey's defeat. Nor is it surprising that they have now found in that defeat a source of justification. In brief, the defeatist argument claims that the Democratic coalition of Negroes, labor, and liberals which was forged during the New Deal is now a thing of the past and no longer exists as a coherent political force.

## Coalition Stood Firm

My analysis of the election, however, concludes with the exact opposite judgment that continuity with the past was the most striking feature of the Democratic performance in 1968.

**The coalition of the minorities, the trade union movement, and, to a degree, the liberal forces that in the past elected Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson by and large stood firm in November. Given the difficult nature of our time, the fact of this continuity is that much more impressive.**

In the first place, the Negro integrationist forces voted overwhelmingly for Humphrey. There has been much talk of black separatism, and it has been said that we are moving toward two societies—one black, one white. I do not mean to deal lightly with this tragic and dangerous trend. Nor do I mean to imply that there is not tremendous disaffection, alienation, and despair in the Negro community. But in 1968 there was not one but two black militant candidates running against Humphrey—Cleaver and Dick Gregory—and they received less than 85,000 votes nationally, and many of them, I am sure, were cast by white people.

The point is that while many Negroes may sympathize with some of the ideas and the feelings of the militants and the separatists, the vast majority realize that the course they are proposing is politically disastrous. Negroes may listen to Cleaver and even agree with him in some respects, but they will vote for Hubert Humphrey, for they realize that separatism and violence are equivalent to suicide.

## Negroes for Democrats

But nor will they vote for Richard Nixon. Except in the unusual election of 1964 when almost every Negro was opposed to Goldwater, the Democrats have never received a larger percentage of the black vote. A sampling taken by the National Broadcasting Company found that the vote for Humphrey in all-black precincts averaged over 90%. A higher percentage of Negroes voted for Humphrey in 1968 than for Kennedy in 1960. But it is also important to point out that numerically less Negroes voted for Nixon in 1968 than in 1960 all over the country in state after state.

**Figures produced by the research department of COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education) show that in the Negro precincts of Atlanta, the Democrats received 41.9% in 1960 and 98% in 1968. Similar figures for Negro precincts in Baltimore are 74.8% and 92.6%, and in Boston, 61.4% and 90.9%. To go on would be tedious. It is clear that Negroes are not deserting the Democratic Party, but on the contrary, are giving it their ever-increasing support.**

The trade union movement was confronted with a double threat in 1968—from Nixon and from Wallace. Nixon saw a great irony in the strength of the labor movement. The tremendous organization of blue and white collar workers, he felt, had benefited them economically to the point where they had become members of the middle classes which traditionally vote Republican. Nixon hoped to capture that part of the working class vote, and he did receive some of it, but nothing like he thought he would get.

The Wallace threat was far more formidable, and the trade union movement met it head-on to achieve one of the most brilliant triumphs in its history. In the months preceding the election one could not pick up a newspaper without reading of the deep inroads that Wallace had cut into the working class. That many workers were leaning toward Wallace is beyond doubt. So too were farmers and professionals.

But while all Americans of good will took fright at this fascistic trend, the trade union movement was the only major institution in America that did anything to counter it. It undertook a fantastic educational job amongst its members, distributing over 50 million pieces of literature which attacked Wallace not only for his anti-labor record in Alabama but for his racism and bigotry as well. The result was that in the last weeks of the campaign thousands of workers rejected Wallace's disastrous course and returned to the Democratic fold. The effect of this shift was almost enough to give Humphrey the election.

Finally, a word must be said about the liberals, especially those who, as A. Philip

# RACIAL POLARIZATION AND REACTION

Randolph has said, urged black Americans to "go fishing" on election day as they themselves were determined to do. These liberals were opposed to our involvement in Vietnam. As we live in a democratic society, they had every right to express that opposition. But they also wanted to "teach the Democratic Party a lesson." They wanted to do this even if it meant the election of Richard Nixon.

They were so preoccupied with Vietnam that they failed to consider that as President, Nixon might choose as many as five Supreme Court Justices and thus determine the character and decisions of the Court for the remainder of this century; that he would name the Attorney General and the head of the Civil Rights Division; that he would staff and determine the policies and the budget of our federal welfare system; and that he would influence the composition, structure, and politics of the 91st and 92nd Congresses.

**In all fairness, it should be said that at the midnight hour of the campaign many of these liberals confronted for the first time the implications of a Nixon victory, but this realization came to too few and at too late a time. Given the extraordinary closeness of the election, one cannot help but think that herein lies the reason for Humphrey's defeat.**

What the turbulent months of the campaign and the election revealed most of all, I think, was that the American people were voicing a profound demand for change. On the one hand, the Humphrey people were demanding a Marshall Plan for our diseased cities and an economic solution to our social problems. The Nixon and Wallace supporters on the other hand, were making their own limited demands for change. They wanted more "law and order," to be achieved not through federal spending but through police, mace, and the National Guard. We must recognize and accept the demand for change, but now we must struggle to give it a progressive direction.

Evidently, much depends on what Nixon does, and one can only speculate as to exactly what that will be. It is my own belief that Nixon will be neither violently conservative nor very ideological. While he will be pressed from the right by his Southern constituency, he must also respond to the left-of-center demands coming from the Atlantic seaboard. Beyond that, he must face the growing pressure from Negroes and other minority groups for real social change.

As he will be pressed from different sides by these three elements, I do not think he can move decisively in any one direction. He should try to assume a generally centralist position and then hope that he can play it by ear.

As for his "Negro" policy, he has already stated that he supports a program of black capitalism. I am entirely in favor of Negroes running grocery stores, as long as they realize that there is the danger they will be out of business the moment A&P decides to open a super market around the corner.

**But beyond that, it seems to me highly questionable to speak of black capitalism when 95% of Negroes are workers and hundreds of thousands of them are unemployed. To talk to Negroes about becoming capitalists when masses of them are barely surviving in the lumpenproletariat is to substitute a mirage for social analysis.**

There is a second reason that I have doubts about black capitalism. It is significant not so much in what it proposes to do, but because of the social and political context in which it is put forth. Black capitalism today is part of a larger series of ideas, including community control, which claim the failure of the federal government to solve the problem of poverty and which accept racial segregation. These ideas are not progressive. They represent defeatism and despair, and they let both the federal government and the white community off the hook while the Negro community must bear the whole burden for society's injustices.

Many proponents of black capitalism are also highly critical of the labor movement. So are the growing numbers of liberals who say that the trade union movement is dead or at best reactionary. I find these attitudes hard to unerstand, for there is not a Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, corporate, or civil rights organization in the country that has the basic economic program equal to the one proposed by the trade union movement.

It is a program that calls for the destruction of the ghetto and for the construction of decent homes for everybody, for full employment, a guaranteed income, and free medical care. Moreover, not a single bill affecting the poor in America would have gotten through Congress without the support of the labor lobby, and in this I include all of the civil rights legislation that has been passed in recent years.

**And finally, I must emphasize that all of the War on Poverty, were it multiplied a thousand times, could not do for the black lumpenproletariat what the trade union movement has done by organizing 2,000,000 of them. I cannot conceive of an effective and progressive coalition which does not include the labor movement.**

Richard Nixon has called for unity. I am sure his plea was heard by Eldridge Cleaver and George Wallace and all of their supporters. But I doubt that it will be heeded. There cannot be unity while poverty exists, and certainly it cannot be achieved with billy clubs and mace. What we need is a sound social and economic program that will do away with the distinction between the have and have-nots. Then we shall be together, and it is toward this end that we must now rededicate ourselves.

## A Letter from Budapest

It is not known abroad that public opinion in Hungary was very much disturbed about Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. At the universities, students demonstrated against the participation of Hungarian troops in the occupation. The Hungarian ambassador in East Berlin resigned in protest and returned to Hungary. He is an old Communist who fought with the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. His resignation was not made public, only the appointment of his successor was officially announced. At the time of the August events, Andreas Hegedüs, chairman of a sociological research group in the Academy of Sciences, was with three of his collaborators at a congress of sociologists in Yugoslavia. There he signed a protest against the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia. His collaborators were expelled from the Communist Party. Hegedüs himself was severely rebuked and will probably be dismissed from his leading post.

It was rumored in Budapest that Kadar was called to Moscow and reprimanded because of his friendship with Dubcek. Like Dubcek he is said to have been beaten. When he returned from Moscow, he was so disturbed and nervous that he had to be sent to a psychiatric clinic. This rumor seems to be not without foundation. For a long time, there was no mention of Kadar in the Hungarian press, radio or television. Later, to counter such rumors he appeared almost daily in some large plants, making jokes about his alleged illness.

When Czechoslovakia was invaded, hundreds of Hungarian vacationers were in East Germany. As long as the situation was so precarious, they could not return home via Czechoslovakia. They were transported back through Soviet border stations and Rumania. When the travellers arrived in Hungary, they told about the terrible misery they had witnessed in the Soviet border regions. Women and children were standing along the tracks begging for bread and a few kopeks.

The Hungarians themselves were not provided for; having no money left, they could not buy anything. The trains had no dining cars; the cars had no lavatories. All arrived in Bucharest exhausted and ill. There the situation was even worse. The Rumanians were indignant about Hungary having participated in the invasion of Czechoslovakia. When the Hungarian vacationers asked for help, they were told to go to the Hungarian embassy; they could not even get a glass of water.

# Workers and Democracy

Bayard Rustin

By BAYARD RUSTIN

There was something immensely invigorating and exciting about the recent strikes by workers in Poland. Although the strikes occurred in a faraway country whose people live under a dictatorial regime, every American, black and white, could identify with the drama that daily unfolded on our television screens and in our newspapers.

What began ostensibly as a strike for higher wages, and against the Communist equivalent of inflation, was transformed into a struggle for democratizing an authoritarian society. When finally the strike was settled and the workers went back on their jobs, they had succeeded in extracting wide-ranging concessions from the Polish government involving the right to trade unions independent of government control. If the Polish government lives up to the terms of this agreement, Poland will have taken a significant step in the direction of democracy.

However, there is a distinct danger that the Polish leadership, pressured by the Soviet Union, may revoke the terms of the strike settlement and plunge Poland into a period of social unrest and harsh government repression. This is why newly-formed Polish free trade unions need the support they are getting from American organized labor, now more than ever.

Blacks who remember the days of the freedom rides and of the murders of black civil rights activists in the fifties and sixties understand the true heroism of the Polish strikers. They literally were risking their lives for a better, more democratic, and more humane society. Of course, the repressions and harassment which black and white civil rights activists suffered in the United States was not the consequence of official federal government policy, and so the situation is not entirely equivalent. Yet the courage that was required to take on Jim Crow is similar to the courage that was required in 1980 to force the Polish Communist Party to relinquish some of its dictatorial control over Poland.

The strikes in the Polish shipyards are a significant historical event because they remind us all of the commitment of workers and independent trade unions to the democratization of society. Workers and workers' movements have historically raised economic questions. And workers often strike in the United States to better their economic well-being. But what is sometimes woefully ignored by the press and the public is the commitment of free trade unions to extending democracy.

Organized labor has a proud history of fighting to defend and broaden civil and human rights in the United States. Labor organizations like the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers are also in the forefront of defending the human rights of imprisoned and beleaguered trade unionists and democratic activists in such countries as Cuba, Argentina, Chile, the Soviet Union, South Africa, and Poland. Union members and union leaders know that without the freedom of trade unions to function democratically and without government interference, there can be no true advancement of workers' interests.

Blacks and other workers who watched the heroism of the striking Polish workers understand that unions free of government harassment are a cornerstone of democracy. They know that without strong and free unions society itself cannot be free.

**As an expression of solidarity with the Polish free trade unions and to mark the historical achievements of the Polish workers, the AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News will publish this issue—September 1980—in the Polish language.**

Federationist
Article

By Bayard Rustin

The decade which has elapsed since the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom has brought unprecedented progress for black Americans. In the area of civil rights alone, we have seen the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and laws abolishing the poll tax and requiring open housing. Over the last ten years, however, we have also made gains which transcend those of a purely civil rights nature. Though less dramatic, and subject to varying interpretations, there has been a steady improvement in our economic condition: the number of blacks living in poverty has significantly decreased; educational gains are universally acknowledged; and the composition of the black working class has undergone a massive change.

In pointing to these accomplishments at a time when Mr. Nixon is unilaterally declaring an end to the urban crisis and attempting through rhetoric and policy to promote a national mood of social callousness, my observations may appear gratuitous. For if the '60s were a period when liberals controlled the impetus for social change, the '70s have ushered in an era of regression, which is best exemplified by the Administration's indifference to the first recorded increase in the number of poverty-striken families in over ten years.

Thus I do not wish to minimize the persistence of racial injustice in American society; nor do I wish unwittingly to give comfort to those who blithely assure us that government simply can't do any more for the poor.

But it is important first, that we recognize that we have made progress, and second, that we identify the programs and forces which produced it. Otherwise, we have no basis from which to make the necessary demands that would continue the job of the Great Society.

On examining the course of the racial struggle, one begins to see an apparent correlation between periods of liberal social policy and those when the most permanent and far-reaching racial gains were attained. As a matter of fact, those programs which hastened the entry of blacks into the economic mainstream were not the result of government initiative; they were a response by government to the unified demands of blacks and their white allies--most important among them being the labor movement. In other words, what we have now learned is that lasting change has historically come only through basic institutional reform and through frontal assaults on the roots of discrimination, not through efforts to manipulate marginal social phenomena.

The March on Washington was the last occasion when all the major segments of the civil rights movement stood together--united around a basic program and in agreement over the strategic means for achieving it. The March marked the culmination of the period when we looked to protest and to civil disobedience as major tactical weapons in the struggle against Jim Crow; it represented a passage point between the stage when we sought those things denied us because of race prejudice and a new period when our goal was the transformation of a color-blind, but rigidly discriminatory economic order.

Because of the urgency of attaining passage of the civil rights legislation President Kennedy had introduced; we had to temporarily mute the economic portion of the agenda. Of all the civil rights leaders who addressed the crowd assembled at the Lincoln Memorial, only A. Philip Randolph stressed the economic goals that would remain unachieved after the basic civil rights statutes had become law.

Randolph spoke of a broad movement that would face important challenges even after its most immediate objectives had been realized. It was, in his words, a movement "that is not confined to the Negro nor...to civil rights, for our white allies know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white are unemployed and millions live in poverty." Randolph envisioned a coalition--comprised of those Americans with a personal stake in social change--that would seek freedom for Negroes and human justice for all people. But, Randolph insisted, the coalition would have to acknowledge the necessity of fundamental economic change: "The sanctity of private property," he continued, "takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality. It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits."

Randolph understood something many civil rights leaders did not recognize--that the notion of freedom presupposes a decent standard of living. From his perception of the economic roots of freedom, Randolph saw the unique significance of the March: he regarded it as a massive coalition with the power to democratize the political, social and economic forces of the nation.

The reasons for the subsequent disintegration of this coalition are numerous and complex. Some of our varying problems were foreordained, given the divergent philosophies in the civil rights movement. A. Philip Randolph, a Social~~ist~~ Democrat, could hardly have been expected to embrace economic schemes based on tax incentives for business, or on separatism or on community agencies. In retrospect, the only issues over which real unity was achieved were those of public accomodations and voting rights; the differences over housing, employment and education policies were present almost from the outset. Later, with the explosion of bitterness and rage in the northern ghettos, the movement was even further splintered. While northern blacks had heard of and seen the civil rights revolution; they had not experienced any difference in the painful day to day struggle of slum life.

Yet in the face of internal division and a mounting attack from a revived conservatism, the forces that were represented at the March did succeed in achieving important social legislation: civil rights laws and the basic economic program of the Great Society--manpower training, urban and housing aid, educational programs and the war on poverty.

The Great Society has frequently been dismissed as a total failure. But we must insist that it failed only to the extent that its programs were underfinanced or its objectives misdirected. The community action program, for example, launched in an effort to enhance the black political voice and give poor blacks a sense of participation, was a program with worthy aims. But it has by now become obvious that blacks have not sought the path to political empowerment through the artificially imposed structure of the anti-poverty agencies; blacks have found a means of political participation through normal electoral politics. A much more direct and effective means of strengthening political power among blacks--as well as among others that lack intense political motivation--would have been to enact a standardized national voter registration law along the lines of legislation introduced by Senator Gale McGee.

However the ultimate fault of the Great Society was not that it resulted in a monumental waste of taxpayer money but that it elicited a revolutionary rise in the expectations of the poor--expectations which, however, were unaccompanied by programs with sufficient funds to effect major change. As the situation worsened, it bred rage in blacks, whose hopes turned to dust in their mouths, and resentment in whites, who were convinced that the tax money they were paying was being spent on programs designed exclusively for blacks. Among white working people the impulse to capitulate to backlash feelings was particularly strong since they felt that their own standard of living was not much better than that of black families.

One senses much that is self-serving in the escalating criticism by the Right of the programs of the Great Society. Although the accomplishments of the Great Society may not have matched its soaring rhetoric, the Johnson-era agenda was not the unqualified failure that President Nixon proclaims.

A program that has reduced the percentage of black families living in poverty from 55 to 32 percent cannot be characterized as a failure. Nor can a program be so labeled that provided 400,000 jobs for blacks between 1961 and 1969, that greatly reduced the number of black families living in overcrowded conditions or in homes lacking adequate plumbing, and that provided the opportunities and stimulus for thousands of blacks to attend college.

Among the most significant achievements of the Great Society era, is the fundamental shift that has developed in the composition of the black working class. No longer are Negroes clustered at the very bottom of the economy, in unskilled, marginal and low-paying jobs. There was 69 percent increase between 1960 and 1971 in the number of blacks engaged in white collar, operative or craftsman jobs and an accompanying decline of 13 percent in the number of blacks working as domestics, unskilled laborers or service employes. Instead of comprising an economic underclass, as we did in 1960, blacks can now be said to have moved into what is generally regarded as the working class.

The magnitude of this progress is a vindication of the basic values of the civil rights movement that were reflected in the March: integration, adherence to non-violence, faith in government's ultimate capacity to institute social change, and belief in the coalition strategy. Now that the rhetoric of "Black Power" has abated, I think it is significant that those blacks who have been most successful at electoral politics--Barbara Jordan, Andrew Young and Thomas Bradley; to name just three recent examples --come out of this integrationist tradition.

The inability of the separatist doctrine to win broad support among the black masses, however, has not signaled its total demise: its vestiges persist in the professional associations, political parties and "black" formulas for social change that surface and disappear from time to time. I suspect that their continued popularity arises not so much from expectations of eventual success as from their symbolic value: they represent reactions of frustration and desperation to a government that ignores black needs and refuses to acknowledge that inequities exist.

Thus the black power groups prefer to operate outside the mainstream since those holding the reins of power give ample evidence of caring little whether blacks ever enter that mainstream. These politicians treat blacks not as a social force with special and quite serious problems, but as "invisible men."

Those few Administration programs that are directed at blacks only exaggerate this sense of isolation. Black capitalism, for example, simply places the small black businessman into a futile competition with the giant corporations. Black capitalism is thus bound to fail the black man. Moreover, its underlying ideology is based upon a tacit acceptance of the American economic structure - and that includes the ghetto, with social pathology, drug addiction, and high unemployment. In fact, by pursuing employment quotas (a Nixon program, despite the denials) the Administration proves that it is not concerned with opening up more opportunity, but is content with tokenism.

In the four years since Nixon was inaugurated, the number of unemployed blacks has risen by 400,000 and the number of blacks living below the federal poverty level has risen by 200,000. Had the courts not directed him to do otherwise, Nixon would have impeded the pace of southern school desegregation. Had Congress not balked, the President would have emasculated the enforcement provisions of the Voting Rights Act. And at a time when housing costs are rising beyond the reach of working people--not to mention the poor, the federal government is annually decreasing the number of housing units built with federal support.

But the most vexing problems confrontingus do not directly concern Mr. Nixon, whose behavior, given his past record, is not much different from what we could have anticipated. Our most significant challenge is to rebuild that coalition of blacks, labor and liberals which we saw symbolically united at the March on Washington so that it once again represents the needs and values of the majority.

If, in fact, we are about to enter a new phase in the struggle for racial equality, it is imperative that we approach it from a soundly working class perspective, as A. Philip Randolph has taught us. Indeed the importance of his vision is that he never separated racial discrimination from economic oppression: he saw them as two heads of the same monster. Thus the first March on Washington movement, which induced President Roosevelt to sign the historic Executive Order banning discrimination in defense industry hiring, was rooted in Randolph's commitment to working class needs. I think it is important to recall the significance of this accomplishment: never before or, for that matter, since the period during and immediately following World War II have blacks come as close to full employment as in 1941. Just as the Voting Rights Act; twenty-five years later, made blacks part of American political life, the first March movement succeeded in bringing blacks into American industrial life.

Randolph was able to succeed in 1941 and again 1963 because his view of black needs was never tainted by romanticism: he never attempted to impose on black people a scheme of values that had little relationship to their everyday lives or needs. Basic to the failure of "Black Power" programs was their insistence on seeing the Negro masses as potential revolutionaries when the masses themselves were only seeking a more equitable share of society's wealth and freedom. These militants remind us of the earlier radicals who tried to create a model of industrial proletariat in their own image, instead of seeing him as he really was.

Randolph understood what it took the rest of the civil rights movement ten years to realize--that everything we would achieve after the March would come through political organization; that marching to the ballot box would be more important than marching in the streets.

I believe that Nixon's 1968 triumph had a great deal to do with our embracing politics; we learned, with a conservative in the White House, that what we had achieved through protest could be easily lost at the polling place.

Most of our emphasis has been in acquiring a larger political voice at the local level. Measured by this goal, our gains have been considerable. Instead of the handful of blacks who held electoral office in the South prior to 1965, over 1,100 now hold office. Instead of six blacks in Congress, as in 1965, there are now 16, including one Senator. And over one million previously disenfranchised blacks now vote in the South.

Certainly the psychological value of the victories in Atlanta, Los Angeles and Newark should not be minimized: their influence has reached beyond the ghetto to encourage all black people to demand and work for a rightful share of political control.

The impact of these essentially local victories will have been blunted if our political outlook is not national in scope. In terms of pride and sense of accomplishment, the election of Kenneth Gibson meant a great deal to the people of Newark. Yet his election has not ended the fiscal crisis which annually beset Newark; nor has Gibson succeeded in rebuilding the blocks destroyed during the riots of 1967 or in lessening the racial polarization that continues to grip the city. One should not blame Mayor Gibson for this situation. But insofar as we concentrate on strictly local objectives, we share the responsibility for the perpetuation of the Newarks all across the country.

We could win political control of every major city in the nation and still not eliminate the ghetto or solve the basic problems of the urban impoverished. And if we were to delude ourselves into pursuing exclusively local objective, we would be vulnerable to the same disillusionment and frustration that the civil rights movement suffered when it came upon the realization of the complexity of economic, as opposed to social, discrimination.

The coalition that can achieve the broad, national programs to remake America across egalitarian, democratic lines is not an alliance comprised of what Eric Goldman approvingly described as the "rich, educated and dedicated with the poor."

It is rather a coalition that seeks working class goals, appeals to the values of working people, is supported by working people and has among its leadership the representatives of working people in the labor movement.

My support for such an alliance is not based on purely strategic considerations. For I believe that the labor movement, in the period since the March on Washington, has had a greater impact on our economic progress than any other social force. Labor not only supported the Great Society, but called upon President Johnson to go beyond the half measures that comprised the war on poverty. While the nation's mayors and many liberals were hailing the revenue sharing concept as an important effort to decentralize government, labor from the start opposed the concept as one that would lead to the enhancement of those least able and least willing to use that power for the less privileged.

As an institution which, like all other American institution, practiced discrimination, labor has made important strides in rooting out the vestiges of bias. The latest figures released by the Department of Labor belie the myth of the building trades as intransigently opposed to the goals of black workers: between 1968 and 1972 the percentage of non-whites enrolled in building trades apprenticeship programs more than doubled from 7.2 per cent to 15.1 per cent.

In the coming period, moreover labor's program takes on added significance for blacks. We have moved from a state of racial isolation before the March, to the point where we enjoyed the rights but not the means to enter society. Now, as our needs begin to dovetail with those of the millions of other working Americans we will be seeking precisely those things which labor is daily struggling to achieve.

To merge our agenda with that of the broader and much more numerous working class is not to ignore the special needs of blacks, but to recognize the economic roots of these needs. An increase in the minimum wage will have a disproportionate effect on blacks because blacks are still disproportionately represented in the lowest paying jobs. Extending minimum wage coverage to domestic workers--now pending before Congress--would benefit black women far out of proportion to any segment of the work force. And a program to guarantee full employment--to make the government the employer of first resort --would accomplish more good than the whole array of OEO programs that have become fixed in the public's mind as benefiting only blacks.

Taken as a whole, labor's program represent a basic challenge to economic discrimination and misdirected privilege. Its implementation would fulfill the mandate of the March on Washington, and complete the great tasks initiated by A. Philip Randolph during a lifetime of dedication to racial struggle.

6/19/73

Statement of Bayard Rustih on Edwin ~~E.~~ Newman TV Program:

The point of departure for any discussion about blacks and the unions ~~xxxthat~~ must be a recognition of the fact that blacks are overwhelmingly a working people. From this ~~it~~ recognition it follows that our interests run parallel to those of labor and our economic well-being is tied to the fate of America's workingclass movement.

This is most clearly true for the more than 2½ million blacks who are members of the trade union movement and who participate in the on-going struggle of unions for better wages, benefits, and working conditions. This 2½ mil blacks who are organized into trade unions make 30% more annually than those not organized Those who concentrate on the vestiges of discrimination within the labor movement ignore the fact that it is probably the most integrated institutiton in America. We will continue to fight discrimination wherever it exists, but we will do so creatively, not destructively, with our actions ~~as~~ guided by the understanding that we are trying to improve an institution that is vital to our own interests.

The labor movement is also of importance not only to workingclass Negroes, but to the most deprived sector of the black community today, what is often called the underclass or the lumpenproletariat. The despair and the bitterness of this group is limitless and for understandable reasons. They're imprisoned in a ghetto ~~xxxxxxx~~ of poverty, ~~xx~~ violence, and hopelessness and the way out is blocked by segregation and now also by automation. They feel neither wanted nor needed by the general society, and their immense frustration makes them the prey of every demagogue who comes along with some instant solution.

There is only one way out for ~~this oppressed group group,~~ Them and that is by the adoption by our government of a massive social and ~~xxxx~~ economic program that will eliminate the oppressive conditions under which they live, a program to rebuild our cities and to provide full employment, proper health care and quality education for all of our people. This is labor's program. There is no other institution with such a far-reaching social and economic program, and more important, there is no other organized body in the society with the strength and the persistency to carry through such a program.

In addition to labor's considerable lobbying efforts in Washington, I have in mind its political role in putting into office people who will act in the interests of workers and the poor. Labor constitutes the mass base for any liberal coalition in the United States. This has been true for forty years and it is even more true today when labor is rapidly expanding its political activities. What is essential to remember at a time when conservatives are trying to make inroads into the workingclass vote is that the efforts of the labor movement are primarily responsible for keeping workers in the liberal coalition. Labor fought Wallace in 1968, Agnew in 1970, and it will fight Nixon in 1972. These are the same people that blacks have fought and will continue to fight. The Negro-labor alliance, therefore, is not a dream but a reality, and it is in the interests of both groups that this alliance be strengthened in the coming years. There is no more important alliance as far as blacks are concerned, and there is no alliance which offers more creative possibilities for social change. Indeed, wherever this alliance is broken, it would constitute a serious setback in the black struggle for freedom and equality.

# SHAW, MISSISSIPPI: NEW SOUNDS IN THE DELTA

Shaw, Mississippi, is a dusty little town (population 2700, 2/3 Negro) divided by a bayou and surrounded on all sides by endless cotton fields. It is in the heart of the Delta, 32 miles from the Mississippi river. Besides some cotton gins and fertilizer plants the only industry is a sewing plant. At least a hundred Negroes applied for jobs, but according to reports there, not one Negro has been hired. Negroes in the area almost universally agree that something has to be done.

On April 9, 1965, eighty-five years since the end of the Reconstruction, 45 cotton day laborers, tractor drivers, haulers, domestic servants, part time carpenters, mechanics, handymen, former sharecroppers and renters met in a tiny Negro church and formed the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union.

Traditionally no Negroes go on strike in this state. Even union organizing provokes Klan activity and strikes by any but the strongest unions can be dangerous. Yet within two weeks after the organizing meeting 1,000 persons joined the union and more than 200 of them declared themselves on strike. Their demands were simple:a $1.25 minimum wage per hour, an eight hour day with time and a half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance and equal employment practices in wages, hiring and working conditions.

What the union is fighting is the rich farmer who operates his plantation as if it were a huge industrial corporation--so completely automated, so efficient, so inhuman that it is a wonder there is any resistance to it at all. Foreign visitors come here to see one of the world's largest plantations, the Delta Land and Pine Corporation, which occupies more than 60 square miles of land in Bolivar county alone. They marvel at how so few men can run so many acres with such cold efficiency. This English controlled Corporation is typical of the growing concentration of agriculture in this country. From the civil war to about 1930 the large slave owners plantations were divided among increasing numbers of sharecroppers. But since then the trend has reversed. Negro share-croppers and renters have dwindled because farm land costs too much for poor people today--$500 per acre. And very little is for sale. For the Negro, there is practically none at all.

Although the share-croppers has never been able to earn a stable, decent income in the Delta, he at least had some feel for the land. In a sense, the land was his. But for the day laborer this was never true. For him, the corporation is his boss man and he works for him on a day-to-day basis, without security,nwithout tenure, without rights of any kind. The important change that has come about is that the overwhelming number of Negroes in this part of the state are day laborers, completely "proletarianized," without capital, without property, without security beyond today's piece of bread and lard. In this "Age of Affluence" the forgottem man in Southern agriculture is the Negro day laborer. And, with automation he too is rapidly on his way to becoming extinct.

So far day laborers (choppers and pickers) constitute over 90% of the union membership. For years the going wage was $2.50 or $3.00 for ten or more hour's work. This year, Shaw residents say that white farmers are talking about paying only $1.75 per day/ There is no work at all when it rains, no unemployment compensation, minimum wage or social security protection from the government. It is almost impossible for a day laborer to get lones from the Farmers' Home Administration since he has no collateral and already is deeply in debt. Loans from private finance companies are available but at rates of interest usually over 331/3 %. As one union member said at a recent meeting: "I've taken people to Greenville to get loans and most come back just as they left--with nothing. But if you borrow it, you got to pay it back and with what? If you got a dark skin you're in trouble.

A 75-year old chopper, Miller Larks, a tiny man, with a wonderful ability to get to the heart of an issue, is a typical union member. On the hottest days, he might wear a clean though badly frayed shirt, tie, and long woolen jacket which reaches down fonr inckes above his knees. He sometimes closes his eyes when he talks and he usually has a grin on his face. As much as anyone, he helped to get the union started. He describes the system:

"I began farming when I was eight years old. Only went to school till the fourth grade. My father needed me to help out in the fields. I moved to Arkansas when I was 24 and joined a farmer's union. But we couldn't get it through because the white folks cut us out. They said we couldn't have a union in the south. I came back to Shaw and rented till I couldn't rent no more. It got so that I was losing money.

Then white folks got that they wouldn't rent to colored folks. That was about in 1949. They just got land out from under the colered peoples because of the debts. I remember it was in 1947 that I got some parity checks--about $2,400. The white folk, they didn't want you to have no parity checks. They took it all from me in 1947. After that I couldn't rent for cash no more. I couldn't even fourth rent (an arrangement where the renter pays a fourth of his cash earnings to the landowner). I couldn't rent no way. I had to work the shares (sharecropping) but I wasn't making any living at all.

"Then I got a truck and I hauled day labor but I couldn't get enough people--just two or three. I couldn't keep up my truck. The boss man, he only paid you $.50 for each person you brought. Now I'm too old to do a hard day's work. I live on old age checks and I get a government check for my kids."

Another union member, Mrs. Willie Mae Martin, about 35, has seven children and has chopped cotton for years. A few years ago her husband died and in 1961 she was forced to apply for welfare. She receives food through the government commodity program. During one of the union meetings in the wood-frame Church of God in Christ in the heart of Shaw's South-town section, Mrs. Martin asked if I would talk to her outside. When nobody could hear she asked "Do you think it's right for a person to live on $35 a month with seven children? What can a person do for his children when there's not enough food to eat?" The commodities ended last April 1. They don't begin again until the dead season sometime in November. Mrs. Martin's monthly notes total $24 for a washing machine, gas heater and refrigerator. Insurance premiums come to $7.60 and rent is $13 a month. That leaves her $8.60 in debt each month.

The secretary of the union is Mrs. Edna Mae Garner. From her wooden shack you could see the white plantation boss's son across the field about a half mile away. "The man's looking this-a-way," someone in our intefrated group said. "Makes no difference," she responded, "I don't figure to live here much longer nohow." Mrs. Garner explained that since she has been cut off from welfare in 1959 she has fallen behind in her $10 a month rent. The three room shack has holes in the floor so you can see daylight; there is no electricity or indoor plumbing. The linoleum is worn through and the wall paper is peeling off the wall. She has seven children living with her, is separated and receives no income from her husband. The last commodities she received are just about gone now. Mrs. Garner says this about the welfare authorities:

"No matter how bad you're starving and you're kids are doing without, they don't care. They listen to what peoples tells them, they don't go by how bad is your need. The lady I used to work for had me cut off. I used to work forher and she would give me dinner, and let me off early. I used to do chopping later in the day and I could make $3 a day but after James Meredith at Ole Miss in 1962 she let me off. The last times I worked for her she wouldn't even give me my dinner.

"I expect the boss man's going to come round here to ask me to leave any time now. When he asks me 'will I do some chopping?' and I tell him 'no, I'm on strike till I get $1.25 an hour, 'I expects he's going to ask me to move on."

The first few weeds of May is zero hour for the MFLU. The weeds will be popping through the light yellow brown Delta soil and the plantation operators will be scouring the nearby towns for choppers. Before then, arrangements must be made between the operators and the haulers' who transport the day laborers to the fields. William Brewer, 63, a short, solidly built man was a sharecropper, but for the past few years he has worked as a hauler. Last week he signed the strike pledge form. Brewer describes how he earns his living:

"I work directly with the landlords. I've never gone to the [Federal Government] Employment Office to get choppers and pickers. The landlord pays me directly $.50 for everyone I bring. I work five or six months on the average. We only work at most five days a week unless it rains. I have hauled twenty four peoples on my truck, and I usually have about sixteen. That means about $8 a day. The choppers pay for their lunches which I buy in town. I am supposed to be with my group all day and service them. Lots don't eat early in the morning so right away I go to town to get lunch and ice. I got to be up before dawn. Don't go home till dark.

"I earned about $701 last year. From that I had to pay $85 liability insurance and $170 for an overhaul on my truck. Of course I got to pay for all the gas and oil and other work that goes in. I only pay $5 rent a month but with all the expenses and all, I'm three months back due. So far this year I did construction work in Cleveland for about 12 hours and I did some moving and driving people around. I charge about $3.50 or $4 for moving families. I'll do just about any kind of work that comes around."

Since the work year has been shortened, it's especially difficult to make a living. Brewer says: "Since they been using chemicals, we're getting a later start. Now there's not much doing till June and they're improving the stuff all the time There's no future for the little man here any more."

Union leaders realize that unless more haulers like Brewer go on strike, the strike is in trouble. Tractor drivers are also crucial to the success of the strike. They are the highest paid ($5 to $8 per ten to twelve hours a day) and most skilled cotton field workers besides mechanics. For weeks now they have been plowing and planting the fields and so far only a hand-ful have gone on strike. One driver explained: "I started working for my boss man two years ago. He started me off at $5 a day but within a few weeks he raised me to $6 and now I'm getting $7.50. I didn't even have to ask him for it. He came up to me and said he's just going to give me a raise."

At the union meetings last week it was clear that not much could be expected from the drivers. George Shelton, 19 of Shaw, a husky, persuasive, hard working organizer and MFLU chairman, called for volunteers to recruit tractor drivers: "We got to show them that this fight is their fight too. We got to talk with them right away. We only got two more weeks. We can't expect to get all of them signed up but we can get some. Then some more might follow...But don't let's go in the fields to t[illegible] talk with them. We'll just get run out. Get them when they're at home when they can listen."

A union of agricultural workers was in the people's minds for years. Some even remember their grandparents' talk about the Southern Farmers' Alliance which developed into the Populist party in the 1890's.. In parts of the South the Populists voted to get rid of politicians who favored the big planters and the rich "Bourbons." For a short time the Alliance and Populist party leaders, like Tom Watson of Georgia, told poor whites and Negroes that they were being kept apart so that they might more easily be robbed by the big landowners. Later the Party under attack from racist extremists, turned against the Negro as well as Jews and Catholics.

Shelton said the impetus for beginning a union came out of Freedom School meetings conducted by white COFO workers Mary Sue Gellatly and Bob Weil. But Mr. Larks, who faithfully attended these meetings says that he thought about forming a union here long ago. He adds:

"I have people in the north who belong to the union. When we gets together that's mainly what we talk about -- the union. So we began talking about it here that $3 a day from sun-up to dark wasn't enough. We couldn't support our families. We all talked about how much we needed to live and we talked and talked about it for a month. We decided on $1.25. That will be good on condition we can get the work. But we know that if he has to pay us that much he's likely to give us nothing."

Mrs. Josie Atkins, about 65, was another person who helped form the union: "I thought that the whole problem is that we rely on cotton chopping and picking too long now. We got to either get a decent wage or think of going to work at something else." Mrs. Atkins says that a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party workshop in Biloxi inspired her to work for a union,

Andrew Hawkins, of Shaw, the FDP County Chairman, also helped get the union off the ground. Hawkins, a carpenter, hopes to run for mayor. Along with over 100 other Negroes, mainly day laborers, he helped form the Bolivar County Improvement Association last August. The group tried unsuccessfully to help bring industry to the area. Since the fall the BCIA died out and members merged with the FDP and later with the union.

Most union members realize they're fighting against enormous odds, but they are convinced that right is on their side. A thin frail looking man in a soft voice explained at the meeting: "A man shouldn't get angry if all we is asking is $1.25 an hour. That's nothing considering we worked for so long for nothing. Let's love the white man but let's stand up for what's right." And Mr. Larks smiling, added: "I enjoyed going to jail (last April 1 70 Shaw residents demonstrated in protest against the local school's segregated and inferior conditions). We had a big time when we marched down to that jail. We followed together! I was proud to go to jail. We got to stick together in the union the same way."

To help members on strike, members voted to collect $.50 a month dues from each member. A barber and beautician offered their services at cut rates, women promised to sew aprons and bed quilts and some people planned to hold fish fries. Everyone agreed to enlarge the size of their garden plots, and plant one large plot in common. One person suggested that small Negro farmers be approached for help: "We can't strike against them. Maybe we could help him feed his hogs and he could help feed us."

"But some people," Mr. Lark said, "want to strike but won't be able because they going to have to have something for the ~~ir~~ children to live on. "If," he added, "the union can support those unfortunate ones, then we can do something." The union voted to give all food and clothing from friends in the North only to those people on the strike list. It also was decided that only the strikers should get help.

Ever since the Movement began in Shaw the white man has fought it. Traffic arrests and other harassments are more frequent than ever before and now things are expected to get worse. Mrs. Beatrice Miller, 51, a union member, whose husband rents a 40 acre farm nearby says:

"Practically every job that comes in around here, they hire whites, not colored. Anybody they know participates in the movement they get turned off his job. And they won't give you a job if they know you're in the movement.

"We can't borrow the money we need to grow cotton right. We just can't afford the soda, the poison and the good kind of cotton seeds, and we can't afford to plow and plow the land the way the white people do.

"It used to be that when you owed some to the white people they'd go along with you. But things are changed now. One colored man had 13 acres but when his wife died owing $200 they closed him out. A lady I know lost her 60 acres because she owed $900. My husband's grandfather had 120 acres and he paid a down payment on it to white people. On his deathbed he said 'I hoped I could leave land for my children but now I'm going and leaving nothing.' The white people took it from us and left us nothing. They don't want you to have nothing."

Mr. Larks told people at one of the meetings: "My man told me 'Look, you been living in this house for a long time. Now we got to change all that. You got to get some more money if you still want to stay here.' The majority of these white men are angry with us because of this union. They knows about us."

On April 28, a two day meeting of the MFLU began in Shaw. Poor Negroes came from areas all over the state. The Freedom Democratic Party started in somewhat the same way last year. Now Negroes throughout the whole country have come to this state to study its political ideology and tactics. The MFLU may become the economic arm of the revolution. But before that happens, there is much suffering to be done. As Mr. Larks puts it:

"I'm with freedom as far as I can go. I'm with the union as far as I can go. They can try to starve us out but we know what starving's like. The man upstairs says he'll help us if we take the first step. I love my people trying to do something good. I love this thing called the union. I feel this union is like a building. We all got to help it because it's going to help us. We living now and we don't have nothing. I believe with this building we can have something."

# MARCH ON WASHINGTON, 1963

Article for Op-Ed Page, Los Angeles Times

By Bayard Rustin

In the annals of the struggle for social justice in America, there has never been anything quite like the March on Washington. It drew a quarter of a million people to Washington, and touched the moral impulse of millions who, in any other circumstance, would have backed away in uneasiness and disapproval from public displays of protest. It mobilized the support of the majority for legislation that would destroy the fabric of Jim Crow, a way of doing things which the South had built up and solidified over a century's time.

Moreover, it was a fulfillment of the social vision of A. Philip Randolph, a man ~~who~~, capable, as no other civil rights leader was capable, or reconciling high idealism with pragmatic accomplishment. Twenty-two years earlier, as America lurched from depression to war-time preparation, Randolph proposed that Negroes march on Washington to demand that a nation which asked them to risk their lives guarantee their access to an expanding economy as well. A nervous President Roosevelt, previously unwilling to move against pervasive racial inequity, finally acquiesced, signed the executive decree establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission, and brought the black worker into industrial America.

In 1963 Randolph saw the March as a means of dramatizing much more encompassing and far-reaching demands. To the broad demand for social freedom, Randolph joined a specific program for economic justice--a program for "Jobs and Freedom", as the March came to be called. In the speech which he delivered at the Lincoln Memorial, Randolph spoke eloquently of the Negro's role as vanguard in a movement to remake America's economic institutions. "The sanctity of private property," he said, "takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality. It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls on us to demand full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits."

But while there were two stated goals--one economic, the other moral--the political conditions of 1963 required that we throw the weight of our forces behind the moral issue of the attainment of social and civil rights. Although the Civil Rights Act had already been introduced by President Kennedy, its enactment was by no means assured. One of the signal accomplishments of the March was to remove from the public's mind the final vestiges of ambivalence about Negro demands, creating an unequivocal popular mandate for our agenda.

The March itself was not responsible for this change in attitude. It simply provided a public forum for the expression of our demands, and the enunciation of our program. We made it clear that while we were prepared to use demonstrations and civil disobedience as tactics, we believed that ultimately our program could only be enacted through normal political channels.

The March marked the zenith of mass protest as a vehicle for social change. Within a year, the nation had ratified a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax and Congress has enacted the Civil Rights Act. In another year the Voting Rights Act was passed. The adoption of this legislation signaled an end to the time when the civil rights agenda could be defined in exclusively moral terms. Our objectives would henceforth be economic, and the means of achieving them essentially political.

The failure to recognize the changing nature of the civil rights movement's goals would later bring division and discord. But on August 28, 1963, the disparate forces of the black community and the various elements within liberalism spoke as one.

They were unified around a program, and they put aside tactical or strategic differences because of the compelling urgency of its adoption. For it was the March's agenda which set it above the demonstrations that were to follow. The demands were rooted in the democratic tradition, since they sought the extension of constitutional rights to those who had been denied them. Moreover, it was a program that reached beyond the Negro, to embrace those pushed aside by the inequities of America's economic structure. The movement was, as A. Philip Randolph stated, "not confined to the Negro... for our white allies know they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

In future years Washington would be flooded with demonstrations, and marches, and expressions of civil disobedience. Some would be larger, but none would touch the nation's conscience or energize the political system as did the original March on Washington.

This is largely because the people who participated in the March imparted to the nation a dignity and sense of purpose that sprung naturally from their personal acquaintance with discrimination. Later, what had begun as non-violent direct action escalated into dangerous, self-defeating confrontationism, tactics borne of despair and a lack of responsible commitment. But those who had lived with bigotry on a day to day basis, and who now, for the first time, saw the glimmer of hope for a new society, would not fall victim to the irresponsibility which was to become commonplace in social movements.

Ultimately, the March was largely responsible for placing the agenda of the civil rights movement at the forefront of the movement for social change. In the ensuing period liberalism was shaped by the issues raised that day, ten long years ago. We asked that discrimination and economic injustice be attacked at their roots, and to the degree that they were, the liberal agenda can be called a success.

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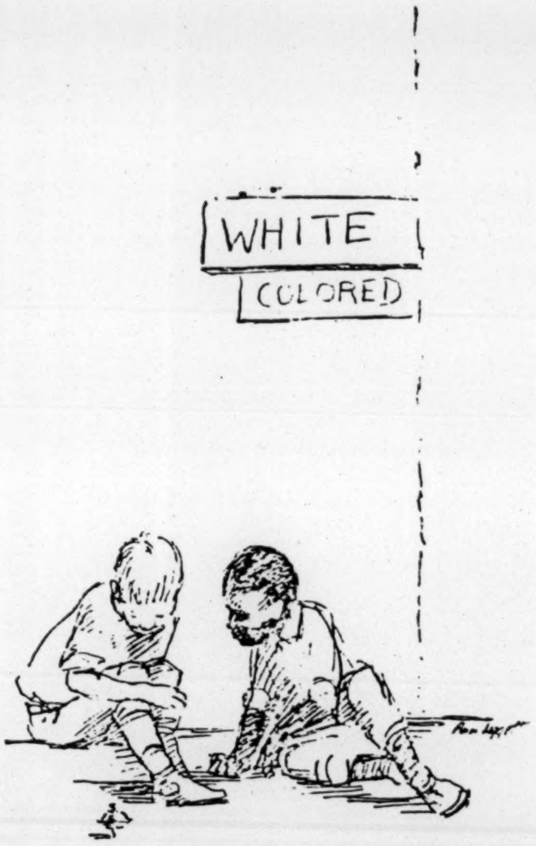
# The Meaning of the March on Washington



**BAYARD RUSTIN**

THE GHASTLY bombings in Birmingham point up the success of the March on Washington—and at the same time expose the inadequacy of those of us who organized it. We were bombed because we were winning, not because we were losing. But our biggest mistake was to have carried out such a powerful March, with a quarter of a million people in the streets, and not to have understood that the counterrevolutionaries would strike back in some such demented way. We can perhaps be excused a little, in that we were overwhelmed with the machinery and busy working out our next moves. But we should have had the next steps ready. We should have done our part to get the masses ready to move.

There is nothing that one can say about the death of any child, white or black. One of the terrible things about any death of a child is that there was snuffed out the life of someone who might have painted like Michelangelo or written music like Beethoven. But to kill four children where they had come to learn the Sermon on the Mount, to love one another and to forgive, leaves one without words. Therefore I shall say nothing about the death of the children and instead try to put the March into perspective.

1.) The March on Washington took place because the Negro needed allies. One reason he needed allies was that the Negro revolt had, quite properly, begun to become a revolution. The struggle began with the problem of buses and lunch counters and theaters—in a word, with the problem of dignity. But since the roots of discrimination are economic, and since, in the long run, the Negro, like everyone else, cannot achieve even dignity without a job, economic issues were bound to emerge, with far-reaching implications. Similarly, when the question of where Negro children go to school began to come to a head, deeper problems arose than when it was a question of a movie or a hamburger. When you touch the home and the job, you touch sensitive nerves. At the point where this happened, it became important for the Negro to have allies, for his own sake and for the sake of his white brothers as well.

Historically, the March on Washington broadened the base of the civil-rights movement. The March was not a Negro action: it was an action by Negroes and whites together. Not just the leaders of the Negro organizations, but leading Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish spokesmen called the people into the streets. And Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, white and black, responded. This response obviated the danger that the revolt would be an argument between Negroes and whites over a few jobs. It began the process of focussing attention where it belongs: on the problem of what kind of economic and political changes are required to make it possible for everyone to have jobs. The civil-rights movement alone cannot provide jobs for all. It cannot solve the problems raised by automation—and automation deprives more Negroes of jobs than any other single factor, including prejudice. Nor can it tackle alone the coalition of Dixiecrats and plutocrats which impairs the political and economic health of the country.

2.) The Birmingham demonstrations achieved a breakthrough in goals, the March in methods. Birmingham forced the nation to see that Negroes are no longer interested in merely integrating buses here and lunch counters or swimming pools there. It forced the liberals, both black and white, to see that over-all demands by the Negro were inevitable. For the first time it became clear that the Negro wanted everything in his life changed.

What Birmingham accomplished with respect to goals, the March achieved with respect to method. It forced people to see the necessity for masses in the street. It underlined the inevitability of nonviolent mass action. It pointed the way to massive civil disobedience, by both blacks and whites.

Most Americans are more interested in order than in law, more interested in law than in justice. This means that in the normal course of events they will line up behind the *status quo* rather than make the basic changes required to meet human needs. In practical terms, this means that it is better for the Negro to go on suffering for another hundred years than to cause a disturbance in Washington or embarrass Congress. That is why it was important to get thousands of white people into the streets in Washington. Until Birmingham, the objectives were on trial; until the successful completion of the March, the method was on trial. "Would 'they' not bring their guns and razors to Washington?" The March came off so beautifully that not only did it reassure our white allies, it also put our opponents on the spot. That some of them responded so cruelly, with the bombings in Birmingham (incited as they were, whether intentionally or not, by Governor Wallace and the "hold-the-line" Senators) and the subsequent shootings by Southern policemen, heightened the contrast between the nonviolent revolutionists and the *status quo* defenders of "law and order."

## The Kennedy Administration

3.) The success of the March also put the Kennedy administration on the spot. Even newspapers which had opposed the March right up until the day it took place turned around afterwards and asked Kennedy to come through for us. But Kennedy cannot come through as easily as some people seem to think. For there is no way to satisfy the Negro and his allies under "politics as usual." Our demands cannot be met so long as the Dixiecrats maintain their political and economic power. And their power is maintained not only through the well-known coalition with Republicans, but through alliances and compromises with their fellow Democrats as well.

Kennedy is the smartest politician we have had in a long time. He calls the Negro leaders together and says in effect: "I want to help you get money so Negroes can vote." That's when he is bowing toward us. Then he turns and bows to the Dixiecrats and gives them Southern racist judges who make certain that the money the Negro gets will not achieve its purpose. On the one hand he blesses the march, and on the other hand he reassures the segregationists and sabotages the aims of the March by permitting his brother to launch suits against the civil-rights leaders in Albany, Georgia. The time has passed when the Negro can be fooled by such methods. Our demands are not only too urgent, but too all-encompassing to be trifled with in this manner.

4.) Inseparable from the problem of politics-as-usual is the problem of "business as usual." Historically, the significance of the March will be seen to have less to do with civil rights than with economic rights: the demand for jobs. The problem of how to get jobs for Negroes is really the problem of how to get jobs for people. And this brings us up against the whole power structure. The tentacles of the power structure reach all the way from Birmingham to New York and Pittsburgh and Chicago, even as they also reach from New York, Pittsburgh, and Chicago to Birmingham, Danville, and Jackson. We must put the total structure of the country under scrutiny, including the war economy. Not only does war industry fail to provide butter and schools, houses and hospitals, but it provides the least jobs per dollar spent of any sector of industry. It is the most highly automated part of the economy.

Under automation, we are faced with a new civil war situation all over again. Once again the union cannot endure only half free. It cannot survive if it is divided into those who receive high incomes and those who are unemployed and subsist on the dole. The white unemployed and the labor unions have not challenged this situation. The March did. The program was inadequate, but a crucial first step was made.

## Police Brutality

The difficulties we face were re-emphasized by the bombings in Birmingham. There have been 21 unsolved bombings in Birmingham alone since the war, 50 in the state of Alabama. But the bombings are only the most flagrant example of the counterrevolutionaries' strategy. All through the South, with the exception of a very few cities, an attempt is being made to crush the nonviolent movement by an excess of police violence, by beating and brutalizing the demonstrators. In Alabama, for instance when Negroes march, Al Lingo, State Director of "Public Safety," moves in with his head-beaters. Unfortunately, the Kennedy administration, with its ties to the Dixiecrats and its anachronistic foreign policy, is playing right into the hands of those who employ such tactics. In addition to the continuing appointment of racist judges, the abysmal failure of the F.B.I. to do its job, and the pressing of federal indictments in Albany, Georgia, President Kennedy called in the press, after the prominence given in the news media to the use of police dogs and fire hoses in Birmingham. He pointed out that the image of the United States was being sullied abroad, to its detriment in the Cold War. Now, although there is a lot in the papers about the civil-rights movement, the true picture is missing. The terrible daily brutality of the police goes for the most part unreported. The killing of six children in Birmingham could not go unreported, but Kennedy's only response was to send in two unenlightened representatives of the old order, the very order Negroes are trying to destroy in Birmingham.

The inevitable reaction of large numbers of concerned people is to demand an end to this hypocrisy and to call for federal troops to protect the Negroes against inhuman bombers and brutal Southern police. I wish that the problem could be solved by sending in federal troops, but unfortunately it cannot. Basically there is only one thing federal troops can do, and that is to defend the *status quo*. But if Negroes had accepted the *status quo* in the first place there would have been no bombings and considerably less police brutality. We need protection, but we need protection *and* progress. Troops will not break the power of the Southern oligarchy. We did not ask for troops on August 28th, and ten thousand were on hand. How can we expect that when we ask for them they will do what is needed?

## Creative Disruption

The need of the civil rights movement is not to get someone else to manipulate power. They will not do it in our interests. Our need is to exert our own power, and the main power we have is the power of our black bodies, backed by the bodies of as many white people as will stand with us. We need to use these bodies to create a situation in which society cannot function without yielding to our just demands. We need to make things unworkable until Negroes have jobs, equality, and freedom.

There has been talk of violence, especially by those in the North. If violence could ever be justified, it would be justifiable now for the Negroes of Birmingham. But we are not interested in retaliation. We want our freedom. And we cannot get our freedom with guns. You cannot integrate a school or get a job with a machine gun. The only way we can do these things is to use our bodies in such a way that the school or the factory cannot operate successfully without integrating us. The same holds true for our pressing overall demands. The civil-rights movement cannot go much further without taking on society. Until we do so there will be a continuation of the brutalization and serfdom that is the daily lot of the majority of Negroes and a large number of whites. We need to go into the streets all over the country and to make a mountain of creative social confusion until the power structure is altered. We need in every community a group of loving troublemakers, who will disrupt the ability of the government to operate until it finally turns its back on the Dixiecrats and embraces progress.

My words may seem extreme. But both the demands and the needs of the Negro people go so far beyond the present political possibilities that disruption is inevitable. The only question is whether it will be violent or nonviolent, creative or uncreative. In the present framework of Southern brutality, aided by the leaders of both major parties and abetted by the apathy and "patience" of the white masses, there is no longer any viability for a *minority* nonviolent movement. Furthermore, there is a moral deterioration that takes place if the individual must face the brutalization and murder of little children, the furious violence of the Southern police, and the hypocrisy of the Kennedy administration, without a big enough response. It is not a question of debating, in a vacuum, the morality of violence and nonviolence, on the one hand, or of "respect for law" *versus* civil disobedience, on the other. It is a question of program, of taking the offensive in an adequate way. For this, there must be masses in motion. There is no possibility of a practical program through violence. But unless those who organized and led the March on Washington hold together and give the people a program based on mass action, the whole situation will deteriorate and we will have violence, tragic self-defeating violence which will do immeasurable harm to whites and Negroes alike and will postpone indefinitely the day when all men will be free.

## ALL THE EARLY MORNINGS

All the early mornings of your innocence
All the silver pennies of your smile
I am saving somewhere,
My little Miss Blue-Eyes, but nowhere
They shall ever think to look.

They don't believe in anywhere
But hurting things, and all their roads
Run crooked as their hearts.
But the country of your quick and
Given love, they have no maps to find.

If I could plant your hands' unhesitant
Adventuring, even battlefields would be
All flowers with it. And all the bloody
Bushes could your unpracticed laughter
Like little rains and busy birds make new.

Whatever it is they want to kill you for,
It had better be more important
Than these ten most fragile fingers
That are all about your suddenly discovered
World a shy silk thread of wonder winding.

*T. Roszak*

## A VOLCANO IN KYUSHU

Mount Aso uplands
horses, rimrock
  the sightseeing busses crammed
  to view bare rock, brown grass, space,
  sulphury cliffs, streaked snow.
  —whiffing the fumaroles
a noseless, shiny,
mouth-twisted middleaged man.
  Bluejeans, check shirt, silver buckle
J. Robert Oppenheimer
twenty years ago
watching bulldozers
  tearing down pines
  at Los Alamos

*Gary Snyder*

Rustin article

# CRISIS ARTICLE

by Bayard Rustin

May 30, 1973

This August marks the tenth anniversary of the March on Washington, the most important nonviolent mass demonstration of American social struggle. Over 200,000 persons participated in the March; every significant civil rights leader supported its objectives; broad cross-sections of the labor, liberal and religious communities endorsed its demands. Although there have been larger and showier demonstrations, no other has touched the depths of the nation's moral impulse as did the March and no other, certainly, has influenced the course of social legislation and determined the shape of institutional reform to the degree that the March did.

Just five months after the March, the nation ratified the 23rd amendment to the Constitution and thus outlawed the poll tax. In another five months the 1964 Civil Rights Act was adopted after the Senate, setting a historic precedent, invoked cloture for the first time on a civil rights measure. Within another year Congress passed and President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, with its strict provisions for federal intervention whenever necessary to guarantee the franchise to southern blacks.

The importance of this legislation cannot be overstated. The social system of the South - a way of doing things built up and solidified over a century's time - was turned around in the course of a few intense years. The political power of southern conservatism - which had long wielded an undue influence in Congress - was broken, perhaps permanently. No longer could Dixiecrat mandarins exert veto power over social legislation as they had done in earlier eras; we should keep in mind that even so limited a measure as an anti-lynching law, which posed no threat to the basic social and economic fabric, was blocked year after year by the power of the southern senators.

To point out that this legislation has had a transforming effect on American society is to restate the apparent; what is less obvious, and most relevant to our current situation, is why the March, as the symbol of the civil rights movement's unity and as the expression of its program, contributed to the subsequent progress.

Seen across the span of a decade of turbulence, the March's significance appears not to lie so much in its size or nonviolent character, although the importance of these factors - particularly of the discipline of the demonstrators - should not be minimized, given the excesses of later demonstrations. The March is significant, ultimately, for what it reveals to us about the strengths and limitations of the civil rights movement. It can show us why the civil rights movement could succeed in its assault on the legal foundations of Jim Crow, but was unable to move as effectively beyond civil rights. The lessons to be learned from the March can thus suggest a program and strategy for the future.

The March was built around two basic objectives. These were, as we should remember, for "Jobs and Freedom." When he addressed the crowd assembled at the Lincoln Memorial, A. Philip Randolph - the architect and inspiration of the March on Washington - spoke eloquently of the intertwined goals of civil rights and economic equality:

> Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group, we are not an organization, we are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom...But this civil rights movement is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty-- We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic and social advancement of man along moral lines...We know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political philosophies and institutions...It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand full employment, and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits.

But while there were two stated goals - one moral, the other basically economic - the objective conditions of 1963 dictated that the civil rights movement throw all its force behind the moral issue of the attainment of social and civil rights. Although what was to become the 1964 Civil Rights Act had already been introduced by President Kennedy, its enactment by Congress was at the time by no means assured. One of the signal accomplishments of the March was to remove from the public's mind the final vestiges of ambivalence about Negro demands, creating an unequivocal popular mandate for our goals.

Clearly, no single demonstration and no individual civil rights figure was responsible for this change in attitude. It took beatings, jailings and martyrdom to arouse public outrage over the oppression of southern blacks. The March simply provided a national public forum for our demands. Those who asked "What does the Negro want?" were answered by the March. But we made it clear that while we valued demonstrations and civil disobedience as tactics, we saw that ultimately our problems could only be resolved through regular political channels. Our program could only be established in Congress, not in the streets.

The institutional changes that resulted from the 1964 and 1965 civil rights legislation are real enough. The elimination of discrimination in employment and promotion policies, for instance, has meant that blacks are no longer restricted to the lowest paying jobs and to those jobs most vulnerable to the onslaught of automation. In fact a remarkable transformation in the composition of the black working class took place between 1960 and 1970. Whereas, at the beginning of the decade the average black worker was a farmhand, an unskilled laborer or a domestic, by the decade's conclusion he had become a mechanic, a factory operative or, in an increasing number of instances, a skilled worker or a professional.

To examine black progress in the area of employment is to understand not simply the success of the civil rights movement, but its shortcomings as well. For while black people are getting better jobs they are not getting more jobs. Unemployment today is greater than it was in 1963 and, of course, affects most immediately the unskilled, the under-educated and the young.

In the area of civil rights legislation, again we see that far-reaching economic change does not necessarily accompany legislation dealing with moral issues. For in fact the destruction of the legal foundations of segregation did not substantially alter the economic structure. Following the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, for example, we witnessed what seemed to some a vital change in the South. Southern politicians adopted a new tone in their campaigns. Racial moderates and progressives, with the support of blacks, increasingly defeated those who campaigned on the race issue. In a series of elections in 1970 and 1971, racial moderates swept the governorships in most of the Deep South (a notable exception being Alabama). Governor Edwards of Louisiana purged Jim Crow statutes from the lawbooks (a symbolic, but essentially hollow, gesture given the fact that federal law had made these acts unenforceable). Mississippi's Governor Waller promised to appoint some blacks to state jobs. But as yet there has been little substance behind the rhetoric of progress in the South. Minimum wage levels are still inadequate; expenditures for schooling are well below those in other parts of the country; family assistance payments are unconscionably low; and right-to-work laws, an increasingly important barrier to equality now that blacks have become more numerous in the trade unions, remain unchallenged.

These observations force us, then, to return to the question of why our movement was successful only insofar as it could achieve civil rights legislation which, granted, was important even though it did not go far enough. This is an extremely complex question. It can be analyzed, I believe, in terms of two underlying problems. The first in the lack of sufficient unity in black demands. The second involves a failure of will among certain elements of liberalism.

The lack of black unity, let me suggest, is more apparent than real. Black people may be divided on certain issues - busing, for instance - but there does exist a broad consensus for programs that further integration and economic advancement. Black voting patterns have remained soundly and intelligently liberal; candidates who preach separatist doctrine or who offer nothing more substantial than being black themselves have been rejected in favor of bona fide liberal candidates. Public opinion polls show blacks as taking a far less apocalyptical view of American society than almost all other groups: blacks do not see America as "morally bankrupt," although they are profoundly disturbed by the perpetuation of discrimination and inequities, as well as by their own political powerlessness to resolve the situation.

On the other hand, the divisions we are experiencing are those widely publicized ones that have occurred among blacks who, sometimes legitimately, sometimes not, are perceived by the media as the black leadership. Jesse Jackson has recently vowed to take the civil rights movement back "to the streets - where it belongs." Floyd McKissick, once regarded as a dangerous militant, now preaches the doctrines of Nixonian Republicanism. The black professional associations that have proliferated in recent years propose a variety of solutions to social wrongs, solutions that are alike only in originating out of race consciousness.

The fragmentation of black leadership is one of the most tragic developments since the March and has contributed in no little degree to our subsequent problems. In 1963, black leadership was committed to the strategy of mass protest coupled with political action, had little hesitation in endorsing the March's agenda, and accepted the necessity of building alliances with progressive forces in the larger society. This general agreement over basic goals no longer exists: some have dropped from the struggle, embraced marginal, non-economic issues, or advocated programs which, while they may touch on economic change, are too narrow to reach the great mass of black working people. Only a few of the groups which provided the March's nucleus have retained an unambiguous commitment to integration and basic economic change, most notably the NAACP and the National Urban League.

It is not unusual to detect in these professional groups hints of conservatism. Like the Black Power groups, they attract those with such narrow visions of social policy that blackness, and blackness alone, determines political doctrine. To accept this concept is to signal a retreat from political action; it represents an effort to fill a psychological void - by motion of any kind - by reacting against what is perceived as the stagnation of politics. Building a sense of community in the ghetto is a praiseworthy venture, but as a strategy for social advancement it is far from adequate: it tries to establish the notion of community in a situation where widespread poverty, violent crime and massive unemployment abound, thus tacitly encouraging acceptance of that situation.

The contradictory and sometimes self-defeating principles that underlie separatist thinking have important ramifications for liberalism. For two decades black demands have occupied a special place at the forefront of the liberal agenda. Our goals have in fact shaped the broader program for social change. The domestic platform of the Great Society, for example, was built around those issues insistently raised by the civil rights movement.

Now, because our ideas are less than clear, we find liberalism in confusion, ignoring our real needs - that is to say, the issue of basic economic change, of redistributing the wealth, has gotten shunted aside in favor of other, less fundamental issues. That a number of black leaders could criticize *both* presidential candidates last year is significant. One might argue with them that the Democratic Party platform was the most liberal in political history; but what they were responding to was the lack of serious attention devoted to basic economic issues during the campaign. The brief mention accorded these issues in the platform seemed little more than a gesture, a superficial effort to appeal to the party's traditional working class constituency.

I think it is also significant that neither candidate bothered to debate the full employment issue even though the Nixon Administration's first term saw substantial increases in unemployment. We should keep in mind that in 1963 A. Philip Randolph came before the nation to demand full employment. In 1972, however, George McGovern and Richard Nixon debated not full employment, but employment quotas and preferential treatment.

Even with the conclusion of the Vietnam War, the persistence of the divisions within liberalism is a profoundly disturbing situation. For while we have played a pivotal role in the formulation of the liberal program, we have never prevailed in periods of liberal disarray.

Some liberal intellectuals have now joined Daniel Patrick Moynihan in advocating a racial policy of "benign neglect." Those for whom the Vietnam War was the overriding concern simply dismissed racial issues as secondary. Thus in 1966, just three years after the March, some liberals refused to sign the Freedom Budget - a ten-year plan to eliminate poverty - because they insisted that social programs could and should be financed through the so-called "peace dividend" that we were assured would materialize with the war's end.

Those once-liberal intellectuals who now write of the impending "limits of social policy" justify their disaffection on the alleged failures of the Johnson Administration. While I think it is the obligation of liberals to criticize programs they believe to be wrong, it is quite another thing to propose that such programs be replaced by adherence to the status quo.

On the other hand, those with a leftward vision who dismiss the liberal-labor program as outmoded should consider the following. Between 1959 and 1969 the percentage of black families living below the federal poverty level was reduced from 55 per cent to 32 per cent. This gain, unprecedented in the history of the black struggle, was achieved by traditional, New Deal liberal strategies, strategies that are today criticized as archaic. Between 1969 and 1972, however, the first years of the Nixon Administration, there was no comparable reduction of black poverty. In fact the number of blacks living below the poverty line increased between 1969 and 1971 from 7.2 million to 7.4 million.

The labor-liberal approach to social problems has been vindicated time and again over other narrow, sectarian, "all black" strategies. In the coming period, therefore, we cannot be content to define economic programs in racial terms. To pursue purely "black" issues at a time when our needs increasingly converge with those of the larger working class is to perpetuate political isolation.

Thus our agenda should consist of the basic demands of the March on Washington and the Freedom Budget. Full employment is probably the single most basic issue. But we should also work for programs to ensure that all Americans have adequate housing, decent medical care that they can afford, the opportunity to pursue higher education regardless of financial circumstances and a minimum wage sufficient to guarantee a life of dignity.

This is not a program whose time has passed, but rather a return to programs that have succeeded in the past and are therefore our only instruments for future success. Many of the much vaunted, but ultimately self-defeating or flawed, programs that have risen and extinguished like meteors are programs conceived in frustration. In contrast, the March on Washington was founded in hope and its program called for an expansion of opportunity for all people. It was a program which placed the civil rights movement in the forefront of the battle for social change. Ten years later, there has been no program superior to that proposed by the March.

# MISCELLANEOUS

# EXTEND THE MINIMUM WAGE!

*A statement supporting a $2.00 minimum wage and extended coverage for domestic and farm workers, by civil rights leaders:*

**James Farmer**

**James Forman**

**Dorothy Height**

**Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

**A. Philip Randolph**

**Bayard Rustin**

**Roy Wilkins**

**A. Philip Randolph, Pres., Negro American Labor Council**

We believe that minimum wage protection must be extended to one of the most cruelly used groups in the land, those people who work long, hard hours at backbreaking or menial jobs and who are nevertheless poor.

More than that, we must end the immoral situation under which we define poverty as a family income of $3,000 a year or less and then legalize the minimum wage which pays a man $2,600 for fifty-weeks of labor. **We should raise the minimum wage to $2.00.**

## Legislation Helps More Whites Than Negroes

Negro Americans are among those who most desperately need this legislation. However, the proposals which we support will, as a matter of fact, benefit more whites than Negroes. Indeed there is a sense in which the plight of the Negro poses not just the issue of race, but the question of the economic and social future of the entire society.

Negroes suffer from poverty so much more than whites. We are, therefore, passionately committed to a full scale war against poverty – and yet Negroes are only 25 percent of the poor. We have unemployment rates double that of whites, we therefore must seek full and fair employment with all of our might, yet we

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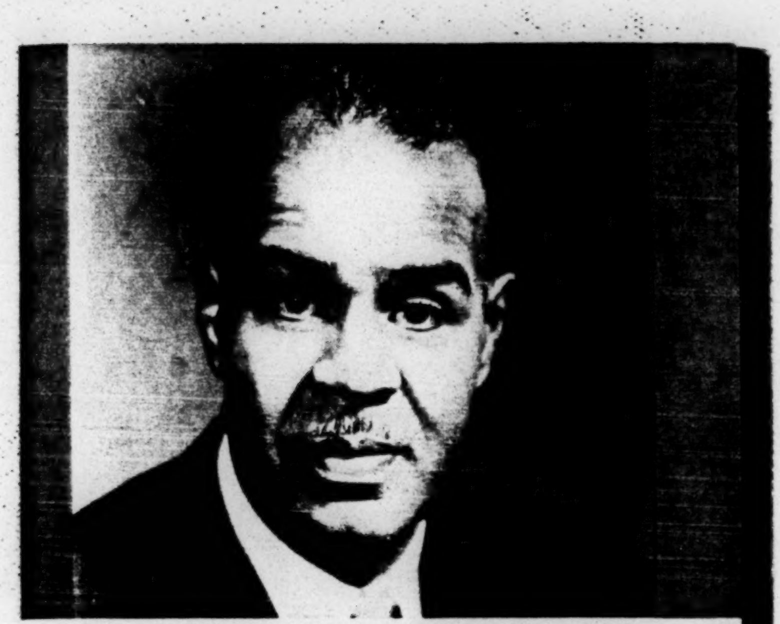
*Excerpts from testimony prepared by the A. Philip Randolph Institute delivered by Clarence Mitchell on behalf of the civil rights leadership before the General Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor, June 29, 1965.*



Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, NAACP

are not the majority of the jobless. We have been among the first to suffer from automation, but we are not the only ones, and we most certainly will not be the last.

As a nation, we have declared formal, juridical segregation to be illegal. But what of the informal and utterly ruthless segregation and discrimination practiced by the economy and social structure?

If the country faces up to these problems, it will do more than grant justice to a particular minority. It will take a giant step toward the solution of problems that afflict us all, black and white.

First of all, Negroes have a disproportionate share of the particularly terrible poverty of hard-working men and women.

Negroes are 10 percent of the population and almost 25 percent of the poor.

## Negro Unemployment and Impoverishment

So it is that the incidence of poverty among Negroes is 40 percent and among whites 16 per cent. One of the reasons for this impoverishment is unemployment. For almost a decade now, Negro unemployment rates have been double those of whites. But when one looks at the joblessness figures for young Negroes the statistics become almost unbelievable. In 1964 according to the Department of Labor, 23.3 per cent of male non-white teenagers, and 30.6 per cent of the girls, could not find work. Those two figures speak volumns on the unrest in the racial ghettoes of

James Farmer, Nat'l. Director, CORE

the North last summer.

But, and here one comes to the importance of minimum wage, Negroes suffer from discrimination even when they are employed. Many, many Negroes are in occupations that are not even protected by the Fair Labor Standards Law. According to Herman P. Miller, an outstanding authority on the subject, in 1960 over half a million Negro men were in the service trades, usually in menial jobs, and more than a quarter of a million were in service occupations like waitresses, cooks or charwomen; 100,000 were in laundry and cleaning. Almost none of these jobs were covered by minimum wage; almost all of them pay poverty wages.

## The Bottom of the Economic Ladder

But even when Negroes are fortunate enough to be in an occupation covered by the minimum wage law, they are more likely than whites to be at the bottom of the economic heap, holding down a full-time job with a poverty-level wage. In 1960, for instance the biggest job category for Negro men was "nonfarm laborer." Their median earnings were $3,210 – and those for whites in the same job were $4,994. Even a Negro construction craftsman had median earnings of only $2,855.

So two of the most important ways the economy discriminates against the Negro are here: black Americans are disproportionately concentrated in jobs without minimum wage coverage of any kind; and even when they are in

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC

occupations protected by the law many of them receive legalized poverty pay. These cruel conditions are not the fault of the Negro. They are part of the terrible heritage of racism in America. Of a system which did not simply segregate the Negro in the South, but which forced him into ghettoes, denied him a decent education, hired him last and fired him first in the North, South, East and West.

## Integrated Social Justice

In amending the Fair Labor Standards Act, the nation can take an important step in remedying part of this injustice which has been done to the Negro. It can simultaneously better the situation of an even greater number of whites. **We have the opportunity, in short, to achieve an integrated social justice.**

Therefore, we support President Johnson's determination to extend the protection of the Act to 4.6 million new workers. Many Negroes will thus be given a first measure of economic citizenship working in the restaurants, hotels, motels, laundries and hospitals of America. But we take the President's proposal as only a first step, and in two specific areas we want to earnestly urge this subcommittee to consider a further expansion of minimum wage coverage.

Approximately a third of the working Negro women are employed as domestics. Their plight becomes particularly important when one remembers that an extremely large number of Negro families are headed by a woman, in part, because the economy denies so many

Dorothy Height, Chairman, Nat'l. Council of Negro Women

Negro men the chance to be a breadwinner. It is argued that these Negro women are not in interstate commerce and therefore cannot be covered by Federal law. Yet, we have extended Social Security coverage to them under the general welfare clause of the Constitution.

## A Minimum Wage for Women!

And we would ask this committee to be as ingenuous about minimum wage for domestics as we have been about Social Security. We must end the scandal under which women, many of them mothers and often the sole earner in the family are paid a poverty wage to serve the tables of the affluent.

Secondly, there is no moral or economic justification for making farm workers the pariahs of this society. Even now, in Mississippi, Negroes are conducting a strike in order to keep the most minimal pay. We support them with all of our strength of course. But the Congress now has the opportunity to reply humanely to their cry from the heart.

## Farm Workers Need a Livable Wage

Farm workers must be included under both minimum wage and collective bargaining legislation. Bills to that end have been introduced by Senator Williams and Representative Roosevelt, and we endorse the principle that farm workers should be given every right and

James Forman, Executive Sec'y., SNCC

protection enjoyed by the industrial worker. Anything short of that is second-class citizenship, and it particularly harms minorities like Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans.

We urge then that minimum wage protection be extended to domestics and farm workers, as well as to the categories in the Administration proposal. And we believe that our goal should be coverage for every single American employed in a significant economic unit. We furthermore believe that our society is productive enough to establish a $2.00 minimum wage for its workers. Indeed, this figure is modest. It only guarantees an income of $4,160 for years of work and that is roughly $2,000 less than what the Government has computed it takes to have a "modest but adequate" urban family budget. We should not be satisfied until every American family has at least that "modest but adequate" income. For now, an increase of minimum wage to $2.00 is a responsible, reasonable step in the right direction.

## $2.00 Minimum — A First Step

But if the Congress simply amends the Fair Labor Standards Act and lets it go at that, the result could be negative. That is why we can not regard minimum wage as a panacea. That is why our proposals are made within the framework of a national commitment to generate new jobs.

We have tremendous unmet social needs for housing, for schools, for transportation systems. We have enormous unused human

Bayard Rustin, Exec. Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

resources in the unemployed and the underemployed. We have a Gross National Product growing every year by tens of billions of dollars. In short, we have all that is needed to make a massive social investment in creating the Great Society and to create good useful work in the doing.

We call upon Congress to take a step toward the elimination of economic and social second-class citizenship in America. By extending minimum wage coverage to some of the poorest among us and by having a $2.00 minimum to at least approximate a living wage, the Congress will be doing justice to the entire nation, black and white.

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**A. Philip Randolph, President**
**Bayard Rustin, Executive Director**

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

October 7, 1965

## MEMORANDUM

**TO:** Mr. Lee White, Assistant to the president
**FROM:** Bayard Rustin, Exective Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute
**RE:** White House Conference on Negro Family Life

After consultation with Mr. Randolph, I am submiting the attached recommendations for the forthcoming White House Conference on Negro Family Life.

I wish to emphasize that this is a preliminary document whose purpose is to suggest our view of the overall direction the conference should take. Precisely because the problems of Negro Family stability are manifold, it is important that the conference not get bogged down in fragmented approaches, but seek rather to focus on the fundamentals.

An additional memorandum dealing with the structure of the conference will be drafted following a proposed meeting of a planning committee around September 15. I have, in the enclosed, suggested the names of a number of people to serve on that committee.

In view of the large number of people who may be expected to attend the conference, the importance of careful planning cannot be overstressed.

I hope you will find these recommendations helpful.

# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE
# WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
# ON NEGRO FAMILY LIFE

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## INTRODUCTION

Numerous public and private agencies are already working on specific causes and symptons of Negro family instability. Their programs range from pre-kindergarten schooling to youth employment centers, to family counseling services. These are valuable programs; they must be expanded and supplemented.

The White House Conference, however, should focus on the fundamental problem: the economic instability of the Negro family head. When the head of the Negro family, male or female, is unemployed or underemployed, poorly paid or restricted to menial jobs, he or she is materially and psychologically handicapped in sustaining family life. This is not in the least to deny the impact of slavery or other historical and social factors which have operated against Negro family stability. Rather it is to emphasize that the disadvantageous aspects of the Negro's heritage can only be erased in the context of programs to achieve substantial economic progress and stability.

Such programs, it becomes clear, will aid immeasurably in the nation-wide war against poverty, and afford opportunities for the Adminstration to establish new beachheads in that war, utilizing the moral fervor and popular support generated by the civil rights movement. For one thing, the conference will accumulate abundant evidence that the first major step in stabilizing the Negro family--as well as combatting poverty generally--would be for the nation to live up to the Employment Act of 1946.

Toward this end, the conference should concentrate on three major tasks. First is to inventory the needs and resources of the Negro community; second is to analyze how these needs can be met and those resources utilized, through both public and private action; and third is to formulate a program which can be translated into legislative action.

## 1 Inventory of Needs and Resources

A. Inventory of skills already available in the Negro community. If this information is not presently available, the conference ought to recommend that it be compiled by the Federal Goverment.

B. Inventory of the extent to which already existing skills in the Negro community are not being utilized in the job market. This inventory should indicate which job categories, if expanded, could be readily filled by qualified Negroes.

C. Inventory of the extent to which Negro family heads require additional training in order to qualify for the job categories that actually are expanding. What kind of training is required?

D. Inventory of skills available in the Negro community for new kinds of jobs which the Goverment could stimulate--e.g., nonprofessional jobs in the human services (health, education, welfare, recreation, community organization, etc.).

## II Meeting the Needs; Utilizing the Resources

Any program which looks toward the long-range achievement of

Negro family stability must encourage the upgrading of the skills of the Negro community so that those skills can be matched with present and future job requirements. The respective roles of business, labor and goverment in the training of Negro workers must be carefully and concretely evaluated. To what extent can private industry be expected to assume this responsibility?

Education and traing not only take time, however; they can be wasteful and the society at large and a source of frustration for the participants if jobs are scarce. The immediate need, therefore, is for the creation of more jobs at present skill levels or requiring relatively little training.

Given recent trends in education and technology, there is ample evidence that the private sector of the econmy can be expected in the coming period to provide only a small percentage of the new unskilled and semiskilled jobs required to reduce significantly the current high rate of unemployment among Negroes. The conference should recognize that the major role must be played by the Federal government, whose initiative would simultaneously stimulate job-generating activity in the private sector.

The conference ought to explore ways in which expansion of the public sector of the economy would not only create new jobs but also bring additional resousrces to bear in the war against poverty. Thus, massive housing and urban renewal programs, combined with school and hospital construction, would alleviate the pressure of slum life, ignorance and inadequate health care to which the Negro family is subjected. And, as suggested above, expansion of human services--many of them dealing with the symptoms of Negro family instability--would provide new nonprofessional employment opportunities of the kind that are least susceptible to technological obsolescence.

The above comments are not intended to anticipate the conclusions of the conference but rather to underscore the necessity for a pointed, fundamental approach which utilizes the insights of various disciploines yet is not sidetracked into an eclectiscism in which we lose sight of the forest for the trees. To strengthen the unifying theme of the conference, it is proposed that a paper be prepared by the planning and advisory committees for circulation prior to the conference.

eclecticism

## III FORMULATION OF A PROGRAM

It is hoped that a result of the White House Conference will be a broad program which can be translated into legislative action. The rough draft of such a program should be prepared in advance of the conference and serve as a basis for discussion. Listed below are some of the elements that might comprise the program, although , here again, the conference will want to avoid substituting a potpourri of legislative enactments for the kind of comprehensive, priotitized plan of action that is required to meet the problem.

A. Massive public works investments combined with

B. Upgrading of skills through education and training programs

C. Expansion of employment opportunities in the human care of human beings

D. Increasing the national minimum wage to two dollars an hour

E. Extending coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act

F. Repeal of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act

G. Strengthening the Enforcement provisions of Title Vll of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

H. Subsidizing young people for remaining in school

I. Strengthening the mechanisms for democratic participation of indigenous community groups in planning the war on poverty.

IV Committees

To assure the most careful planning of the conference, it is proposed that two committees be established. The first, or planning committee, would have the responsibility for the overal structure and arrangements. The second, or Advisory Committee, would consist of experts and academicains who can bring speci knowledge to the conference from a number of fields. In regard to both committees, the list I suggest below are incomplete and must be broadned. Certain names do, however, come quickly to mind.

A. PLANNING COMMITTEE

Jack Conway
Donald Slaiman
Norman Hill
Andrew Biemiller
Lane Kirkland
Roy Wilkins*
Whitney Young
Martin Luther King *
Arthur Wright

John Lewis*
Dorothy Height
James Farmer*
Robert Spike
Pearl Willen
Isaih Minkoff
Rabbi Joachim Prinz
Mathew Ahman

(* or their representatives)

B. ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Frank Riessman

Michael Harrington

Leon Keyserling

Robert Heilbroner

Patricia Cayo Sexton

G. Franklin Edwards

Kenneth Clark

Vivian Henderson

Herbert J. Gans

Nat Goldfinger

John Keh Galbraith

James Conant

Thomas Watson

Robert Lekachman

Charles Abrams

Saul Alinsky

Theodore Hessberg

Ralph Mc Gill

Gerhart Colm

Daniel Bell

plus a representative from the President's
Council of Economic Advisors

*THIRTY-FIFTH COUCHICHING CONFERENCE*

Rustin
article

# GREAT SOCIETIES AND QUIET REVOLUTIONS

**EDITED BY JOHN IRWIN**

*The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,
in co-operation with the
Canadian Institute on Public Affairs*

to hope. They come from a family situation in too many cases where the ugly facts of life have compelled upon them a sense of hopelessness. If they can start by getting some feeling that society does care, then we can start to educate them.

To negroes from Mississippi it smells of a new kind of freedom. It is not a simple thing or in fact particularly useful even to try to decide whether they are better or worse off at any point in time. Freedom alone is not enough because certain things have happened in the country that cannot be measured statistically.

Our purpose is to start programs to get the poor out of the ghetto, to get them out of poverty. Once they really start, they will not stop at $3000. They will have the skills to carry them into the mainstream of economic life.

It was a very arbitrary decision we made when we chose our standard of $3000 per family of four. What we did say is that there are many, many people in the country who are just substantially out of the mainstream and are just not anywhere near the average level of living. They need certain things in order to start getting into it. But we had to have some kind of definition, we had to define a target.

We really in a sense did not do more than articulate what have been goals of a decent humane society for many, many years. What we were saying in effect was that we wished to provide changed or new social institutions to help people to become whatever was in them to become, to remove obstacles to their own personal growth. It was really as simple as all that.

The important thing was to get them going, to give them the bootstraps with which to lift themselves. We created a mechanism, which is not working perfectly, but there are places where it is at least beginning to work. There was no alternative but to give people the opportunity to become local leaders, to use federal funds as they saw fit, within certain guidelines. What are we trying to do in the poverty program and other programs is really to provide opportunities to serve.

We have one serious problem — [It is not just] a coalition of negatives that come from two different directions and happen to affect things the same way; sometimes the language is so similar it is frightening. When both Stokely Carmichael and the John Birchers can say the war on poverty is a phoney, that it pretends to reach the poor but is not reaching the poor, then you do have a powerful coalition which may affect this program. Statistics can be very misleading. If there are more blacks herded into Cleveland or Harlem and Watts, it is not because they were herded out of other parts of New York or Cleveland. It is because hundreds of thousands of negroes made a profound decision one by one to get out of the Mississippi Delta and to come north. It may be hard to believe that when you see the kind of flats in Harlem where they live, with rats and vermin, but it is true.

A few days ago Stokely Carmichael said to a group in Washington, D.C., living in horrible slums, "don't let them take you out to the suburbs, stay in your slums and get black power. Don't let them divided you." The one thing that discourages me very much about the context in which the "black power" words got coined and used is that it is in the concept of separatism. For about ten years I have been associated with and will continue to be associated with a growing movement to help get negroes into the suburbs. We have been struggling to break that lily-white band around Washington and now the new leader, this week's leader of the civil rights movement is saying "don't let them take you away."

Today millions of negroes do not have the choice between living in the centre city or ignoring Stokely Carmichael's advice and going to the suburbs. I want them to have that choice. Many of them do not have a choice as to whether they should go to college or not. Every child should have that choice, and we have got to make it possible for him to have that choice. What we are working for is to provide more opportunities for people. Whether they take the opportunities or not, whether they walk through the doors we hope to be opening up, will ultimately be their own decisions.

Philosophers and statesmen have been asking for 2000 years if there can be a reconciliation between a greater government role and an appropriate individual role. The government, unhappily, has to try to fill a void left by the non-participation of many people in the life of their community.

Our goal is to try to create a greater societal role and at the same time foster a greater individual role. I happen to believe that these are not dichotomies. I think that what society has to do is to open up additional vistas for people. They must be given a chance to choose among options. That is why I think we have a happy use of the word 'opportunity' in our own poverty program. It is called "economic opportunity," but it is really much more than economic. The word I want to stress is opportunity. But we have to be alert to the dangers in additional governmental influence. If we are sufficiently alert, and put some guarantees in, we can be helpful. Let me give you an analogy from the labour movement. Walter Reuther was very perceptive. He knew that as his union became successful and as his leadership became entrenched, therein lay a great danger to the people he professed to serve. So he built a control into his union, called the public review board. He said, "I might become naughty and throttle the will of my people, and if I start to do so they can go to an outside agency for recourse." That is the kind of control we have to work into the Great Society, more than we now have.

**BAYARD RUSTIN**

What I have to say can be read in the Bible or in the writings of any other major religion, whether it is Muslim, Hindu or whatever, and this is a simple philosophical statement: "where there is justice and just law, order prevails to the degree of that justice. Where there is injustice and unjust law, disorder proportionately is inevitable."

Until we are able to stop the economic and social decline of the negro masses, there will be rioting. It is inevitable. It has always been the case in the United States that when there was disservice and injustice to the working classes, they rioted, they used violence and strikes. The worst riot in the United States was not carried out by negroes but was a draft riot in New York City in which the Irish killed 300 people, tore up two babies on the corner of 28th Street and 8th Avenue and gave their fingers and toes out as souvenirs. They destroyed ten times as much property as was destroyed in Watts.

But I want you to look at something, for this is no attack upon the Irish. At that period in our history one-third of all the Irish in New York City were unemployed, and this is true for the negro today in Watts. In New York at that time the Irish could not buy property in certain places, nor can the negro in Los Angeles today. In New York at that time the Irish were called "dirty shanty" people, which is the same as to say "nigger." The social and economic conditions were directly parallel. Now when I tell this to people they think that I justify riots; I do not at all. I am saying that there is not an easy way out other than a social and an economic way. I am saying do not simply run to tell people to be nice; how I do loathe those who run about telling people to be nice! The Pope lectured Italian women on eight occasions at the conclusion of World War II urging them not to be whores to American soldiers for cigarettes and chocolates. But they were whores for social and economic reasons. The Pope did not convince them to stop; the Marshall plan did.

I should like again to point out what Mr. Bookbinder did in fact point out in quoting from a speech by Richard Goodwin, that we are not only referring to obvious poverty, the poverty of slums and the absence of education and of jobs, but also to the poverty of plenty in which youngsters from wealthy families in the United States tear up resorts and destroy town houses, in which youngsters in Westchester County, New York, the richest county in the world, turn to dope. We have developed a society in which there is poverty of plenty largely because even those who have, do not feel that they belong.

Our society is sorely in need of improvement, and note that no changes have occurred in the United States in the last ten years but that negroes were the catalyst. I point this out largely because it illustrates that if oppressed people are capable of adhering to a creative methodology, in this case "non-violence", as well as to creative objectives, the combination is so rare that everything that is touched is made more beautiful.

There is the possibility of an ecumenical movement in the United States of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, not fighting each other as is our tradition, largely because they were brought together by the dynamism of the negro movement. The first thing they ever did together was to support the march on Washington and the Civil Rights Bill.

I submit to you the only reason there is a real discussion about education in the United States today is not because people like Mr. Conant of Harvard have written books but because the negroes engaged in strikes and boycotts, and catapulted that discussion into the public limelight. I submit to you that the reason there is campus ferment in the United States today is not because white people had courage or vision but because when negro students sat-in across the south, they embarrassed young white students into assuming political responsibility. I submit, therefore, that there is a war on poverty for similar reasons.

There are situations in which poverty, such as in India and China, is a tragedy. There is nothing tragic about poverty in the United States or Canada. It can only be described as totally and irrevocably immoral. While it is not possible for the people of India, given their situation, to do away with poverty overnight, it is quite possible with the technological revolution and our affluence for us to do so.

I would like to develop six simple points which I think bear consideration. First, the major revolution of our time in the United States and throughout the world is not a revolution of coloured people for their rights. The fundamental revolution of our time is the technological revolution, and we must understand that so far-reaching is this revolution that unless we are prepared to create economic and social revolutions just as far-reaching as the technological one, then we will be in a sorry condition.

Secondly, we must see that it is not enough to talk about doing away with poverty and yet do nothing. We must see that it is no longer possible for the private sector alone to put men to work and to permit them to live in dignity. We must accept the revolutionary thesis that the public sector of this economy must take on increasingly larger responsibilities.

Third, we cannot get out of the situation we are in without a redefinition of what work itself is. When Adam Smith said "he who does not work shall not eat", he was saying what was sound for his time. For our century Adam Smith's statement is not only stupid, it is immoral and it is sociologically and economically unsound. When a society brings into the stream of history machines which take away men's work and then turns to once skilled men and says "if you do not work, you do not eat", that society is sick.

It follows, therefore, that we must now be interested not in how much men work but whether or not in our own interests their basic needs are met. We must now consider therefore some form of guaranteed annual income.

I think also that there needs to be some consideration of commitment. We are inclined much too easily to dismiss the war in Vietnam. The fact of the matter is that it is a psychological impossibility for a great nation both to wage war in the usual sense and to wage a war against poverty at the same time. It is not emotionally possible. Now this is not to say that progress is not being made in the war on poverty. But simultaneously, unfortunately, the difference in median income between the poor and the rich is growing greater. There are more slums, there are more segregated schools and there is more joblessness for the very poor today than ever before.

Therefore there is another form of poverty, and that is the poverty of commitment and the poverty of imagination on the part of planners and government.

Finally there must be a reorganization in our own minds of the nature of the political relations under which we operate. I just do not think that in the United States or Britain or any other great nation it is possible to go along with this province - state - city foolishness. It is outmoded, it will not work. Mr. Lindsay cannot solve problems as Mayor of New York largely because the river problem, the air pollution problem, the school problem and every imaginable problem including transportation, are not problems the people of New York can solve by themselves. Without parts of Connecticut and New Jersey being involved in the decision-making and in the financial responsibility, nothing can happen.

We must re-think the structures which Thomas Jefferson and his group proposed or that were proposed in England in the 17th Century. We need new political units.

How can we have more individual freedom, more of a sense of belonging, or a sense of participation, if we are more and more going to depend on the government for doing a number of the things I and others have proposed? We have to evolve, at a time when we are faced with a technological revolution, a social and an economic revolution which attempts to deal with the problems which the technological revolution creates. We must discover how in this new situation democratic institutions can be preserved. It is very difficult. Take, for example, the action on the part of the Office for Economic Opportunity to get the poor participating in decision-making in the war on poverty.

I do not believe that the effort, genuine as it has been on the part of many well-thinking bureaucrats and well-thinking people, has been successful.

Let me illustrate. There is a woman who lives on 130th street in Harlem who is considered sort of the mother of that community. Every ghetto produces hundreds of these women. If some man has been arrested with dope, his wife turns to Mrs. Johnson for advice. If the relief money is not coming through adequately, they turn to Mrs. Johnson. She is a natural leader. Yet unfortunately, once Mrs. Johnson got tied up with the war on poverty through the HARYOU ACT she got into this bureaucratic game of who is going to be elected on what committee, etc. She got so tied up in the mechanics of bureaucracy that she stopped doing what was really her job, so that the so-called cure, because it did not really function adequately, created new problems.

In the ghetto today, you find a reflection of what is in store for all of us. Increasingly, government is taking over the lives of the people. More and more the great problem in the ghetto is how to help people fight off not only poverty, but the bureaucrat. Everywhere they turn, there is some representative of government, someone, the police, civic officials, trying to run their lives. To teach the poor how to deal with the bureaucrat is quite a problem.

The ultimate insurance of a democratic process does not rest in the right to vote, it is the ability to withdraw services. The trade union movement continues as an important element because it can withdraw services. Negroes can create, by withdrawing themselves from certain situations and putting themselves in others, social dislocation which ensures the breakdown of certain forms of discrimination.

If we are going to be forced to give relief money, cheques, in order that the poor shall live, we must also find a way in which society defines their getting those cheques, either in terms of service or as part of the productive process. Otherwise, they have no way of pressuring society by withdrawing these services. There is an ambivalence here. I as a negro do not want to see negroes brutalized. Yet the process of going to the federal government to set up one more guideline, which simultaneously gives more and more power to the central government, is both a way not to have negroes brutalized, but simultaneously a way in which the whole of society is brutalized by the need to depend not upon local people and their good will and common sense, but on the strong arm of the government.

It seems to me that the real answer to the way out must be social. Those people that fight for representation by the poor, are also bringing a counterforce into society. In the same way, Canadians who are not French will probably recognize one hundred years from now that the ferment in Quebec was a most creative thing because it forced all Canadians to look at the economic, moral and social basis of problems in Canadian society.

Without India's problem of independence we would never have been prepared to face the moral impact of Gandhi who said that "man pursues security, and to the degree that he does, he is in trouble." It is precisely that ultimate security lies in the voluntary acceptance of insecurity. The child whose mother coddles it and over-protects it when it is learning to walk will never walk well or with grace.

Every minority group seeking acceptance is basically conservative. This is Stokely Carmichael's basic problem. The negro is an exaggerated American. Wherever there is antisemitism he has more of a problem about the Jews than anyone else because his argument is "I cannot do what you do, go where you go, but I can think what you think and I am even more anxious to get in."

The middle class negro will tell you in a minute that he is not first of all a negro, he is first of all a capitalist; and brother, he behaves as one. The unfortunate thing is he votes for the Democratic party and he really ought to be a Republican. Now, if negroes are this conservative, why do we call it the negro revolution? We call it the negro revolution not because negroes are revolutionary but because what negroes want from American society cannot be given them without profound social and economic change.

The difference between the accommodation of negroes and what they aspire to is so great as to be revolutionarily dangerous. Therefore I do not really talk about how far we have come because that is a meaningless aspect of the social situation, totally meaningless to the people in Watts because they are not saying "it is better than it was yesterday", they are saying: "look at the situation we are in compared to how other people live in Los Angeles." They look at the same television that tells them day after day they ought to buy a lot of things they do not need and cannot possibly have, but so long as other people have them they will want them too.

Since 1964, when the Supreme Court gave the negroes every reason to hope that they were finally citizens and should have every right of citizenship, unemployment amongst negroes has doubled. Unemployment amongst negro youth is four times as great as it was then. There are more negroes in segregated schools and classrooms. It is not all the result of discrimination, but it is none the less a fact. The fact of the matter is that the ghettos are bigger with more black people in them plus more rats, plus more roaches, plus more despair. The measure of aspiration is therefore quite as important as the objective measure as to how far have we come from point x to point y.

It is not the poor who determine what poverty is, but those who are well off, because what the poor must have is dignity. Now dignity in a given society can be based on things which are quite wrong; nevertheless, they represent dignity for the poor because they feel that they are dignity. Therefore I suspect the level of what we consider poverty will continuously go up because as more and more people have more and more, people in our society are going to say "I am poor unless I also have these things on which society puts a value." Therefore, if you do not have a television set, you are poor. Therefore, if you are eighteen in a society where the young women feel you are nobody if you do not have a car, or if in the suburbs you do not have a car and are immobile where youth must be mobile no matter what else, if you do not have a car you are poor. Now you and I may feel that this is too much. You and I may feel that this is not a real basis for dignity. But for those people it is the basis of dignity. Therefore as our society has more and more things, the poor are going to demand more and more and we are going to have to accommodate to those demands.

All men should have in the society those basic things which they need for dignity over and above their qualifications, over and above their moral character. We have to provide the basic things that will permit life and today, with all the progress we have made, health. Otherwise we will perpetuate one of the tragic flaws of our society, that the average negro baby cannot aspire to the same life as the white baby. Liberty is a basic article of faith. Liberty — the right to choose, the right to do things. The pursuit of freedom is not a guarantee of happiness, it is the right to seek, the right to go out and get as much happiness as one either wishes or can achieve. It is when there are obstacles to the pursuit that a basic social failure has taken place.

Regarding elections in the United States, I think we are in very serious trouble. I would predict that anywhere up to fifty members of the House of Representatives who came in with the Johnson landslide may very easily go out again. I think that we are going to lose a great number of the votes we need. The reason is that some elements in the civil rights movement have raised the slogan "black power" and simultaneously lowered the banner of non-violence.

Political isolation on the part of negroes is dangerous not merely because it harms the negro movement but because if we are to have a genuinely and increasingly large war on poverty the negroes need to join with Catholics, Protestants, Jews, the labour movement, radical students and others in a political movement that is strong enough to break through. Any movement like black power that pulls negroes over into a corner works against the war on poverty because it diverts them from the necessary political coalition.

I think it is a mistake to believe that the talk about black power is damaging. Something was already damaged in the first place to lead to the frustration that is the root of the black power idea. Black Power is the politics of frustration. Young people having sacrificed and having seen two civil rights bills passed, having seen the March on Washington, now see that things are no better so they turn to "black power".

The term "black power" means so many things to so many different people that by virtue of that fact alone it is dangerous. No one really knows what anyone else means by it. But if we take Mr. Stokely Carmichael at his own word, then it represents the frustrations of poverty. The black power people are so frustrated that they do not believe it is possible for the United States to deal with their problems. They are no longer interested in strategy, tactics, or programs, but simply the politics of frustration. This has happened before in American history. Following a period of despair, after World War I, Marcus Garvie came on the scene with another slogan — "Back to Africa." Nobody intended going back, but this was their way of saying to America "you don't want me, I don't want you." That is exactly what the black power elements mean.

Now this raises a philosophical problem. There is no way of dealing with the negro's three major problems through the civil rights movement because these problems — houses, schools and jobs — are not civil rights problems, they are basic contradictions that most grievously affect negroes. Further, since there is no negro way of getting at them they breed frustration.

These men are leaving the civil rights movement because of what I might describe as a coalition of negatives. The civil rights forces say that a number of our fairly progressive men have not done enough. At the same time right-wingers say those men have done too much for civil rights. Take that very outstanding congressman, Senator Douglas from Chicago; many of my negro friends are jumping on Douglas now because they feel he has not done enough. The right wing is jumping on him on civil rights matters because they feel he has done too much.

There are many people who are my friends, peace-niks like myself, who are going to be backing peace candidates. Now they have every right to put up peace candidates, but the problem is that they are therefore not going to be voting for some of the people who have been most articulate on the peace question, while other people who are hawks are going to vote against those very people because of what they have done. It is this coalition of negatives that is going to get some very good people thrown out. On the other hand I feel we live in a world in which it is sensible to accept that which is fairly decent though not perfect as against the possibility of getting something worse, unless one wants to take the view that the worse things get, the better the possibilities are.

The Marxist class struggle notion is now international. The real class distinction today is between nations, the haves and have nots. This means that war is inevitable because the eight-five percent that represent the have nots will put up sooner or later a vigorous battle for what they are missing. Under the circumstances, I think the U.S. ought to be utilizing its wealth in a more vigorous fashion to help those who have not.

On this problem of American responsibility, we ought to view it in terms of spiritual reality. I remember as a young man, before the United States had assumed the tremendously powerful position she has in the world today, people looked on England as the great power. We in those United States profoundly resented Great Britain. I can remember young people saying "we are never going to war to pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire." Now to a certain extent I think we ought to recognize that anything the United States does to be helpful to anybody will automatically lead to resentment. We all resent power and we all resent having to depend on anyone else. Therefore, the most powerful nation will be resented.

It is precisely because the United States is the arsenal of the western world that she is resented. I have spent years and years living in and out of Great Britain, and the British are delighted wherever you go to tell you what boors the Americans are. One of the reasons is that Britain has given up nuclear weapons because we have them. This is a profound embarrassment to a proud and noble people, particularly a people who only yesterday were the arsenal for the free world, or at least thought so with their navy. I think we ought to see the spiritual problem here, that even if the United States were doing all the things that are right, the resentment would still be there. Now when the United States does things which are naughty, then obviously we are thrice loathed. This brings us to Vietnam.

The longer the war in Vietnam goes on, which is to say the longer a situation which increasingly strengthens rightist forces in the United States, the harder it is going to be to get money for the war on poverty. Secondly, the basic approach is questionable. In wartime, one does not ask "how much does it cost?" One does not hesitate to curtail one's freedom, for certain elements must be curtailed. The Canadians, like the Americans, in wartime conscripted people. We do not like that; but it is a war, for a purpose. Furthermore, in wartime, one does not argue about small sacrifices. One goes without sugar or meat on certain days and does not gripe about it. Every time we talk about a penny more for the poor though, some bright soul who does not even understand the tax structure, says that he does not want to pay any more taxes. The very fact that he does not means he ends up doing so in another way. Fifteen billion dollars are spent in the United States every year keeping people in poverty, which is something few even consider.

In any case, all of us ought vigorously to be trying to bring the Vietnam War out of the hot stage and onto the bargaining table precisely for economic reasons. The United States is so deeply involved in production relating to that war that once the war is brought to a standstill it would be the easiest possible thing, much easier than in any other country, to redirect the effort into the war on poverty.

**ERIC MOONMAN:**

I think it is useful to examine the basis of a Great Society. Does this Great Society relate to political power, does it relate to military force or does it refer to size? I would suggest to you that of course it is not just political power in itself because it really depends on how you use the power. Rather, I would suggest that it is related to two things. One is the range of liberty and opportunity it provides to its people, and the other is the concern and sacrifice it is prepared to make for those who are less privileged, not only within the immediate boundaries of the country but elsewhere as well. I want to come back to this in a moment and discuss the relationships of a Great Society and its purpose in the world at large.

A Great Society, I submit, cannot be achieved without state interest to set up and maintain standards. In England there is general acceptance by both the major political parties of the need and interest of the state and the government in social services. I think it is right that it should be so because we must make sure that no parts of a country are isolated from the mainstream. The only way in which we can be fully certain that this can be minimized is by state interest or by an interest that is going to maintain proper standards.

We spend a lot of time these days worrying about bureaucrats. We spend a lot of time in worrying about interference, but are we not really missing the point, that along with this negative side there is a very positive concern with maintaining standards? I do not deny for a minute that we have bureaucrats and I have laughed at and enjoyed Parkinson's Law. I think that Parkinson has written a splendid book, but he often minimizes the great advantages that arise from bureaucracy. One of the errors that arises from thinking that everything the state does is wrong and bureaucratic is that it pledges support to the amateur. I am terribly worried by the amateur and whatever he does.

I have always felt that the enthusiastic amateur is the manager or worker who may well feel that he is never going to get to the top. He takes a Dale Carnegie course or reads a magazine like Readers' Digest and gets filled with such confidence that he really feels he can do anything around the organization. This man, in my experience, is a menace and just as with the enthusiastic amateur in social services, he can do great damage.

I am delighted with the title "The Company of Young Canadians." I think it sounds like a new movie, but I wish them well. If they are concerned with the putting right of social problems, then they must have every encouragement. This is not, of course, a unique experience. We have had many experiences in Europe of organizations with state encouragement attempting to try and deal with social problems. What we have often found is that when you increase the number of people in the social services, you also multiply the

# THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

## Frustration Politics Sociology and Economics

—by—
Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

uaw citizenship-legislative staff conference
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## *Bayard Rustin*

Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

# Remarks By Bayard Rustin

The political and social problems we are facing in the United States today are basically the result of frustrations in our society. Therefore although we can talk about organization, which is very important, we must address ourselves chiefly to the question of organization around what --organization for what. It is here that the problem emerges most clearly.

Now it is common knowledge that in the past 12 years, although there appears to have been a great deal of progress at the legislative and judicial levels, the fact is that for the Negro people, the situation has greatly deteriorated. Negro unemployment has doubled from what it was in 1954. It is three times as bad for teenagers and four times as bad for women between the ages of 18 and 25. The ghetto schools are larger, and there are more Negroes in segregated classrooms than there were before the Supreme Court decision. The slums are about the same size but with more people in them, more rats in them, more roaches in them, and more despair in them. Though this is not all due to segregation and discrimination, it is still a fact.

In the face of this deterioration there has emerged in the Negro community a frustration politics, a frustration economics, a frustration sociology, and it is all part of a single pattern. To see this clearly one must understand that though the militant young Negroes are called radicals, they are, in fact, extremely conservative because their actions inevitably take them into an unconscious coalition with the politics of the right.

## A FEW ILLUSTRATIONS

So-called radical young Negroes went into Chicago during the last election, with the cry: "Down with Douglas and Down with Percy, and do not vote." As a consequence, they kept thousands of Negroes from going to the polls. Now, what we saw in Chicago was that the frustrations that had built up around social and economic questions was so intense that they forced Negroes into an unconscious coalition with right-wing forces.

The same thing happened in California where again so-called radical Negro youth distributed thousands of buttons all over California which read, "Boycott Baby, Boycott." I'm sure they thought they were being extremely radical, but the fact of the matter is that by drawing votes away from Brown and helping to elect Reagan, they ended up in the same bed with the Birchites.

The tragedy is that there are still liberals who are supporting these people on the basis that they are radical young Negroes and that youth should be encouraged. But I think we are going to have to be very realistic and sensible.

Frustration has not only led to so-called radicals falling into right wing political behavior, it also leads to what I call frustration sociology. The argument goes like this: "Since 1954, we have been fighting for integrated schools, but it is clear we are not going to get integrated schools: therefore, let us settle for quality education. And what is quality education? We insist now that in every ghetto school the local people take over and run them and select teachers and set up the curriculum." Now the fact of the matter is that nothing could be worse, because, if in Harlem Negroes have the right to select black principals and to set up the curriculum, even if that curriculum were better than the one the Board of Education set up, they would be setting a precedent whereby Rosemary Gunning, a leader of Parents and Taxpayers in Queens, could then insist on having only Irish or white principals; and in support of her case she would cite the precedent that Negroes in Harlem and in Cleveland and in other places were able to set up their own curriculum and appoint principals of their own color. She would then bring in a curriculum which we could reasonably expect to be reactionary and racist.

In the face of this, we have to be very realistic, but first of all we have to realize that screaming at these people is not going to help. We have to take the historical view, and if we do this we will discover that this kind of frustration politics is not new in the Negro community. We will see that invariably it has come at periods when there has been great expectations followed by disillusionment, where the gap between aspirations and progress made has been very wide indeed.

The first time this happened was after the Reconstruction period when Negroes were led to expect that they would get 40 acres and a mule, and that they would have the right to vote, etc. Instead, Jim Crow statutes were written into law and Negro disfranchisement became complete. It was then that Booker T. Washington came along and advocated two slogans (1)"Cast down your buckets," and (2)"Avoid social relations with white people, and establish an independent economic base." These slogans were a reversal of the earlier tactics of direct action, boycotts, general strikes, and other protest techniques that had been used in the 1880's and during the organizational heyday of the Knights of Labor.

## NEW HOPE AFTER WORLD WAR I

World War I aroused new hopes for Negroes that their rights would be restored. More than 360,000 Negro men entered military service and went overseas, while hundreds more left the South in search of the good life in the North. They believed that at last they would share in the prosperity created by the war. However, those hopes were dashed as quickly as the war ended. There were more than 24 race riots in American cities during the last six months of 1919.

White mobs took over whole cities, flogging, burning shooting and torturing Negroes at will. If Negroes defended themselves, violence increased. In the first year after the war, more than 70 Negroes were lynched. The migration of Negroes to the North increased, and with it tensions in the ghetto. Negroes were excluded from unions and pushed out of the jobs they had won during the war. They were segregated out of Federal employment. The new Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1915 in Georgia with headquarters in Indianapolis. Again, it was during this period of dashed hope and deepening frustration that the largest Negro mass movement was born: Marcus Garvey reflected and exploited the hopelessness of the time and won hundreds of thousands of followers on the basis of the escapist campaign to take all Negroes "Back to Africa."

## NEGRO LABOR ALLIANCE

It was not until the 30's, when the CIO announced its policy of nondiscrimination and reawakened the dream of a Negro-labor alliance, and when Negroes shared in the relief programs WPA jobs and public housing of the Roosevelt era that the movement, as we know it now, was born. "Buy-black" campaigns turned into a "don't-buy-where-you-can't-work" movement. A. Philip Randolph was able to initiate the March on Washington movement, based on mass action. CORE was born and with it the nonviolent techniques. The NAACP succeeded in ending the white primaries in 1944.

## FREEDOM NOW

Now what we have again today is that as the 1963 March on Washington took place, as the Bills were passed, as the Supreme Court came through with its decisions, the great majority of Negroes were led to believe once more that this was really it: that there would after all, be freedom now. Looking around them however, they discovered that economic conditions are worse, that the slums are more crowded, and that their children are not being properly educated. In a situation like this, it was inevitable that Stokely Carmichael and others would come through with new slogans. And so we had Black Power. Even if Carmichael is unable to define it, however, there are millions of Negroes who are so frustrated that they will reject Stokely himself while accepting everything he stands for. I will give you concrete illustrations: When P.S. No. 201 in New York, Negroes were calling for a black principal and demanding that black parents take over the school and run it, A. Philip Randolph called 35 of the most prominent Negro leaders in New York into his office. He told them what he thought they should do. Leader after leader agreed with Mr. Randolph in principle, but not one of them was prepared to sign a statement for THE NEW YORK TIMES the following day saying that we rejected the concepts of principals being selected merely on the basis of their race. And the reason they refused was that they did not want to run into difficulty with the "militants." Basically, what these Black Power people are saying is that if you look at the slogan, you will see that it has only to do with a psychological examination of "who" the Negro is and "what" his role is. No Black Power advocate has ever said what is to be done about schools, what is to be done about housing, and what is the meaning of the program economically. One reason they have not said anything is because basically they do not believe this society is capable of moving. Why have a program to move that which cannot be moved, they say. Even though they talk about politics, there is not a single Black Power advocate in the Negro community who has gone out to organize something. It is all platform talk turned inward, an examination of the Negro navel, as it were.

Now one of the tragedies is that black frustration is fed in part by the trade union movement. An illustration of what I mean is this: If anyone knows of the Cleveland campaign where a Negro ran for mayor the campaign material put out against him by some elements in the trade union movement can only be described as racist.

Let me give you another illustration (this time where academia provokes the building trades into a bad attitude). The Apprenticeship Training Program of the A. Phillip Randolph Educational Fund and the Workers Defense League has been able to place more than 250 youngsters into apprenticeship programs through concentrated recruitment, tutoring and counselling. A month ago, 26 of our applicants scored among the top 60 in an entrance examination for the Sheet Metal Workers Local 28. The New York University Testing Service publicly announced that their marks were too high and did not reflect the national norms, whatever that means. The union, having been publicly inspired by the University, decided not to begin its apprenticeship class and called for a retest. At this point, the State Commission on Human Rights was forced to take the union to court enjoining them to show cause why a retest was necessary. The Judge finally ruled that the first test was valid and that there was no evidence of cheating. For a few days we felt triumphant, only to find out later that the union had petitioned to reargue the case, and failing that it is likely that they will appeal. I must say that many other unions have put these boys to work in the interim, and that two of them have been admitted into the Apprenticeship Program of Local 3 of the IBEW. However, the Negro community doesn't see the individually good union, it only sees the fact that here are 26 boys who studied, worked hard, and made it, only to be told that they must have cheated because they did so well.

The frustration is so intense that the basic elements in the Negro community are also rejecting Dr. King and Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young as being "useless". Why "useless"? Because they are not now able to bring victories in regard to housing, schools, and jobs. They say Dr. King's non-violence is old fashioned. They say he visited Chicago and couldn't produce, that he couldn't bring a single victor in housing, schools or jobs, after being there almost two years and they say the white liberal is "useless" because he has power and does not use it in our interests. Next come the Jews who have given great service to the civil rights movement -- they are denounced now.

Then come the teachers, and so on. To understand this attitude one has to see that it is developed out of the fact that only white police, white teachers, white merchants, and white welfare workers are left in the ghetto, and that most of the white merchants are Jewish. Yet even if the white merchants, the teachers and the police all behaved like Gods, we would still have trouble in the Negro ghetto because the policeman even with the best intentions is saying to Negroes, "behave yourself" and this can only be interpreted by people who want to get out of the ghetto as "accept the conditions under which you live." That is the problem.

Let me say that I don't believe that the majority of people in this room can have any basic effect on Negro political behavior. We are at a point where even highly intelligent Negroes go along with the idea that Negro dignity cannot be achieved without Negroes doing it for themselves. We are at one of those periods where any white person coming in (from whatever source) to work politically in the Negro ghetto is unfortunately going to be rejected. I myself am sorry about that but it is a fact. Therefore, my suggestion is, quite sincerely, that more Negroes be brought in, by whatever agencies, to represent a job being done in the ghetto. Its a tragic thing, and would appear to be a form of reverse racism, but that is not the case. It is much more significant than that. Perhaps Stokely Carmichael has expressed it very vulgarly, but effectively nonetheless: "For years and years my father, my grandfather, my great grandfather tried to be friendly with you. Now I stand in a situation where you appear to be friendly by passing laws, but my basic situation gets worse and worse. You really don't mean to change anything. You really don't mean to accept me. I have tried to love you. Now God damn you. You don't want me, I don't want you." Now that is no reverse racism, because what racism says is, "no matter what you do, I don't like you." What young Negroes are saying today is, "because we have tried to love you and it hasn't worked, we must finally reject you in order to be men." Therefore, if anyone comes into their politics or to organize them, that person, at this time, must be black. However, I believe this is a period through which we will pass.

## PROBLEMS OF THE COALITION

Let us look at the problem of coalition. A people who have been down and out cannot admit to themselves that coalition is based on merely mutual interest. They must try to believe that coalition is based on affection, precisely because they are so in need of affection and a show of unity. Therefore, one of our problems is to make it clear to the Negro people that a coalition is based on mutual interest and that a coalition may work together on general issues today and yet work separately upon other issues the next day. The members of the coalition, however, must be committed to working together and to seeking elements and issues on which they can agree. Sometimes the coalition is stronger around a specific issue than it can be around many basic issues. Many of the elements in the religious movement who marched on Washington in behalf of dignity and freedom were unwilling to lobby and pressure when the question of a $2 minimum wage was brought up. There were many other elements who marched on Washington for Negro dignity who will not come out for public works or a redefinition of work or a guaranteed income for those too old or too young to work. That is why I believe that at the basic core of the coalition is the Negro and labor alliance, for we share the same basic economic interests.

Secondly, the question of who is in the coalition. I would say that Michael Harrington and I are perhaps the two people who are most bitterly criticized in the Negro community by some of the "left-wing" elements I've been discussing. First of all, it is because we continually say that the problem can be solved, whereas they are saying it cannot be solved. And secondly, it is because we maintain that if there is to be any social movement in this country the best of the churches, the best of the labor movement, and the best of the intellectuals must come together in order to build a political movement around concrete objectives. Those who criticize us are not saying this. More and more, as I move around the country, even following the Urban League and NAACP groups, I am continually challenged with "Yes", Mr. Rustin, "coalitions, but what elements are going to stand with us?"

I think it's all right to talk about political organization, but many of these people do not understand and cannot be led to believe in what it is we are organizing for. And I think that the whole American liberal movement has been derelict in not clearly putting forth and spelling out an economic and social program as a basic means of educating for these objectives. The Freedom Budget is a very meager effort on the part of the elements in the civil rights movement to do this, but even so I don't think the Freedom Budget has been picked up and supported by the trade union movement in the way it should have been. By this I am not talking about financial aid, but an educational campaign.

## PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

There is another problem, and I think we have to see this very clearly. The great progress Negroes made was never based on the ability of civil rights leaders to analyze a problem, to synthesize a problem, or to engage in real organization. People followed Dr. King into the streets because of his charisma and moral appeal. Dr. King never really had to organize. There was not a necessity during that period for organization for analysis, for synthesis; and the reason for it was the same dynamic that brought the UAW into the movement.

The situation has now changed, but the civil rights movement has no experience or history of dealing with a proposition where intense organization is necessary, where analysis is necessary, where synthesizing programs are necessary -- very few organizations in this country do have that experience. To the degree that we have had it, it has been left to the machine politicians at the local level. Therefore, I believe it is essential that the best elements of the labor movement give some serious thought to whether or not they are going to help mobilize the kind of new Negro leadership which they will support, financially and spiritually, to carry out the job or organization.

It is no secret that Dr. King's work in Chicago has not yielded the kind of successes he got in the South. The fundamental problem was not that Dr. King's advisors convinced him that the techniques used in the South could be transferred adequately to the Northern situation. Some of us thought that Dr. King would have been better off continuing his intensive work in the South, conducting voter registration and citizenship classes, and mobilizing communities. (He has in that manner pushed two major civil rights bills through the Congress of the United States.) We felt that he hadn't yet developed the kind of staff needed to tackle the situation in the North and that Chicago certainly had not produced a Negro leadership capable of doing the fundamental organizing work--forming grass-roots political clubs, maintaining constant action, etc. It is only after the IUD Centers had brought in skilled trade unionists that the Chicago situation became hopeful.

## NEW APPROACH NEEDED

I think the labor movement needs a totally new approach to the Negro community precisely because the Negro community has some unique problems. I would like to put that another way around so you can really see the frustrations. From 1955 to 1963 we could have victory after victory because as long as we were willing to sit in, we could in fact break down theaters, restaurants, swimming pools and libraries; and therefore the great strategy of that time was to go into the streets and sit around libraries, around swimming pools, around everything. And a miracle occurred; it was demonstrated that a few Negroes with white allies could destroy the old institutions and create new ones. The problem today is that when you come to housing, schools and jobs, demonstrations can only call attention to existing evils; they cannot get new jobs, tear down houses, or get new schools. And this fact has temporarily immobilized the Negro leadership.

## THE OUTLOOK FOR 1968

I predict that the things we have to watch out for in 1968 are the following: A frustration politics that leads many Negroes to vote angrily for any Republican put up, unless that Republican happens to be a Goldwater or a racist. It will lead, in almost any city in the country, to Negroes running their own candidates and in effect draining off votes from the Democratic Party. I think the Democratic Party has made many mistakes but the reality is that when you come down to it there is no place for Negroes to go but to the Democratic Party; if for no other reason, than for the fact that all the elements with which they could usefully ally are there. Any withdrawal from that Party would basically and ultimately be reactionary. Another thing I think can happen unless we are very careful is that a great number of Negroes, in desperation, will follow the view of the militants that both parties stink, that both parties will give them nothing, and therefore that they should stay at home at election time. Now you can see the tremendous job that must be done if we are to effectively deal with this series of conflicts.

Another element has crept in here, and that is that this society is in effect teaching young Negroes to use violence. There can be no other conclusion. In New York we have asked for 10 years that the police be upgraded and that a Negro be made captain of Harlem (for 10 years Mr. Randolph had that as a pet project), yet they did not make Captain Sealy a Captain until after the riots, not before. In Watts the same thing happened: no hospitals, no decent transportation system, so the riots came. The young Negroes in Watts looked at me and Dr. King and called us "House Niggers". They said, "Why did you ask us Niggers to come out here? To ask us to behave ourselves? Man, we won because once we rioted they sent in so many transport experts, so many hospital experts, so many sociologists, so many criminologists and the like that if you "House Niggers" are not careful when go out in the street you will trip all over them. We won."

Even in Chicago last summer, the Negroes turned on the hydrants, and the police turned them off; the Negroes turned them on again and the police beat them --then they rioted. Twenty-four hours later the Mayor runs in. He says the hydrants can be opened: "Here are all the eight-dollar sprinklers you want, and I will give you a swimming pool." That is to say, my friends, we are living in a society where those things which are adequate to maintain order are not done. Then disorder occurs and then something token is given. Now why do I mention this situation? It is because it is likely to continue. And every time there is a riot it strengthens the political right-wing who uses it for its own reactionary purposes. The Rightists refuse to make any public concessions, and because they make none they contribute to the rioting. In this way one side reinforces the other and, out of desperation and fear, end up as reactionary political bedfellows of each other. It is a very serious problem.

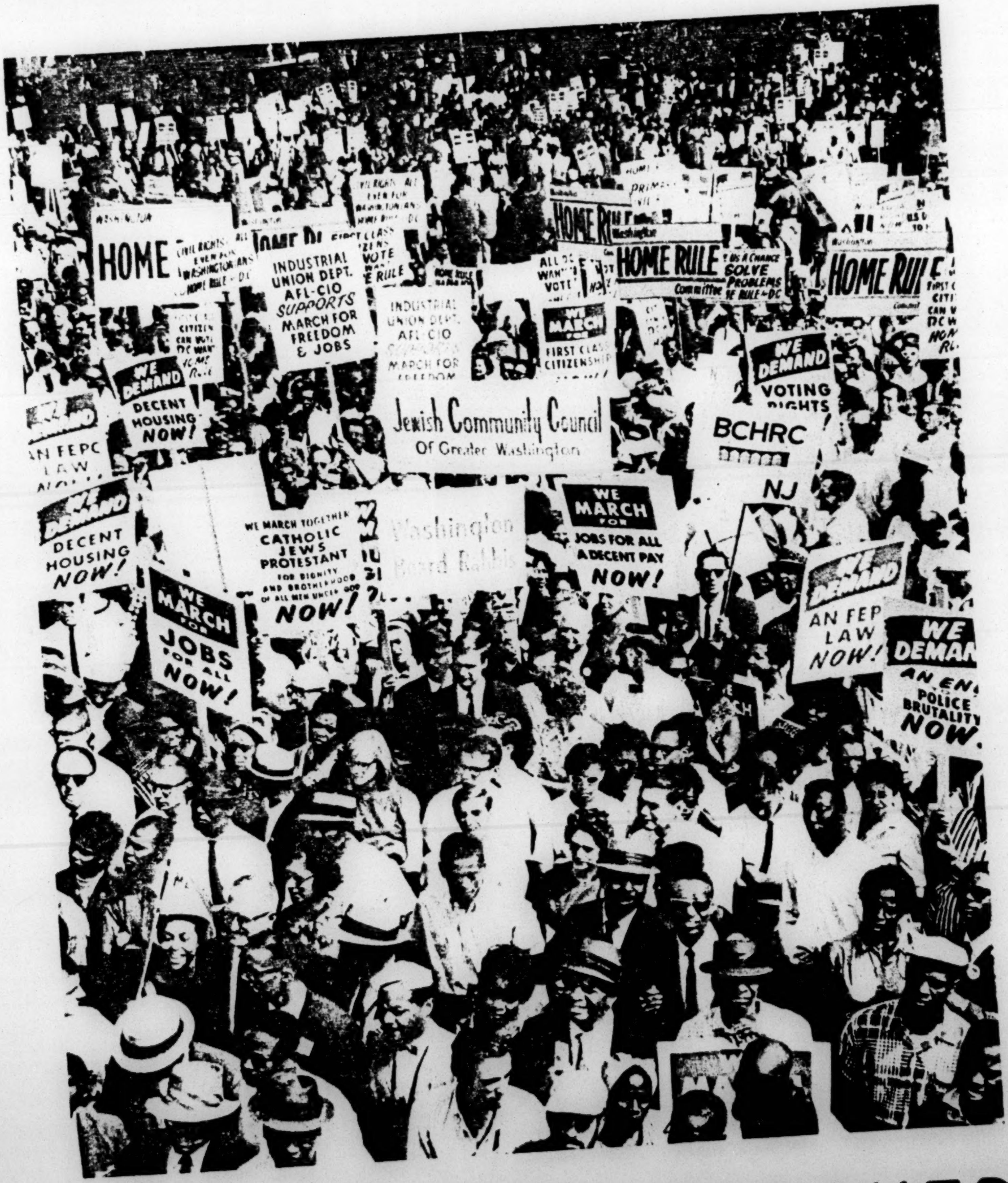
I think, therefore, that between now and 1968 we have got to come forth with an economic and social program of hope, in order to counteract these very basic realities. This means that trade unions like the UAW have got to exert a great deal of influence to see that the Party organizations in our major cities are opened up to more and more Negro members. If that is not done, then there will never be an end to frustration politics in the Negro underprivileged communities.

Now, let us look for a moment at the war on poverty. Here we have another basic job to do. Every one in the country is running around talking about the slogan originating with Sargent Shriver, "maximum feasible participation."

When you think about the slogan, "maximum feasible participation of the poor," you begin to realize that it assumes that the poor will be poor forever and therefore that they have to participate on a certain level in the anti-poverty program. I would rather see the program devote itself to lifting the poor out of poverty--and one good way is by giving the poor staff jobs or by doing what Frank Riessman has suggested for a number of years, i.e., creating new careers. In my opinion that is a much more meaningful proposal. The major job in regard to maximum feasible participation is getting registered, voting, and playing a role in the political parties.

Finally, another problem we face is that the basic Negro organizations get their money in such a manner that they cannot in fact play a real political role. Dr. King has got a good deal of money lately for voter registration in Chicago. He got it through Foundations; and therefore all he can do is say to the people "you should go out and vote." Whitney Young cannot engage in political activities because his organization is tax exempt. Roy Wilkins has a standing principle in the NAACP and it's a good one for them: They cannot support a political candidate because the NAACP has Republicans and Democrats in it. Therefore, who is there in the Negro community sufficiently organized to do a real job in the Democratic Party where we basically belong? Who is there (now that a coalition is sorely needed) to point out to the Negro people precisely where, and how, and for what, and why, they should vote in this or that direction? I hope the time will come when the trade union movement will make available sufficient money to help bring about this kind of new force in the Negro community. And I didn't come here to beg, but from some place there has got to come support for a factor in the Negro community which is capable of engaging in political activity. Only in this way can Negroes in fact carry on a real educational campaign in the Negro community around vital issues and candidates, and direct the people into areas, even parties, where they could be expected to get the greatest relief. And that is a very difficult thing. COPE can educate the workers politically, but there is no such vehicle in the Negro community, and there is a very great need for it.

In conclusion, let me say that rather than having improved since I talked to you last, the situation has gotten infinitely more serious. The frustrations widen, because more and more people are looking upon the war as being a burden which they carry inordinately, especially as the cuts in special programs increase. In short, the cutting of the poverty program, in which they have a deeper stake than anyone else, is in itself a further and increasing frustration.


HOME
HOME RULE
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPT. AFL-CIO SUPPORTS MARCH FOR FREEDOM & JOBS
WE DEMAND DECENT HOUSING NOW!
WE MARCH FOR FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP
WE DEMAND VOTING RIGHTS
Jewish Community Council Of Greater Washington
BCHRC
NJ
WE DEMAND AN FEPC LAW
WE MARCH TOGETHER CATHOLIC JEWS PROTESTANT FOR DIGNITY AND BROTHERHOOD OF ALL MEN UNDER GOD NOW!
Washington Board Rabbis
WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL A DECENT PAY NOW!
WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW!
WE DEMAND AN FEPC LAW NOW!
WE DEMAND AN END POLICE BRUTALITY NOW!

# THE DAY THEY MARCHED

# QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

Q. On top of the other problems that you have raised we have another political factor and that is the Powell case. Could you give us any evaluation of the possible repercussions or impact across the country.

## ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

A. I want to be very honest about this. Mr. Randolph and I were not in total agreement about some of those meetings called around Powell, not because I didn't think there was a fundamental issue involved, but because Mr. Powell, to my mind, just behaved terribly. Now, I think there is a moral principle involved in what happened to him, but I did not feel, under those circumstances, that I wanted to put my full energy into it. However, if you want to understand the Powell case, you have to understand that most Negroes today look upon the ghetto as a place they are locked in and don't want to be in. It is a foreign piece of soil, they say, this is the ghetto and out there is the United States. Now, if you can conceive of two-headed men coming from Mars with super weapons, the one thing I know is that you would get a repeat of the unity of World War II. The Russian Army, the American Army and the Chinese Army would combine long enough to expel these two-headed men from Mars with their super weapons. This is the way many Negroes feel about Powell being attacked by the white society. Powell emerges as three things which you must understand over and above the moral issues involved. First of all, white people have lied to Negroes for hundreds of years; they have stolen from Negroes, they have murdered them, they have mistreated them, the police have beaten and insulted them, and merchants have over-charged them. Now, the same white community that has done all of these ugly things to them talks about honesty, about good manners and the like. Mr. Powell takes all the moral inconsistencies of the white world, picks the stuff up off the ground where the horses have dropped it, and rubs it in white folks' faces, like that. And every ordinary Negro says: "Good, Powell, I love it, baby." When they asked Powell if he wasn't engaging in nepotism his answer elated the Negro community. Mr. Powell stuck his cigar in his mouth, took a puff off it, pulled himself together and said: "Sure, baby, I believe in nepotism. You white folks have always taught us to take care of your own first -- that's nepotism. Any reporter here who is not in favor of taking care of his own first, raise his hand." Nobody raised his hand and he said: "Baby, nepotism is good stuff." Now, that's your manners; it's vulgar, but mothers in the Negro communities who teach their children never to act like that, applauded. Secondly, when you have a congress, and that Congress is essentially saying to Negroes, we are going to cut you back, and then Powell becomes a symbol of Negro power being cut back simultaneously, many Negroes who have called Powell dishonest will come together and support him. It comes at a time when Negro political power is the cry, and therefore if Powell is cut down, whether for good or bad reason, they are going to support him in order to support the idea of their own political power. But more importantly, Powell is a man who can't stand still. And I think it would be a very tragic thing if he were pressed into a corner where he would be forced to lead some kind of third Negro political party, further isolating Negroes from the mainstream. That would be a tragedy.

## MARCHES IN ALL WHITE COMMUNITIES

Q. Would you comment on what you think the results are on the marches in the all-white communities.

A. Sociologists have pointed out that there is something called the tipping point. That is to say, if you have a housing project and bring X number of Negroes in, white people will probably not run. If you bring X number of Negro families plus two in, then white people start running out. Now, if our objective is to maintain interracial living, at some stage you have to deal with the tipping point. Now the same thing is true about demonstrations. A demonstration is only as useful as the support it encourages in the community for the objectives of that demonstration. And when I say "the community" I mean the whole community, not a particular, isolated section of it. The reason the demonstration around King in the South was successful was because the great majority of the American people felt Negroes ought to have the right to go to theatres, hotels, and restaurants, and ought to have the right to vote. The reality at this time, is that the great majority of the white people in this country do not want Negroes to live next door. Some of us urged King to call off at a given point those demonstrations around housing because they were not productive or useful; they were bringing to the surface racist feeling and not leading to integrated housing or freedom. Now, one doesn't hold on to a tactic which has worked in one situation but doesn't work in another. Yet, again, the problem comes back to what I call the economic program and the social program. Prejudice is always with us. You cannot eliminate prejudice. What you can do is to create an economic order and a social order on top of it, and a psychological order on top of that which reduces the prejudice to an irreducible minimum and makes it impossible for those who are prejudiced to socially and politically organize around their biases.

But if you have a social and economic order which is unjust, it means that you are encouraging those within it to use their prejudice, to socially and politically organize around it. So, a second problem for King in Chicago was that the situation was one in which white fear and Negro frustration sprang from the same root -- inadequate jobs, inadequate housing, which is to say, these things caused fear among whites and frustration among Negroes.

The people who threw stones at King wanted to be better off than those in the Negro community. However, the fact is that psychologically they are worse off, because they have made the first hop out of the ghetto and their aspirations for the next hop are tremendously great. But they don't own their own homes, they only think they do. The houses are half paid for. They don't own the things they have -- the washers in the kitchen, or the stove. But they say they are good people; they want to send their children to college, so they are saving for that. And, in order to save for that, the wife goes to work. But this only makes it worse, because now they need to have two cars and they sink deeper into the economic morass. So it is the economic and social condition which creates the white fear and the stone-throwing and which creates the Negro frustrations and the riots. Now, if we can see it in those terms, then rather than calling those white people who stoned King "bastards and bigots," and rather than calling the rioters "black bastards and devils," we ought to be making an analysis of the situation. And this brings us right back to the same thing: how can we politically put into Congress men who are going to affect that basic situation through spurring economic changes, through public works and other measures which will put people back to work and make it possible for them to have decent housing and decent schools? But these two things -- white fear and black frustrations -- are a single thing springing from a single economic source. I don't believe the whites who threw stones can be morally compared to Negroes who react violently through frustrations. I think a comparison can be made only in the sense that some of those people are still frightened while others are still frustrated.

Q. In the confrontation between the labor movement in this country and the Negro liberation movement, I think you suggested it would be possible for a change to take place in the policy and program of the labor movement itself without direct militant action by the Negro community. And, I wonder if you are seriously suggesting and how you think it is possible for this to happen?

## NEW TACTICS

A. I am not against militant action on the part of Negroes. And I hope I didn't leave that impression. The gentleman asked me about a particular situation in Chicago and I think militant action of a given type there could not be successful for the reasons I've given. Before I can answer I have to know the actual situation and the action suggested.

I had a talk with Stokely Carmichael a couple of weeks ago and I said: "Stokely why don't you come off that platform and do something worthwhile? You are always talking about Black Power why don't you try to create intelligently the power of Negro youth?" I would like to see Stokely Carmichael drop all his foolishness, stop talking about white people not being in and invite them in. And I would like to see him put a piece of paper on his chest and go into five cities this summer and on that piece of paper I would like him to write: I DO NOT WANT RELIEF -- GIVE ME WORK! And I would like to see him with this slogan lead thousands of Negroes to City Halls -- in New York, Chicago and many other places, thereby doing two creative things: taking young Negroes who are most frustrated and giving them something creative to do; and also attacking the psychology prevalent in the white community that all the Negro wants is relief or to be given something. I do not want relief -- give me work.

Now I gave this illustration because I don't want anyone to think I am against militant action. My problem is that the nature of any given action has now to be analyzed. Number one: It should take place around things Negroes are most excited about, and that means economic issues. Number two: It should not be directed to whites who are fearful but to the political leadership of the nation -- not because I don't think those white people need it, but because I am sensible enough to know that it won't work. And number three: The militant action must be of a type that will bring the civil rights movement back together and not further splinter it. That's what I call militant action. Even so, I don't like the word "militant." I would like to say we need new tactics that are relevant, that will achieve unity, that will be directed in the right direction, toward the right people, and toward the right issues.

new approaches to financing housing.

As a banker, you can, I contend, serve well both housing and your bank by increasing your investments in mortgages. With mortgages at what will probably be an historic high interest rate, now is a good time to move in this direction.

As a leader in your community, you can see that progress is made on tax reforms, far-seeing land planning, and the fight against urban sprawl.

Leadership *is* needed. From *you*.

Thank you very much.

# Soul Music And Poetry

## THE EASY WAY OUT

By BAYARD RUSTIN, *Executive Director of A. Philip Randolph Institute*

*Delivered before the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, New York, New York, April 27, 1969*

WE ARE INDEED, ladies and gentlemen, living in troubled times, and one of the things that Mr. Randolph has always made very clear is that it is precisely in troubled times that one had better be very clear about fundamentals, because in troubled times we seldom really know strategically what is the best thing to do, even when we make a very vigorous effort at it we are very often mistaken. The only real thing that can be done is to adhere to what one knows basic-of basically social truths.

Now one of the social truths is that there's no need to talk about reconciliation before one talks about truth, because all reconciliation is based on what is fact, what is socially true. And therefore we ought to know that we are not going to have any peace in our time that is based on sentimentalism. And that is precisely our problem. We are trying to buy social peace cheaply, when in fact it can only be purchased at great price—both emotionally, financially, psychologically and in every other way we are going to pay.

Well we're living in a time when everybody is proposing what will make him feel good instead of what will solve the problem. So that a great debate takes place about the decentralization of schools. The community is brought to the place where you either love Shanker and hate McCoy, or love McCoy and hate Shanker. And that is the level of the debate. Ask the person sitting next to you what he feels about the financial problem in relation to decentralization and he will tell you he has not thought about it. Ask him about the due process issue and what it in reality means, whichever side of the fight he's on, he shall not have examined it.

Ask him what he proposes if he is against decentralization or for it, in terms of the actual accountability for teaching methods and for hiring and firing and he will give you great emotional response as to why he is for it or against it but he will not know a damned thing about the problem of accountability. And if he does, he's not able to express it.

We have a police problem, and we think we're really going to deal with that problem on the basis of—are you for or are you against a police review board. We have the problem of joblessness in the—within the proposition that we support a government which claims 4 per cent unemployment is good for the nation. We have the proposition whereby people are looking for cheap answers to the ghetto, and the latest one which Mr. Nixon and some of my good friends in CORE have indorsed, is black capitalism.

I put a proposition for you: if white capitalists manipulating billions and billions of dollars permit white poverty to exist in Appalachia who thinks black capitalists who manipulate hundreds of dollars, are going to solve that economic problem. And yet anywhere you look, people are talking about the entrepreneurial opportunities. Entrepreneurial opportunities what? Every imaginable marginal economic proposition, with no real opportunity at money making? They're not talking about the production of automobiles, or steel, or building material, or anything basic.

And so my friends, we get to the point where finally people see Negro youngsters carrying pistols and making demands at the university and a very interesting friend of mine who teaches at the college, says "Isn't it marvelous what the Negro youngsters are doing today?" Pointing to the N. Y. Times as an example of real social progress. Well the fact of the matter is my friends, I just want to say a few words about what's happening on the campus. Well I'm saying it in this context, that if there is not an expensive way out, emotionally and financially, then the thing you will know is that that is no answer to the problem. You cannot have for 300 years compounded a problem, and then find a simple way out of it.

If it is not costly, if it is not emotionally wearing, then there is no answer. Now let's take the college campus and look at it for a moment. First of all you have the young professors on the campus, operating what I call revolution by proxy. Now here they sit, all working for their PhDs—for what? to make it in this society, to take advantage of the opportunities of the capitalist society in which they live. They are all preparing to live in some nice suburb. They are all asking for more money; they are all wanting to make it in this society.

While they turn and look at the Negro students and say really, what we need is a revolution—this society with all of its dirty institutions that we so dreadfully want to be a part of. So you Negroes sick 'em—get the society for us, while we sit back and take advantage of it—revolution by proxy never has worked.

Well, they are the gravest danger because what is happening with our young people we had better understand, and that is that we are systematically teaching them that if they want any changes in the society, they must resort to violence to get them. Now once they resort to violence, we then call them in and say, we want to accept your non-negotiable demands. They should not have any respect for us. They should in fact force us, if that is the way we are going to behave, into more and more violence.

We would not—the business community in the United States never began to think about the problem of joblessness until Negroes rioted. Then they set up the urban coalition and don't really want to do anything. We get what we deserve. Now the fact of the matter is, my friends, we ought not any longer to mistreat young Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The idea that they should have separate dormitories, and separate course of studies, which they themselves design is an indication of a social sickness.

First of all in them, and second of all in us for accepting it. Any time young Negroes and Puerto Ricans propose what has been proposed now at some of the colleges, that they select the courses, that every Negro or Puerto Rican who wants in, gets in, regardless of his status, that a degree is assured him whether he achieves or not—is not brilliance, is not self respect, it is the opposite. It is that the conflict between aspiration and the ability to achieve is still a very terrifying concept for many of these people who know they have not been properly prepared for college.

And to give them separate courses of study like soul music and soul poetry, things that they can just play with and pass—is no answer to their—their internal emotional tantrum, which society has created. And it's cheap—for what they are saying is the same old thing: it is cheaper to give people relief than to create public works and guaranteed income, free medical care and free college. That's of course cheap, so we take it.

I want you to know it is very cheap to turn to young Negroes who are in internal agony about the difference between their aspirations and their poor equipment for achieving and give them the hopes of black studies that they can easily pass. It is unfair.

Furthermore, it will boomerang because that problem has to be worked through. Now what would be fair would be to say we accept young Negroes and Puerto Ricans who are not prepared into our colleges, but we then don't give them fake courses. We accept them on the responsible basis that we will give them every remedial opportunity they have, but they will not get a piece of paper from this university until we have in fact brought them up to par.

I will say also, my friends, that a multiple society cannot exist where one element in that society out of its own sense of guilt and masochism, permits any other segment of that society to hold guns at their head in the name of justice. It is a destructive thing to all involved, and if Stanley Issacs knew anything this he would have known. For Stanley Isaacs knew that one is a Jew not because one is circumcized; that one is a Jew not because he holds the dietary laws. These things may be good but they are not the essence of Judaism.

Everyone knows who knows anything about the prophets that the fundamental lesson of Judaism is truth, and that the course that was followed by Isaiah, and Jeremiah and Amos and the others—was to say I am not a Jew because I am circumcized, or because I refuse to mix milk and meat in the same pot—I am a Jew because I stand for social righteousness now. And we are not doing that for our young people by teaching them shortcuts and reliance upon violence.

# ART AND THE NEGRO EXPERIENCE

By Bayard Rustin

I think it is significant that during this period of social turmoil the NAACP has decided to award the 55th Spingarn Medal to Jacob Lawrence, a man who has achieved distinction not in the political sphere but as a painter. As I look back over the past recipients of the Spingarn Medal, I notice that about one-third of them have also been artists--writers, poets, composers, singers, architects, and actors--men and women who have devoted their lives to the imaginative recreation of human experience. And since these artists, like Jacob Lawrence, have been black, their work represents an interpretation of the experience of the Negro in America, an experience that is weighted by suffering and ennobled by struggle, That ~~which~~ in all its aspects is a relentless striving to achieve freedom.

The black artist, whether or not he considers himself as such, is an essential member of the Negro freedom struggle. In saying this I do not in the least mean to imply that the Negro artist resembles other artists who have subordinated their imaginations to the dictates of political or ideological constraints. That would be to misunderstand the nature of the Negro freedom struggle, for it is not, like so many other struggles, merely political, but it is the struggle of an oppressed people to realize their full humanity, to make their heritage part of their living experience, and ultimately to develop a consciousness of their inviolable dignity. The black artist is a part of this struggle in the very act of his imaginative creation. Just as the young James Joyce defined his role as encountering the reality of experience in order, as he said, "to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race," so too may we define the role of the black artist. This role imposes no limitations upon his freedom as an artist since the black struggle of which he is a part is in its very essence a struggle for freedom. And most important of all, it in no way limits the relevance of his work simply to black people, since the black experience can and should be understood by people of all races. Indeed, it is essential that white Americans understand the black experience since *it* has been so much a part of *them* and, of course, *they* have been so much a part of *it*. If the races in America will ever be truly reconciled to each other, I think it will come about in part because the black artist has used such tools as irony, satire, comedy, and tragedy to explain the profound complexity the black experience to all Americans.

An outstanding example of art serving to create the conscience of the black race is the development of the sorrow songs during slavery. This was a period when art represented the only form of free expression that Negroes had, since they were enslaved socially, economically, and politically. While it can be said that the spirituals were a religious escape from oppression, they were also used for purposes of political revolt. The song "Steal Away to Jesus," for example, was sung as a password by slaves to signal that they were to meet in the accustomed place to talk about revolt. Here we see the convergance of art and politics in the black experience, but political expediency did not in any way constrain artistic beauty. W.E.B. DuBois has written that "the Negro folk song--the rhythmic cry of the slave--stands to-day not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas...it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people." DuBois wrote that in 1903, before the rise of jazz as a modern idiom. Were he writing today, he would certainly speak of jazz as a second beautiful expression of human experience, as another great gift of the Negro people, and as one of the richest parts of our nation's heritage.

Black artists have served the Negro freedom struggle in many practical ways. The early development of Negro educational institutions, for example, is in debt to black artists. The Fisk Jubilee Singers travelled throughout America and all over the ~~world~~ world interpreting Negro folk music and also raising the money that was used to build Fisk University. Similarly, the funds raised by the Wilberforce Quartet helped build Wilberforce University.

There are countless other instances in our history in which artistic expression has furthered the cause of black freedom. Some of the most important breakthroughs for the recognition of the equality of blacks with all mankind came through the arts. The painter Henry Ossawa Tanner, ~~for example~~ having received little recognition in this country, left for Paris where he became by 1900 one of the most renowned painters in the world. His work, as well as the stature he achieved, bestowed great dignity and respect upon all black people. Roland Hayes, the singer, was also acclaimed in Europe. He was commanded to perform before the King and Queen of England and having done so, opened up the concert stage to other black artists. The list of such artists could be extended indefinitely--Harry T. Burleigh, William Stanley Braithwaite, James Weldon Johnson, Taylor Gordon, Aaron Douglas, Countee Cullen, Alain Locke, Richard Wright, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Langston Hughes, James Baldwin, Ralph Ellison, Leontyne Price--all of them among the greatest artists that America has produced and also at the forefront of the black struggle for equality.

We begin to see a basic duality in the life of the black artist and, by extension, in the life of all blacks. The black artist is at once a Negro and a human being, a member of a particular race and a part of that vast community which encompasses all of mankind. I think that it is only by maintaining the tension between these two apsects of his life that the black artist, or any black person, can live a creative and integral existence. The Negro artist is the voice of his community, and his painting, his writing, his singing, and his dancing ultimately reflect the way his community lives. To this extent his work is a part of that community's struggle for freedom and self-realization. And also to this extent his work is a protest against the injustices to which his community has been subjected.

But if his work is to offer creative moral insight into the human condition, the black artist must go beyond protest, beyond race. If he does not resist the temptation to take refuge in the sanctuary of race, his vision will be restricted by the evils of particularism and separateness. The effect of this can only be to limit his ability to interpret the experience of his people, for the Negro people are part of humanity. One cannot treat them as a separate entity without losing a sense of the vitality and complexity which binds them to other people and magnifies the significance of their experience. A false notion has become popular today that dignity for blacks can be achieved only if we perceive ourselves as constituting a people set apart. It is the very opposite, however, that is true. Only by seeing ourselves as part of the human community and by sharing ~~the~~ with that community the experiences of sorrow and joy that are common to all people can freedom become a living reality in all of our lives. This way of seeing, this way of feeling should enable us, and particularly the artists who are the voices of our community, to add to the beautiful culture that is our heritage.

It is this way of looking at reality, I think, that Ralph Ellison had in mind when he described the role of the artist as preserving "those human values which can endure by confronting change." Which is to say that the artist must perceive and somehow try to relate to others the human core of black experience. ~~And~~ It is because Jacob Lawrence, with his beautiful canvasses, has done precisely this that we honor him today and hope that he will continue to enrich our lives with his work.

# # #

*Mr. Rustin*

# The Role of the Artist in the Freedom Struggle

**By BAYARD RUSTIN**

THE black people in this nation have never been in graver danger than they are today. Even greater danger I believe than when, as part of the Compromise of 1876, the Union Army was withdrawn from the South, and former slaves were made into secondary citizens. It is significant and important that on the occasion of the Spingarn Award this year, this medal is not being given to anyone who is related directly to that political struggle, but the medal goes to Jacob Lawrence, a man who has achieved distinction, not in the political sphere, but as a painter, as an artist. And rather than talk about Jacob Lawrence tonight, which would be of considerable embarrassment to him, I should like to relate the importance of the artistic man or woman to the struggle for freedom.

I noticed something very interesting in the booklet on the Spingarn Award and that is that more than one-third of the persons who have received this award were in fact artistic people—writers, poets, composers, singers, architects, actors, and now a painter. Men and women who have devoted their lives to the imaginative re-creation of the human experience. There is none more important than the man who gives imaginative re-creation to the human spirit for, ultimately, that is all there is of man. And since these artists, like Jacob Lawrence, have been black, their work represents an interpretation of the experience of the Negro in this country. But, as I shall later point out, there are no "black artists." There is no such thing as a "black artist," or an "Italian artist," and there is no "Italian art" or "Greek art," and no "black art." And no black man in this nation does his cause good by referring to "black art" because he reveals not only that he is ignorant of what art is, but he will also do a disservice to the artistic process.

The black artist, whether or not he considers himself as such, is an essential member and a most important member of the freedom struggle. In saying this, I do not want to imply that the Negro artist should resemble in any way the social artist. The very concept of a social artist, an artist whose objective is to sell a cause or to sell a political party or even to sell Negroes, is a vulgarity and would be a misunderstanding of the nature of art

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*Address delivered by Mr. Rustin in presentation of the 55th Spingarn Medal to Jacob Lawrence, June 30, in Cincinnati, during 61st NAACP Annual Convention. Mr. Rustin is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York, New York.*

and of the Negro struggle.

What we have, therefore, is that the black artist is a part of the very struggle for justice and freedom by the fact that he paints or creates a poem because, by so doing, he is expressing the imaginative creativity and creation, and every time our recipient tonight paints a great picture, he automatically adorns the struggle. Young James Joyce, as an Irishman, put it very well. He defined his role as encouraging the reality of experience in order, and I quote him, ". . . to forge in the smithy of my soul uncreative conscience of my race." And that is precisely what the black artist is to do. Now, this role imposes no limitations upon his freedom as an artist since the black struggle of which he is a part is, in its very essence, a struggle for freedom.

It is interesting to note that art which is in fact great art undergirds the movement and tends to create a consciousness amongst men. For example, we created, our grandfathers created, the spirituals. It could be said that the spirituals were, in part, an escape from religious and other oppressions. But I want to point out that the spirituals also were used for purposes of political revolt. The song, "Steal Away to Jesus," for example, was a password for slaves to go out and meet to discuss revolution. "Let us steal away to Jesus . . . " they sang as an escape from white oppression. Here we see the convergence of art and politics in the black experience, but I want you to note, and it is most important to note, that the spiritual came first of all out of their own religious experience, and the convergence with politics was secondary.

This is important for our young people to understand today, particularly when great numbers of young black people are attempting to be artists without having any discipline, and are accepting inferior art on the basis that it is "black art." There is no such thing as "black art," independent of artistic standards. An inferior drawing is inferior no matter who did it, no matter how black the creator is, no matter how long his hair, no matter how he dresses.

One of the fundamental reasons that the artist is always a forerunner in the movement for freedom among oppressed people is that all men, including black men, judge a society or an ethnic group or a nation on the basis of their artistic creativity. One respects the Greeks and the Italians precisely because of their tremendous artists. To look at a work of Michelangelo immediately gives you respect, not only for him, but for the society which spawned him.

We ought to salute the black artists. For example, when it was not possible for a black man to sing on the great stages of America, Roland Hayes went to Europe and was commanded to sing for the King of England. Roland Hayes sang beautifully, he was an artist. But a by-product of that art was to shame America and, when he returned, he had opened the concert stage for all aspiring young black artists. Whether or not he knew that he was the forerunner of the civil rights movement, whether or not he liked the NAACP, which, of course, he did, would not have made any difference. It is an automatic process. Fisk University was built by young black artists who went across the country singing the songs of their fathers. Jubilee Hall came, and then hall after hall until Fisk University was founded. This has been another function of the black artist.

There is the example of the painter, Henry O. Tanner. The world is still marveling at the ability of this man to produce blues and greens that almost never had been produced by any artist before nor since. When Henry O. Tanner could not make a living in this country, he went to France. By 1900 he was one of the world's most renowned painters, a black man. And his art did much to proclaim the humanity of black men to Europeans and to shame Americans who had scorned his work earlier. Thus, we begin to see the basic duality of life for the black artist and, by extension, for all blacks.

The black artist is at once a Negro and a human being, a member of a particular race and part of that vast community which comprises all mankind. It is only by maintaining that tension between our blackness and our humanity that we can live a decent life either as an artist or as a person. The Negro artist is the ultimate and the only unfettered, clear voice of the aspiration of the black community. The painter, the writer, the singer, and the dancer ultimately reflect the way in which our people live. And to the degree that they are good artists, they do not lie. To the degree that they set up an ideology, an apologia for the black experience and distort that black experience into their own preconceived notions, to that degree do they destroy us all.

The true artist avoids five dangers. Every young black must learn from such artists that these dangers are death. The first is that the artist will not engage in stereotypes. He is consistently seeking new ground to explore to explain an experience. Even "Cotton Comes to Harlem," done by sincere black people, has in it almost every stereotype that white people visited upon us. The scene in which black poeple are diverted from what they think is an honest protest at the police station by two Negro detectives who throw chickens to them is no less a stereotype or dangerous because black people wrote it. This is not art, and the reason this must be said is that somebody began with the production of a "black thing." If they had begun with the production of a human thing, that mistake would not have been made.

The second thing the artist will avoid is ideological constraint. A good example of that is in regard to black studies. The courses are not, in many places, being built on the basis of truth. People begin with an ideology, first "Black is Beautiful," and proceed from there. They will not get good courses under those circumstances because that's ideological constraint.

The third thing to avoid is praising something because it was made by Negroes, in other words, black standards. Our job as the artist is to reveal irrationality, not to play into it. And so if a picture is bad, if it is badly constructed, it is bad; it's not good art. If the black man who painted it has just joined the NAACP and brought in fifteen life members, the art is still bad.

The fourth thing which the artist must avoid, and we must learn with the black artist to avoid it, is that all over the country today people are saying if the painting about a black man is not done by a black man, there's something wrong. He can't understand us. If the book that was written about a black man was written by a white man, automatically it's bad because he doesn't know "our thing." Or if an essay is in any way critical of, or insightful into, the nature of blackness, there are all kinds of people excluding it from consideration. Now the artist knows that exclusiveness in art is death. A white man who is a great artist with great insight can write, paint, and do anything artistic about blacks and what will be revealed will be his insight, not his whiteness. Otherwise, Alan Paton could never have written the most important novel to have come out of South Africa, a work which sensitized us all to the horror of South Africa, *Cry, The Beloved Country*. It was not written by a black man.

The fifth problem that the artist rejects as an artist, and which we in our movement must reject, is rigidity. One of the most marvelous things about Picasso is that almost every three or four years, his style changes so that it is hard to believe that the same man did these paintings over the years. That is the highest tribute of art. The eternal search, the fluidity, the flexibility as against rigidity.

Now in conclusion, I would like to point out what are the artists tools. The real tools of the artist are not the piano on which he plays or the paintbrushes, sir, which you manipulate. You know, in a sense, no painting in the world, even the ones done by Rembrandt, are objectively worth more than twenty dollars. You can buy a piece of canvas fairly cheap, and all the paints might not cost twenty bucks. Did you ever think of that? A hunk of stone by Michelangelo called "Pieta"—I'm sure if you wanted to go and buy some marble for two hundred bucks you could get a bigger hunk. What is the reality?

And I think here again we can learn something from the movement as to what reality is. The artist's real tools are internal. He first of all knows that life is dialectical. Here is his palette and on it he has eight colors, and he selects red for the canvas. What the artist knows is that every creative act is negative because he has had to reject seven colors as he selected the red. And he knows that every negative act is positive because in rejecting seven, he did in fact select the red. He knows that that which seems opposite may not necessarily be and that his energy is to probe that contradiction. And we must probe it. Almost like saying that in the movement some of the people we don't like may make a contribution in their own strange way. Because sometimes you have to have a nincompoop over there in order that they understand how profoundly sensible the NAACP is.

Second of all, the artist is not fooled by talk of separation. The artist again knows that man is one. I am in humanity with white people not only because there are some good white people and NAACP people are good. I am in humanity with white people because they have bastards and so have we. It is in fact that man is one in his beauty and in his depravity. That is what the artist continually tells us.

Finally, the artist knows that he cannot speak only for himself or for his kind. When you go to most of the important museums in this nation and around the world, and look at some of the paintings that Jacob Lawrence has done, you know that even when he paints something specifically concerned with the black experience, he is doing it for all to appreciate because all men need the truth which he professes. Furthermore, anything that we produce creatively is no longer ours. Do you think jazz is ours anymore? Thank God, it has become part of American culture. You know, we started wearing our hair "natural," and now the fashion industry's taken it. In New York City you can see many white women wearing natural wigs. Everything beautiful we produced—the spirituals, our dancing—became part of America. Thank God that we have contributed to the human spirit as an artistic people.

Now the artist has three things which give him the ability to carry on. I don't think most people really understand the discouragement of an artist. The very painting that causes one to say, "My God. How could you have done it? It is so beautiful." The true artist is saying to himself, "This is a failure and next time I must dig more deeply." And he is sustained by three things. Humility, in that he never believes that he has done well. When someone said to Rembrandt "What is your greatest painting?," Rembrandt said, "The one I'm going to start next week." Secondly, he is dedicated to simplicity. In the great artists, things are simplified for the few of us who are stupid and non-artistic to understand the complexities of life. That is what he is dedicated to. No highfalutin foolishness. And, finally, like the great Langston Hughes, he is dedicated to a sense of humor. The thing which disturbs me more than anything else about young Negroes today is that so many of them have lost a sense of humor and the ability to play Simple for a moment and look at themselves as Langston Hughes looked at our condition.

It is in this way of looking at reality, I think, that Ralph Ellison was trying to tell us when he said, "The artist is preserving those human values which can endure by confronting change." Which is to say that the artist must perceive and somehow try to relate to all others the human core of their experience. The black artist's role is to reveal to all the human core of the human experience as seen through the black experience. It is because Jacob Lawrence, with his beautiful canvases, has done precisely that, that we honor him. Not because he is hung in the great galleries, or not because he paints black, but because he presents the human core of the human experience through the black experience.

New America 6/30/70

# Socialism or Moralism

**BAYARD RUSTIN**

*(From speech presented at convention dinner).*

We on the democratic left are living through a pervasive crisis. And precisely because I believe the Socialist party has a very vital role to play in this period, I would like to say something about the problems we confront.

One aspect is that many people on the left today substitute psychology for politics. Now, I have no objection to a life-style, or how you wear your hair, or whether you eat pig's feet. But to substitute this "how I feel, what my thing is," for politics, is an extremely dangerous attitude which the Socialist movement must fight. In fact, the Socialist movement is one of the few movements which has the credentials for fighting it.

The second aspect is that these people substitute morality, and very often predictions of doom morality, for programs. It is fashionable to assume that the United States is going fascist, that there are concentration camps up in the hills, that nothing can work now. This creates a mood of desperation which is extremely dangerous. In this respect I refer back to the abolitionists, who were extremely moral people, who were extremely anxious that black people should be brought out of slavery. But, those of them who had nothing but morality disappeared into the woodwork once the Emancipation Proclamation was signed. And when black people cried out, "Give us forty acres and a mule," they did not assist in that struggle because they were purely moralists and did not understand its economic dimensions.

I suspect that many people in this room had better understand that, just as the abolitionists were a moral movement with no economic and social program, so it is likely that the last people on whom we can depend, when the war in Vietnam is over, are the peace people. Like those abolitionists, they will go into the woodwork, because a movement cannot be sustained which is purely moral, but which has no political and economic undergirding. YPSL's should go into the peace movement, not only to talk about Vietnam, but to say to the peace movement: "You say that you will be for doing something in this nation when the war is over. But we are going to have to put up a tremendous struggle to get that money and you must put into your peace program, now, a social and an economic program for the ghettoes."

Blacks are also sometimes guilty of obsessive moralism. Take the question of white racism. Simply telling white people that they're blue-eyed devils or that they are racist is dangerous and counter-productive. It becomes a cop-out for blacks who don't want to develop programs. And it's a cop-out for whites who are titilated and delighted to be abused and called racists. And thus Stokely Carmichael can come back to the United States and demand (and receive) $2,500 a lecture for telling white people how they stink.

The third aspect of this crisis is to substitute slogans for analysis. Thus, many blacks no longer need to think about an unbearable reality. If a debate comes up, you simply stop the discussion by calling the person with whom you are in debate an Uncle Tom. This is exactly what the Klu Klux Klan did in the South, stopping any debate by the center by the use of a nasty term. Thus, it's claimed that only someone who's under 30 can understand a problem, or someone who eats soul food. And in like manner, one take out his frustrations as a peace person by equating hard hats with fascists and brown shirts.

Now the fact is that if anybody simply uses the word "hard hats" to dismiss a whole mass of people with whom we should be in alliance, he is not thinking. He is failing to see that it is people in the economic circumstances of the "hard hats" who are the only people in the United States saving and borrowing to send their own children to college. The children of the rich can get away without their parents necessarily having to save for their going to college. These are the people who are most grievously hit by the economic circumstances that Leon Keyserling described. These are the people who never had a chance to get an education and who profoundly want one, and who in their perverse manner show their profound appreciation of education by being angry at those whom they think misuse it.

What we must do is analyze the present political situation so that we can know where our strengths lie. Now, a good example of this point is the NAACP. There is no organization that can be called a national organization in the black community except the NAACP. It is the only black group which organizes almost a half million dues-paying members and which collects almost five million dollars exclusively from black people. The Urban League does not get its money from black people; SCLC does not get its money from black people; CORE never got its money from black people; SNCC never got its money from black people. And yet, today, the one organization which is never discussed or is called "middle class" is the NAACP. The Panthers do not have one thousand members. Most of the kids you see on the street are not Panthers. They are there to sell the paper — for every one they sell, they get a dime. There are about one thousand Panther members in the country, half of whom are F.B.I. men watching the five hundred legitimate members. And yet, it is these types, and the SDS types, and the Weathermen types that everybody gives attention to. I say to the YPSL's that there is one place that you can get the Socialist Party going, and that is amongst the black middle, working classes, amongst the white working classes and the rational middle classes.

Forget the Weathermen, forget SDS and forget the types of college kids fundamentally who are charming, elitist and rich and who probably are not going to contribute very much either to thinking or political action. The average family which has children in SDS makes $23,000 a year while the average American family makes $8,000 a year. That is the injustice which SDS should be protesting.

President Nixon's objective is very clear. It is to destroy that coalition which Franklin Delano Roosevelt established and upon which every important social change in this country has depended. He wants to destroy that coalition and establish one of his own, the same type of alliance which was established in 1876 of Southern conservatives and Northern Republicans. Now his strategy for doing this is to woo the South, and his tactic is a creation of division and polarization. Whatever he has done has been calculated to divide black from white, young from old, hawks from doves, rich from poor, and — in his statement following the Carswell rejection — to separate North from South. That is his tactic.

I maintain that there are two elements in our society which can block Nixon's strategy and they are the labor movement and the minorities, particularly the blacks. I, therefore, say to the young people in the YPSL: You ought to recognize that economic progress is the basis for maintaining our coalition — that we are going to win because we emphasize, above all others, the economic issues in this society. Because there is no possibility for black people making progress if we emphasize only race. You can psychoanalyze every white person in the United States until he comes out pristine pure tomorrow morning, filled with love for black people — and that will not provide jobs for blacks or build housing. That is a political task which we must face.

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Rust [illegible]

July 16, 1971

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am enclosing a tentative outline and explanation of the special section we are planning for the 1972 edition --- "Can We Trust Politicians?"

I say "tentative" because this idea was not inspired by the Pentagon Papers. We have distrusted politicians for a long time but since everybody is joining the anti-politician movement, we have to revise our approach.

We believe the right approach now is to give the voters elementary, down-to-earth material to help them make up their minds about whom and what to vote for.

The purpose of this letter is to ascertain whether you would have time to do an article on racial problems along these lines for us. If you can undertake this assignment, we will discuss the form of presentation and other particulars.

Sincerely yours,

Dan Golenpaul

Dan Golenpaul
Editor

DG/rtg

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# CAN WE TRUST POLITICIANS?

## A VOTERS' GUIDE FOR 1972

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## A VOTERS' GUIDE FOR 1972

There will be disturbing and urgent questions for the voters to answer in the elections of 1972 which could be crucial for our nation.

The INFORMATION PLEASE ALMANAC would like to do what it can to help the voters find some answers and we invite you to join us in this endeavor.

Although our political system is better than most other forms we know about, it is losing its capacity for response to the wishes of the voters and their problems.

Government response will improve when the voters' participation improves. Politicians always find it more difficult to ignore or defy knowledgeable and determined voters.

Our editorial and research staffs are developing a comprehensive plan that would enable the voters to identify the politicians with their principles and hold them accountable during their terms of office.

## POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTORS

Milton Eisenhower

Henry Steele Commager

James MacGregor Burns

Mike Mansfield

Hugh Scott

Paul Douglas

Kingman Brewster

Paul Samuelson

John Gardner

Walter Heller

Bayard Rustin

William Buckley

David Rockefeller

Earl Warren

Emmett Hughes

George Gallup

Leonard Woodcock

Walter Lippmann

Rustin articles
Sept/1971

INFORMATION PLEASE ALMANAC

BAYARD RUSTIN

It was 1919 when the NAACP, then just ten years old, adopted one of the most significant statements in U.S. history concerning the rights and freedoms of black Americans. The NAACP's objectives were basic, uncomplicated, elemental human rights: the right of each qualified Negro man and woman to vote, the same access to an education that whites enjoyed, the right to a fair trial, presided over by judges whom blacks had had a chance to help elect and a jury the members of which would be chosen without regard to a person's color, and end to "lynching and burning at the hands of mobs," equal and integrated service on public transportation, integration of parks, libraries and other public facilities, equal job opportunities and, finally, "the abolition of color-hyphenation and the substitution of 'straight Americanism.'"

Drafted over 50 years ago, the NAACP program sets forth goals which have remained basic to the civil rights movement throughout the century. The legislative aims have now been achieved. Blacks enter the 1970s enjoying almost full equality under the law, although they remain the victims of an oppressive segregation and discrimination created by economics.

The story of the Negro's struggle for legal equality is one of the most dramatic chapters in the nation's political history. While, ultimately, it is a story of great successes, it is also a story of many failures: of presidents who found civil rights legislation the most easily expendable of programs, of critically needed laws which were supported by a majority in Congress only to be thwarted by parliamentary maneuvering, and of countless unkept promises.

The NAACP's 1919 program was drawn up during one of the darkest periods for blacks since Reconstruction. Negro leaders felt that under the administration of Woodrow Wilson the condition of their people had regressed for the first time in the twentieth century.

Wilson, a scholar and a man of supposed high principles, had early given Negroes reason for optimism. "Should I become President of the United States," he pledged in 1912, "Negroes may count on me for absolute fair dealing and for everything for which I could assist in advancing their interest in the United States."

This high-minded rhetoric stood in sharp contrast to the performance of Wilson's administration. Laws imposing rigid segregation on government buildings and other public facilities in Washington, D. C. were enacted with Wilson's approval. For the first time segregation became the official policy of the Civil Service and applicants for Civil Service posts were required to supply photographs for racial indentification. Negroes, called to military service in World War I, found all branches of the armed forces maintaining strict racial separation. Blacks were excluded from the recently-organized Army Air Corps, relegated to menial positions in the Navy, and assigned to all-black units in the Army.

The unsympathetic atmosphere of the Wilson years changed little during the three successive Republican presidencies. None of the three - Harding, Coolidge or Hoover - displayed any believable commitment towards righting the legal, social and economic inequities which were a daily part of the black man's existence. Hoover, in fact, dismayed black Republicans by courting the white, conservative, segregationist GOP wing in the South during his campaign against Al Smith.

With the onset of the depression, blacks were justified in believing that both major parties had abandoned them. The GOP, to whom Negroes had looked for support since the Civil War, was becoming less and less the party of Lincoln and more and more the party of economic and social conservatism. The Democratic Party was no better, dominated as it was by the southern bloc.

In Franklin D. Roosevelt, however, Negroes found a president to whom they could look both for spiritual reassurance and legitimate programs to relieve the economic distress and unemployment which oppressed the entire nation and, most severely, the black community.

The support of blacks was bestowed on FDR even though he seldom addressed himself to the problems of discrimination and racial separation. Roosevelt's actual commitment to the

Negro was slim. He was more symbol than activist.

Roosevelt kept a wary watch on the South and did not stray too far from his path to court the Negro voter. While favoring some civil rights measures, Roosevelt felt that he could not risk alienating the votes of southerners or southern congressmen who held key committee posts and were in a position to determine the fate of New Deal legislation. Not once during his four terms did FDR introduce a civil rights bill. Nor did he encourage northern liberals pressing for the passage of measures to relieve the conditions of southern blacks.

FDR refused, for instance, to exert presidential influence for an anti-lynching bill. The bill had passed the House of Representatives by a sizeable margin and was supported by a clear majority in the Senate. It ultimately died because of a filibuster of southern senators. The filibuster, or its threat, was a tactic often employed by the southern bloc to frustrate civil rights measures. Three times anti-lynching bills passed the House, never to come to a vote in the Senate. A similar fate awaited bills outlawing the poll tax and establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The Roosevelt administration also failed to effectively curb discrimination in the administration of New Deal relief and employment programs. Despite the race bias of some local administrators, particularly in the South, it was these programs which were in large part responsible for FDR's success in capturing the previously Republican-leaning black vote for the Democratic Party. The New Deal won its broad popular support largely because it was aimed at helping the poor and unemployed of all races. Despite its administrative inequities, the New Deal appealed to blacks because so many of the race lived in poverty.

An indirect and often overlooked result of the New Deal was its encouragement of the growth of the union movement. The union movement, which had faced extinction during the conservative 1920s, began to rebuild after passage of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. An important outgrowth was the progress of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in organizing mass production industries where blacks were becoming an increasingly large segment of the work force.

Whatever plans Roosevelt had for expanding the civil rights of minorities were abandoned when the U. S. plunged into preparation for World War II. At the same time, many black leaders became increasingly critical of a government which expected its citizens to sacrifice their lives in a foreign land but could not guarantee that the same citizens would be treated as equals at home. When the President ignored the pleas of blacks to provide some measure to eliminate job discrimination, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized the March on Washington Movement. Fifty thousand blacks were mobilized to march on the capital to demand job equality. The demonstration was called off only after the President had issued an executive order (8802) establishing an FEPC to regulate hiring in industries with government contracts.

The march, although it was cancelled, showed how powerful a tactic the mass demonstration could be. It also dramatized a disconcerting fact: that government would only act on civil rights when prodded by mass demonstrations, acts of civil disobedience or tragedies.

The go slow policies of Roosevelt were discarded by Harry Truman who pursued a blunt, vigorous civil rights approach. Truman showed he was willing to take the leader's role in the civil rights field. And he followed this course knowing it might cost him politically.

It was Truman who, during an election year that he was not expected to survive, delivered what was up until that time the strongest presidential civil rights message in American history. Truman called for an anti-lynching bill, a voting rights measure, a permanent FEPC, prohibition of discrimination in interstate travel, home rule for Washington, D. C. and the establishment of a Civil Rights Commission and a civil rights division within the Justice Department.

This message had widespread political repercussions, including the threatened revolt of the South. Later in the year, when liberals pushed through the strongest civil rights plank in the party's history at the 1948 nominating convention, some southerners, led by Strom Thurmond, did bolt, costing Truman four Dixie states in the election.

Congress failed to enact any of Truman's rights package.

Nor would it agree to a liberalization of the Senate rules governing the filibuster. But in one area where Truman was able to bypass Congress there was noticeable improvement. This concerned the segregation of the armed services. Truman, prodded by Randolph and other black leaders who were threatening a black boycott of the draft, appointed a commission to study racial segregation in the military. Most of the commission's recommendations were put into effect during the Korean War.

Neither Adlai Stevenson nor Dwight Eisenhower carried Truman's civil rights commitment into the 1952 presidential campaign. The platforms of both parties carried statements urging some federal action to curb discrimination but also saw fit to include sections recognizing the supremacy of the states over most civil rights matters.

But whereas the COP platform advocated an anti-lynching bill, federal action to eliminate the poll tax, and an end to job bias, Eisenhower failed to introduce a single civil rights measure until late in his first term. He also opposed a proposed amendment to an aid to education bill which would have denied funds to school districts which practiced segregation. The two bills which were enacted during Eisenhower's second term did represent important psychological breakthroughs for the civil rights movement, but they provided the federal government with little in the way of power to deal with discrimination. The congressional alignment on these measures was an unusual coalition of northern and western Democrats and moderate Republicans pitted against southern Democrats and a handful of die-hard GOP conservatives.

In 1960, both parties wrote strong civil rights planks into their party platforms and courted the black vote which was becoming an increasing factor in national elections. After his election, however, John Kennedy found it politically expedient to postpone civil rights legislation in order to expedite other New Frontier programs. In so doing he broke a campaign pledge to introduce a civil rights package early in 1961.

But Kennedy from the outset assumed a more activist role in the enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws than had Eisenhower. Kennedy also appointed talented blacks to high government posts. And when public opinion demanded further rights legislation, Kennedy sent to Congress the most sweeping package a president had ever dared ask.

That bill was enacted in 1964 after Lyndon Johnson had succeeded Kennedy. It was one of the ironies of American political life that Johnson, a southwesterner who had never supported a civil rights measure until late in his Senate career, should propose and achieve congressional approval of a majority of the important and effective rights laws: the 1964 package, the voting rights bill of 1965, and the fair housing bill of 1968. With the adoption of these measures, Negroes achieved the entire program set forth in 1919 by the NAACP and more.

Not only did Johnson succeed in passing his civil rights bills, he passed them without their being watered down with amendments. So great a triumph could not have been realized had not Johnson benefited from lopsided Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress, the support of public opinion, and the increasingly sophisticated lobbying from the civil rights movement, spearheaded by the NAACP, the AFL-CIO and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. It was this coalition which was in later years responsible for the Senate rejection of President Nixon's Supreme Court nominees, Clement Haynesworth and G. Harrold Carswell.

Johnson's Justice Department proved vigorous in carrying out the provisions of these bills. Johnson also appointed many blacks to important government posts, including Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court. The cost, to Johnson and the Democratic Party, was support of the South, which fell to the Republicans whose 1964 presidential nominee, Barry Goldwater, was among a handful in his party to oppose the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, or succumbed to the segregationist appeal of George Wallace.

Just as in 1919, when the cause of the black man suffered from an unsympathetic administration, so, today, Negroes are confronted with a President whose policies threaten to turn back the clock on civil rights progress. Richard Nixon, who appealed to the backlash sentiment during his election campaign, has already attempted to remove the teeth from the Voting Rights Acts, slow down school desegregation, dismember the social welfare programs of the New Frontier and Great Society, and appoint two men to the Supreme Court with conservative civil rights records. His efforts to aid minorities, such as black capitalism, have been highly-touted failures. Public opinion, which prodded Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson to help minorities, has apparently told Nixon he can get away with writing off the cause of blacks. It is ironic that whereas in the past all presidential aspirants felt it necessary to make some promises to win Negro votes, promises generally unkept, now the President makes no promises and feels secure in doing so.

# BLACKS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Bayard Rustin
President, A. Philip Randolph Institute
For Think Magazine, March, 1976

What meaning does the bicentennial of the American revolution have for blacks? Is it just a pious celebration of hypocrisy and a reminder of the failure of the American promise of equality? It would be easy to lapse into such negative thinking in a period when the advances of the civil rights movement have been temporarily slowed and, in some instances, reversed. But to dismiss the American revolution as unimportant to blacks is to make a profound error in understanding our history. The temptation to regard the revolution as irrelevant to blacks is a mirror image of the textbooks which ignored the role of blacks in the Revolution and American history in general. The American Revolution was a microcosm of the black Americans experience--our aspirations, frustrations, sufferings, and achievements.

A black man, Crispus Attucks, was the first martyr of the American Revolution. His death symbolized the unquenchable yearning of blacks for freedom and equality. Blacks fought at Lexington and Concord; over 5,000 joined the Revolutionary Army, although Washington was reluctant to accept them and did so only after the British began to recruit blacks. Through the sacrifice of these black patriots it was clear that blacks were determined to obtain freedom.

Even that most noble of the documents of democracy, the Declaration of Independence, was marred by hypocrisy and racism. Jefferson originally included in his indictment of Great Britain a denunciation of slave trading, but was forced by the insistence of slave-holding Southerners to withdraw it in a tragic presaging of the Constitution's declaration that slaves were to be as only three-fifths of a person.

In the aftermath of the revolution, the democratic impulse was not easily contained. In 1777 slaves demanded freedom from the Massachusetts Assembly, basing their petition on "every principle from which America has acted, in the course of her unhappy difficulties with Great Britain...." The years immediately after the Revolution saw slavery abolished in the northern states and a great outpouring of creative talents and demands for full equality by blacks.

But full freedom was not to come for many years. The idea of democracy was so new that few were able to grasp its full implications through the limitations of social prejudice and economic self-interest. Thus, the earliest days of the American nation were but the first act in the moral and political drama that has been American history--the question whether democracy would be distorted and enervated by becoming the exclusive preserve of a few or whether it would be strengthened and vitalized by its expansion to all.

So long as the promises of the Declaration of Independence were reserved for whites only they could be no more than a dream. But it was that dream of freedom and equality which gave hope to blacks as they persevered through slavery, segregation, lynchings, degradation, and insult. And it was the courage, vision, and dedication to humanity of figures like Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth which kept alive the democratic ideal during the long ordeal of slavery.

The Civil War brought a formal end to slavery but not a halting of oppression. Despite the 13th and 14th Amendments the oppression of blacks took new forms and, through the impatience of the North, grew more secure, while an elaborate rationalization soothed the conscience of the South.

During the twentieth century the struggle for equal rights was renewed with an accelerating vigor. In the courtrooms, through education, through public demonstrations, through legislation the democratic ideal was made infinitely more real. The entire nation owes an enormous debt to men like Martin Luther King, Jr. and A. Philip Randolph for not only having reduced the quantity of hypocrisy in American life, but for having raised the quality of democracy to new heights.

Just as the strongest possible condemnation of American has always been that it has failed to live up to the principles upon which the nation was founded, the greatest tribute that can be paid to American blacks is that insofar as the American ideals of equality, democracy, and freedom are real it is because we have struggled for their implementation.

America has always been a forward looking nation. I suspect that is why we made uncomfortable by the bicentennial celebration. America is defined not so much by where it has been but where it is going. Even so, a better understanding of where we've been might help us know where we want to go. One of the most beneficial results of this bicentennial year would be if black history could be reclaimed from the shadows of obscurity and ignorance and restored to its rightful place as an integral part of American history. There is still too little recognition of that basic truth that Langston Hughes proclaimed for all American blacks when he declared, "I, too, am America."

We have helped build America--from the nameless millions who toiled in the cotton fields and built the railroads to great scientists like George Washington Carver. Blacks never surrendered to the dehumanizing forces of slavery and segregation. Even during slavery there were black doctors and lawyers and black colleges, churches, and other institutions were established.

There is no one aspect of American life where blacks have not made a signal contribution. In art, music, literature, sport, blacks have made their mark and helped to shape the unique culture that is America.

Two hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, the United

States is closer today to realizing its ideals and principles than ever before. The legal underpinnings of Jim Crow have been removed and discrimination in public accommodations, housing, and education has been outlawed. Most importantly, the right to vote has been secured by the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Although much remains to be done, truly revolutionary changes have taken place in the two decades since the 1954 Brown decision outlawing segregated schools.

In one of his most famous remarks Thomas Jefferson advised that there should be a revolution every twenty years. While Jefferson may have overstated the need, the ossification and degeneration of democracy has been prevented only by the constant pressure of blacks and other oppressed citizens for the expansion of democracy.

However flawed American democracy has been it is the dynamic of the democratic principle that has informed the struggles of American blacks. The summary contribution of blacks to America has speeded the transformation of democracy from theory into practice. America is a nation still in the making. The only proper celebration of the founding principles of the United States and the struggles of the past is to continue to work until the ideals of justice, equality, and democracy are fully realized.

# FROM SLAVERY TO PARTICIPATION

By Bayard Rustin
For THINK Magazine
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Revised Version

From well before the American Revolution blacks were an indispensable part of the American working force. At first blacks were not treated much differently than white endentured servants; it was not until the 1660s that Maryland and Virginia made the first important legal distinctions between white and black servants. Physical and cultural differences provided excellent rationalizations, but the primary motivation for the growth of the slave labor system was that landholders discovered the advantages of slavery over older forms of servitude.

The American Revolution had little immediate effect on the work of blacks in America. But the tension between the ideals of democracy as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the reality of slavery, which was not to be resolved for generations, was apparent even then. Democratic ideals were contagious and slavery was soon abolished in the northern states. But before anti-slavery sentiments could win ascendancy in the South, the invention of the cotton gin revitalized the cotton industry. Uneasiness about the immorality of slavery was forgotten in the euphoria over profits. By the early 1800s, slavery as a system of controlling and exploiting labor was firmly entrenched as the foundation of the Southern economy.

The great mass of slaves toiled, under oppressive and brutalizing conditions, in agriculture. A smaller number had the physically easier but nonetheless psychologically destructive role of house servants. A still smaller number of slaves were allowed to learn such useful artisan skills as blacksmithing, cabinetmaking, and shoemaking. Though the overwhelming majority of blacks were slaves doing undifferentiated and unspecialized field work, there were important exceptions which belied the pro-slavery stereotype of blacks as inherently unskilled. A small but vibrant community of free blacks in the North and South, which faced severe limitations, produced scholars, lawyers, scientists, doctors, and skilled workers. In 1860 half a million slaves lived in Southern cities or towns or were engaged in work that was not directly or indirectly connected to agriculture. Every Southern state had industries which made use of slave labor. From their earliest beginning the Southern iron, tobacco, cotton, and railroad industries depended upon the labor of skilled and unskilled slaves.

The Civil War brought a formal end to slavery, but it did not permanently or irrevocably end the oppression of blacks. When Reconstruction ended, ironically one hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, with the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, the freedman was left without the resources to guarantee his civil and political equality. Only the passage of legislation giving each freedman "forty acres and a mule" could have secured the foundation for equality.

Segregation was a new form of slavery that not only denied blacks political and social rights, but which enforced economic subservience, dependency, and subjugation. The system of Jim Crow insured the economic regression of blacks. At the end of the civil war, 100,000 of the approximately 120,000 craftsmen in the South were black. Over the next forty years the number declined both relatively and absolutely.

Rather than catching up, blacks found that the gap between their economic and occupational status and that of whites had increased between emancipation and the American entry in the First World War. When the Census Bureau first gathered data on black occupations in 1890, 90 percent were engaged in agriculture and domestic and personal service; only about 60 percent of white Americans were so employed.

Until 1940 over 75 percent of blacks lived in the South, predominantly in rural areas, but increasing numbers were drawn to the economic opportunities created by industrialization in the North. The labor shortages of the First World War, in particular, brought large numbers to Chicago, Detroit, and other cities. Although blacks were still channeled into menial and dead-end jobs, between 1918 and 1933 the position of black workers shifted from being that of a labor reserve used to break strikes to a regular element in the labor force of nearly every basic industry.

Despite this fundamental change black workers were still far from economic equality. Although blacks were moving into industrial occupations during the interwar period, whites were doing so even more rapidly. In 1940 55 percent of black workers were still engaged in agricultural and domestic service, while only 20 percent of white workers were engaged in those fields.

The Second World War opened enormous new vistas to black workers. Two developments were essential to the transformation of the black economic condition after 1940. The formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s brought industrial unionism to mass-production industries. Because the CIO unions organized black and white workers as equals, blacks reaped the benefits not only of better pay and conditions, but also of seniority which protected them against the old curse of "last hired, first fired." Equally as important was President Franklin Roosevelt's issuance of Executive Order 8802 in June 1942 outlawing discrimination in government and defense hiring. Roosevelt was persuaded to issue the order by the March on Washington Movement, organized by A. Philip Randolph, the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The ban on discrimination, the rise of industrial unionism, and the tight labor markets of the war period brought a dramatic shift in black employment patterns. In 1940 only 4.4 percent of black male workers held skilled jobs, by 1944 7.3 percent. In 1940, only 12 percent of black male workers had semi-skilled jobs, this increased to 22.4 percent in 1944. In the 1940s the number of blacks living outside the South jumped from 2,360,000 to 4,600,000, an increase of nearly 100 percent. By 1955 manufacturing had replaced agriculture as the leading employer of blacks.

The most dramatic, and largely unnoticed, change brought by the civil rights revolution was the transformation of the black working force. Prior to 1960, the majority of black workers were employed in low-income occupations which offered little opportunity for upward mobility. During the next decade anti-discrimination laws, manpower programs, and a rapidly growing economy pulled increasing numbers of black workers from the ranks of the working and nonworking poor into the solid working class. By 1973 over 60 percent of blacks were employed in white collar position, skilled craftsmen, or semi-skilled jobs. The number of blacks in these occupations more than doubled between 1960 and 1973. Increasing numbers of blacks entered the professions during the years since 1960, but in 1974 only 3 percent of managers, administrators, and proprietors were blacks. If progress was slow, it was undeniable and the prospects for the future were brightened by the narrowing educational gap between young blacks and whites.

The shift in occupational status of blacks since 1960 has been unprecedented in its dimensions and rapidity and has brought with it a dramatic change in the relationship of the black worker to the larger society. The black worker could no longer be said to be an outsider to American economic life, as he had been during the previous four hundred years of slavery and Jim Crow.

# BAYARD RUSTIN

Many years ago I read an intriguing book by Ignazio Silone, an exceptionally sensitive and prescient Italian socialist who died late last year. In writing about the slow death of Italian democracy, Silone made some stunning points, points which offer valuable insights about the political chaos and mass withdrawal which so alarmingly characterize American democracy today.

Silone, in his inimitable way, anticipated what we might call "mediapolitics," a politics of sloganizing, quick solutions, and snappy phrases. He also anticipated mass boredom and disillusionment, in which case he believed politicians would simply "invent new slogans along the lines of 'Down with Slogans.'"

"When a sick man can't bear to hear medicines mentioned," Silone said, "a clever doctor continues to prescribe them, but is careful to call them anti-medicines." This is precisely what our "clever doctors"—political leaders as diverse as President Carter, California's Gov. Jerry Brown, Mayor Koch and others—have turned to. Instead of "throwing money at problems" we now have a whole array of "anti-solutions" like fiscal austerity, deregulation, self-reliance, and a frantic return to laissez-faire economics.

Everywhere we turn, Silone's "Down with Slogans!" has become the shrillest and most popular slogan of all. This sudden emergence of so many "anti-solutions," I believe, helps explain the pitiful state of the union. Allow me to offer a few examples.

In the realm of economics, for instance, the experts—both governmental and private—seek to restore prosperity by offering us a non-strategy that will either provoke a recession or severely dampen economic growth.

While corporations continue to jack up prices, and bankers continue to raise interest rates to astronomical levels we hear an endless chorus of think-tank intellectuals blaming our economic plight on overregulation—everything from minimum wages to air-bags in cars—and bloated government deficits which have already begun to shrink. Thus, in place of rigid liberal dogma, we now find ourselves forced to bow before the altars of the even more dogmatic "anti-solutions."

President Carter's wage-price guidelines further illustrate the absurdity of attempting to deal with real problems with phantom-like solutions. Responding to the new popularity of "less government," the President's well-intentioned program—or should we call it a mild suggestion?—seeks to be purely voluntary when it is in fact mandatory, and flexible when it is indeed rigid. All this talk of "voluntarism" and "less government" leads to mass confusion, which in turn leads to failure, which in turn leads to social and political paralysis.

How can America escape this debilitating and exhausting syndrome? To begin with, we should recognize that Silone's "Down with Slogans" is nothing more than a slogan itself. Just as Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown are doubtless tired of hearing "More Government is Good Government," I too have had my fill of "Less Government is Good Government."

After disposing of the new political graffiti, government must once again promote the confidence of all sectors of American society, especially in the area of economic policy. If workers, minorities and the poor continue to view economic policy as austerity for the bottom and prosperity for the top, then the dual problems of inflation and stagnation will surely remain insoluble, short of truly drastic measures.

Finally, and most important, we must once again convince ourselves that the State of the Union is something which we, working as equals through a democratic government, can shape and control. To abandon that belief in favor of new anti-solutions is tantamount to abandoning hope in popular democracy.

*Bayard Rustin is executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute in New York. He is author of "Strategies for Freedom: The Changing Pattern of Black Protest.*

NEWSDAY JAN. 23, 1979

# ANDERSON IS NOT THE ANSWER

## A Message to Students

by

## Bayard Rustin

*Bayard Rustin, the noted civil rights leader, was a colleague of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and of A. Philip Randolph, the great black labor leader. Mr. Rustin is best known as the chief architect and organizer of the 1963 March on Washington. He is now Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and of Social Democrats, U.S.A.*

The 1980 campaign has been among the most disorienting on record. Yet even in a year such as this, it still surprises me that the independent candidacy of John Anderson has garnered so much support, especially from college students. I am surprised because Anderson's record in Congress and his economic policies are as conservative as those of Ronald Reagan, and therefore not an alternative in this election. In the long run Anderson's policies of tax cuts for corporations and a balanced budget with simultaneous reductions in social spending would do great harm to the interests of all Americans, young and old.

Some argue that John Anderson has changed over the years, that he has matured. But despite the fact that Anderson aspires to the mantle of a moderate and an independent, his record throughout the twenty years he's been in Congress is that of an "orthodox" Republican. Let's look at his record.

In 1964 and 1974 John Anderson voted against food stamps.

His vote for the Open Housing Act of 1968, which prevented discrimination in the selling or renting of homes, is purported to be a turning point in his career. But since then he has voted consistently against housing projects and programs to provide federally guaranteed mortgages for low-income families. In this way he has failed to address the problems which blacks and other minorities have in trying to obtain decent housing.

If Anderson truly supported equal opportunity, he would have supported those bills which offered unemployed minorities opportunities for decent jobs. But Anderson voted against jobs programs during the recessions of 1969 and 1974-75; against the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act of 1978; and against the construction of vocational schools for training in skilled jobs at a time when one-third of minority youth were unemployed and unable to enter the job market.

In 1978, Anderson voted with big business interests against the labor law reform bill, which would have insured for workers the enforcement of their rights to organize into free trade unions. Today companies like J. P. Stevens continue to violate the labor laws.

Anderson has voted against students and youth: he opposed federal aid to needy students; voted against work-study programs; and he has opposed educational aid to the disadvantaged and handicapped. In addition, Anderson supports the subminimum wage for teenagers.

Moreover, it is obvious from the polls that Anderson is merely taking advantage of discontent in some traditional Democratic constituencies. The most recent poll shows six times more Democrats than Republicans supporting Anderson. **A vote for Anderson therefore will only be a vote for Reagan.**

Anderson's candidacy seems liberal only because of his dissident voice amid the extreme rightward drift of the Republican Party, a drift which was clearly demonstrated at the Republican Convention.

Yet despite the Republicans' turn to the right, they are gaining support because they claim to stand for a strong America. I deeply believe in a strong America, and have frequently argued for our need to face the dangers of Soviet imperialism and totalitarianism. But Reagan's regressive tax cuts, taken together with increased defense spending, will guarantee the dismantling of the domestic programs Americans depend on to meet the basic needs of society. The Republicans call for a strong defense, but only if the poor pay for it. This will result in an America wracked by racial injustice, unemployment, and poverty. The divisions such policies would cause at home could only increase our weakness abroad.

What the Democratic Party platform and President Carter offer, and what is necessary, is a responsible policy for a strong defense and for continued commitment to social and economic justice.

Despite his faults, President Carter has remained responsive to the issues which those of us on the left are concerned about. This was evident at the Democratic convention. A vote for Carter is the only choice I can see in this election for anyone who cares about social and economic justice, at home and abroad.

This election is too important to waste your vote on John Anderson.

Young Social Democrats Political Committee / 275 7th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10001 / (212) 255-1390

*This was paid for by the Young Social Democrats Political Committee, an independent committee not authorized by any candidate or political party.*

# HUMAN RIGHTS, NOT ATOMIC WAR - THE CENTRAL PROBLEM OF OUR TIME

Remarks by Bayard Rustin on the occasion of the bicentennial of the
Friends' Seminary, February 10, 1986, New York, N.Y.

I'm very happy for the opportunity to be here. I will keep an eye on you so that if anyone has a question, just raise your hand or clear your throat so that I'm sure to see you. I like that kind of interruption because it is better for me to talk about what you want to talk about than what I want you to hear. I will try to limit the time that I speak because I would really like an involvement with you. So, if you don't mind, get out your pencils and keep any notes you want. I'll try my best to confuse you later if I haven't confused you at the beginning. But I hope that later I will confuse you on higher principles. I purposely chose this topic because I felt that it would help you to think "How could a sane person say that how we treat each other is more serious than the possible elimination of mankind altogether?" Nevertheless, that is a conviction I hold and, erroneous or not, I should like you to think along with me for a while in regard to this matter, because unless you have thought with me for a while, you will not have the insight to intelligently disagree with me.

First of all, let's understand where the concept of human rights come from. The very place from which it comes is significant. Without the Jewish religion I think it would have been quite impossible ever to have arrived at a philosophy of human rights because the concept of human rights springs from the simple fact that the Jews were the first to understand that there was one God. Not the Phoenicians, not the Greeks, not the Romans. The Jews. It is ironic that so much pain should ever have been visited upon the Jewish people, who were indeed the discoverers of this most sacred notion. And just what is that notion? First, the Jews said there's only one God and therefore, there can only be one human family. It is significant that, wrong or right in the light of women's lib, the Jewish concept was that God did not create two people. God created one. I sometimes wish it had been a woman, but they say it was a man. It doesn't really matter. But that second person already was an integral part of the first one. Not another creature. Eve was already a part of Adam, at his creation. Secondly, it says if there's one God, and therefore one humanity, then we must have absolute respect for every other human being. I'll tell you very simply why that is true. If I say the people in this front row are like that, but I am like this, I have essentially broken the human cycle. And once that cycle is broken, there is nothing that you will not do to those people. For example, when white people in America in years gone by said that black people are like that, but we whites are like this, it was only a minute's removal from enslaving them, taking the vote away from them, and making it three hundred years before they could universally have the right to vote. When Hitler said the Jews are like that, but we are like this, he would burn millions of them. He would deny them every right that other people had. So the we/they concept is contrary to concept of one humanity and therefore to the concept of human rights. Human rights mean that if I harm any one of you, by virtue of the fact that you are also an integral part of the human cycle, whether I know it or not, I am attacking myself simultaneously because when I preach hatred, I am preaching hatred to everybody. But if I am also a part of the human condition, if I preach hatred against an Italian or a Jew or a Pole, I am also digging my own grave. Because it is hatred that makes it possible for people to do the same thing to me. My objective must be to eliminate hatred.

If one is to practice humanity, then one must recognize that the law of ends and means exists. The law of ends and means says "I get in the end not what I seek to get in the end, but rather an accumulation of all the things I do to reach that end." Therefore if I lied for a good cause, I may or may not get the good cause, but I will certainly be a liar. I may or may not free all the black people on earth, but if I brutalize a single hair on the head of one white, as Martin Luther King said, then I know that I am creating a situation where ultimately the same thing can be done to me.

Finally, on this first point, if there is not democracy, there cannot be human rights. There can be a degree of democracy and violations of human rights, but there cannot be full-grown human rights without democracy. Because ultimately human rights have to do with one simple factor. Do I give you the right that every person should have of self-determination and self-expression? I may not like what you do. In fact, it may appear to me to be very harmful. But my objective is not to punish you for that. My objective must be to reveal to you that something else higher is involved. As an illustration, let me analyze the thinking about South Africa today. Everybody is talking about how horrible it is, how badly blacks are treated in South Africa. We would all agree that this is true. None of us who are human beings would tolerate that treatment for a minute. But I want to ask you a question that you must bear in mind. When South Africa is discussed in America, how many times do you hear people talking about the importance of saving white people in South Africa from their own self-destruction? You don't hear that. Therefore, in discussing South Africa, unless the person begins with the dual purpose of liberating both blacks and whites, he is talking about black superiority and not talking about human rights. That's a very hard thing for me to say, as a black. But it must be said because it is true.

Now, the gravest danger to human rights is selective morality. A double standard. For example, our language has been ruined by double standards. What used to be terrorists are now "freedom fighters". Authoritarians such as Marcos of the Philippines call themselves "liberators". The Arabs denounce Zionism, a two thousand year old yearning of the Jews not to be kicked from pillar to post, and it is now called "racism". Totalitarian communism is now called "socialism". But those of you who are old enough know that Norman Thomas stood for socialism and it has nothing to do with totalitarian communism. Tyranny is now referred to as "the people's democracy". How would you like to live in the "people's democracy"? Come back and tell me if you liked it. Whites in this country who stood beside Martin Luther King, some of whom were killed - in 1968 some blacks were calling them "racist pigs". That is the double standard.

Now, American policy and the policy of every individual, including every high school student, must not be a political analysis of human rights or an expeditious one. We have to be against terrorism, whether it is on the part of a black gang in Chicago, or the Ku Klux Klan, or the PLO, or the IRA or the Red Brigade, or anybody else who plays that game. I cannot call them something else if they are terrorists merely because they are black, anymore than an honest Irishman can call the IRA anything but terrorists, even if their objective seems to be a good one. Not only must we use the proper words but we must be prepared to address ourselves properly and universally equally to all parts. It is wrong for Americans to talk about the problems in Russia and Poland and Afghanistan without in the same breath talking about our responsibilities for the injustice in the Philippines, El Salvador, etc. If we do not take that view then we are being partisan.

Now, we must avoid the false distinction between authoritarians and totalitarians. I happen to be an old friend of Jeane Kirkpatrick. But I must totally disagree with her when she says that human rights are less endangered under authoritarians than under totalitarians. I don't think I have to argue that point, but just ask a question. Would you rather be in jail for 20 years under an authoritarian or a totalitarian? Anyone who can make that distinction, please do not raise your hand. I do not want to reveal to the audience a fool or a liar.

Now, and here I come to the major point. If the majority of the people in the world adhered to the concept of human rights, violence and war would be totally impossible. At the center of violence, of any form, and war, in any form, is the fact that I adopt, for whatever reasons, the right to brutalize other people. Violence and war spring from several things. Race, class, religion - people go to war because they're adverse, people go to war to get more territory. But every one of these things, like having more territory, having racial equality, having religious equality, bear a responsibility that is as terrifying as the denial of those rights are. For regimes that deny human rights always behave recklessly and the only reason any government does not behave recklessly is that the people have enough freedom within that nation to protest. And you can only protest where there are human rights. Therefore, if the war in Vietnam was wrong, we did not wait till the government decided it was wrong. The people of the United States said "because we have freedom and human rights, we can stop that war." And they did. No people could stop a war where there is a totalitarian nation. And therefore totalitarian nations can starts wars very easily precisely because their people do not have human rights.

Now I want to point out another reason that war and human rights are so connected. Trust is central if we are going to deal with atom bombs. Trust. If we don't trust the Russians we'll never come to any agreement. If they don't trust us there cannot be an agreement. But if nations do not trust and respect their own citizens, no citizens in another nation can trust that government. And thereby that absence of trust, which is essential, means that no matter how many agreements and treaties you have, so long as there is a part of the world in which you know that those people cannot exercise their human rights, one ought also to know from political and psychological investigation, those people are helpless to join us in stopping war.

There is another reason. If you consider why people go to war, they go to war for religion, they go to war for greed, for territorial expansion, for racial reasons, for fear, and in defense of certain values. The great majority of the people in a democracy will not go to war for religious reasons, for greed, for territorial expansion, for race, nor merely out of fear. The great temptation is to use violence in defense of justice. The easiest way to get into war is because you are you. War is justified to stop them from doing that to those people and if you'll think about that you will see that that is precisely what occurred. Many thousands of people who would not have wanted war with Hitler finally came into the war because they argued that nobody should be treated the way Hitler treats people in Germany. Now the fact is that I don't want to appear silly, and when Gandhi was asked the question "is war ever justified?", he said yes. War and violence are sometimes justified. And the person smiled and thought that was the end of what Gandhi was going to say. But Gandhi came back and said if something unjust is coming towards you, there are three ways to deal with it and only three. One, you can use violence against the undemocratic force. You can use nonviolence a la Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and the third possibility is cowardice. You say, in effect, let them get away with it. Now Gandhi said the most immoral response is cowardice - doing nothing. And the most noble is to fight nonviolently. But, if you honestly cannot do it nonviolently, then it is better to use violence because nothing is more destructive to the human condition than pure cowardice. Gandhi then added, whether justified or unjustified, you cannot use violence without making the total human condition worse, although it may appear to be improved.

I want to now go to another problem, because most of the devilment in this world is not caused by devils, but it is tolerated because people of goodwill are indifferent. I remember as a young man teaching school in New York City, reading in the New York Times about Jews coming here from Germany to warn us about what Hitler was doing. These refugees were denounced as war mongers who were stirring up the American people to fight Germany. We were indifferent. A ship called the St. Louis left Germany with seven hundred Jews on it. It was supposed to go to Cuba. The Cuban government was told by Hitler not to receive them. They then came to the United States and for three weeks those seven hundred Jews lingered near the Miami shore. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the American people said they could not come into the United States. They went back to Germany and three-fourths of them died in concentration camps. Now let me point out, because I think this may be the most important part of my talk. Indifference to other people does four distinctly different things. First, it is a tragedy. A tragedy for those who suffer. But that is the slightest part of the danger. Second, it is self-denial. For when I am indifferent to you, I refuse to see myself in you and thereby I deny my own existence. Thirdly, it is a punishment. But is the worst punishment because it is a self-inflicted punishment, for in not addressing myself to your suffering I let suffering and injustice grow like a flower. And if it grows, it will one day turn on me. Therefore not defending you is also destroying myself. Finally, it is an invitation to self-destruction. I ask for self-destruction when I don't defend your rights, because I permit hatred to blossom. It is for these reasons that I must be opposed to injustice wherever it is.

I will close by telling you a story. I was recently in Germany and one of the people I met with was the wife of Pastor Niemueller. Pastor Niemueller was the head of the largest church in Germany during Hitler's time. It was on Unter der Linden which was a fashionable street of Berlin. I asked Mrs. Niemueller if the story I had heard for many years about her husband was true, and she said it was. And this is the story he told. I was living in Germany and I did not like Hitler, but I did not do much about it. Hitler came for the Jews, and I said "I am not a Jew", and I didn't do anything to help them. Then Hitler came for the Communists, and I said, "I am not a Communist" and I did nothing to help them. Then Hitler came for the labor leaders and I said, "I am not a labor leader" and turned my back. Then they came for the intellectuals and the artists, and they cried "Help us". I said "I am not an intellectual or an artist" and I turned my back. Then one night I heard the sirens wail. I heard the truck turn into my street. I heard the stormtroopers pounding up the stairs. I heard them bang on my door. I started to scream "Help me", but I knew, through my own fault, that there was nobody left to hear me.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: The question is, having said all I said about human rights and the treatment of Jews in Germany, how could you be a conscientious objector under those circumstances? My answer is in two parts: number one, I don't know what I would do if I were called upon today. I hope that I would be a conscientious objector. But I'm not sure because I must say that the experience of Hitler, which I did not know when I became a conscientious objector, must be weighed now that I know it. But secondly, the hope I have that I probably might become a conscientious objector is because of what I told you, the story about Gandhi. Very often, in the process of eliminating a danger, the use of violence only complicates that danger down the road. But that is the reason I have great respect for people who would be conscientious objectors. Because each of us has to make these decisions in light of his experience and all of us are attempting, I believe, to come to a decent conclusion. One has to be careful, and I'd like to take South Africa as an illustration. It is not only that the process must be seen to include all, but the process must never proceed from anything less than a universal. If it is true that when people talk about South Africa, they are really talking about apartheid, which they want to get rid of, I must honestly say to you that my objective, having been to South Africa now for my third time, and going into Southern Africa to set up schools and medical care for refugees from South Africa, my fundamental concern is not to get rid of apartheid. That is too narrow. It is, in fact, racist. My objective must be to establish democracy because no matter who rules South Africa, if there is not democracy, there will be some form of apartheid. If not to blacks, then to whites. If my objective is to get democracy, then I know that if I am successful, there cannot be apartheid, either to black or white. In the meantime, that gives me room to have affection and want reconciliation with the worst elements of the white community because those elements in the white community which do dastardly things, are the other side of me, myself, who is capable of doing dastardly things. And I'm only saved from doing them by attempting to remove the dastardly things done to others. This is a very difficult and complicated matter, young man, I don't want to fool you. I don't have the slightest idea what I would do, if I were called upon again when somebody was trying to eliminate a whole race of people, and it would be an agony for me. Between saving some people in the short run or adding to the tribulation of violence of mankind in the long run. I hope you are never faced with any such terrible challenge.

QUESTION: Inaudible, but having to do with whether or not the United States has become more democratic.

RUSTIN: Well it depends on how we look at it. If you look at the mistakes we have made in supporting regimes overseas that I don't think we should have supported, then there's room for improvement. The best thing I could do about Haiti was to call together people to set up a committee to defend Haitian refugees. That's all I could do. I am not a Haitian. But the fact that many of these groups which we have supported, which do not deserve our support, are now falling off their thrones, ought to encourage Americans to understand the greater need for democracy. The fact that Marcos is going, that Duvalier has gone, that somebody soon is going to go from Korea, those experiences ought to further our interest in attempting to make the United States more democratic. You know, you have to be careful young people, because you can get yourself into jams. Let me ask you a question. Do you have any respect for George Washington? Well did you know he owned slaves? Do you have respect for Thomas Jefferson? Do you know he owned slaves? Did you know that George Washington owned a large estate on the Potomac and that everybody for miles around had to pay him so that they could get water from it? In other words, you could point up unfair things about every person on earth. But what a human is is the culmination, the collection of all he is, but more important, as my mother used to say to me, "boy, it is not what you have done in the past that makes me want to talk to you. it is the fact that you are now going in the wrong direction." Now, what is is beautiful about Jefferson and Washington is that they were Americans. They were seeing a process. They grew in the process and thus Thomas Jefferson manumented, that is freed, a great number of his slaves. He sent a couple of his girl friend's children, that people thought were his, to school in Paris. They were mulatto. George Washington manumented his slaves, and finally we judge people the way my mother wanted me judged, not where I stood, but in what direction I was going. And I believe that I can say to you that in terms of women's rights, America's gone in a good direction. In terms of the rights of homosexuals, America is going in a better direction. In the treatment of young offenders, America is going in a better direction. In the effort to try to drop some of the monsters we've been supporting, America's going in a better direction. In terms of the treatment of black people, America's going in a better direction although I would not want to leave you with the feeling that all is well. You must judge every situation the way you judge yourself. Am I making an effort to move in the right direction, not where do I stand, as if I'm embedded in concrete. Life is movement and all we can ask is that the movement be in a better direction today than it was yesterday.

QUESTION: What do you think about disinvestment from South Africa?

RUSTIN: I will tell you my own experience. I believe that we should not ask a simple question, do you invest or don't you invest. That's too simple. Life is never like that. The question is, are there things which do great danger to people there that I ought to protest? Or, if there are things there which are helping to bring democracy and get rid of apartheid, why should I boycott them? Many American businesses in South Africa who adhere to the Sullivan Principles, are working on the two most important things for democracy in South Africa. The education and training of black people, since one day blacks will have political power - but they will not have democracy if they are untrained. In the same way, there will not be democracy in Mozambique or Angola in the next fifty years because the Portuguese left without 25 college graduates in the whole country. You can't have democracy under those circumstances. And you can't have democracy unless there are churches, schools, lawyers, doctors, organized together as institutions, that can support the growth of democracy. And therefore I want to support those American institutions which are giving blacks equal wages, which are training blacks, etc. The finest training center I have seen is in Soweto, where the American businessmen have set up an ideal school for training people who otherwise would never be able to participate in democracy. I am for selective disinvestment. And my yardstick is to ask "does it, ultimately, help to improve the lot of people there or not?" There are some Americans who say anything you do to help anybody in South Africa is wrong because the situation must get much worse before it can get better. That is a philosophy with which I cannot agree in the slightest.

QUESTION: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Human beings are capable of untold creativity; that is the other side of their being capable of untold devilment. Now, I will agree with you that mankind sometimes seems much more creative when he's being devilish than when he's being good. But that does not have to be. I think anyone who tells you what is going to happen in South Africa is not very wise. We don't know. And I think there's only one thing we can do in a situation wh ere we don't know. And that is to try our best to build democracy there. And then do what Isaiah, Jeremiah and Amos would advise. It is not for you to know whether the work that you are doing will be successful. God does not command you to be successful. He commands of you only one thing, never to lay down the task of trying to be effective. Therefore, I have set up a committee called Project South Africa. And if my two objectives are to train young people to be able to be a part of a democratic process, and if it is to build institutions, then my project, which New York Friends are backing, is to do what we can to help these young people learn and help to build institutions. Therefore, the project asks lawyers groups here to support lawyers groups in South Africa, teachers here to support teachers there, women's groups here to support women's groups there. There are thousands of black and white people working every day in South Africa for a peaceful solution. You will not read about it in the American papers because newspapers want the dramatic, the unseemly the like. You will not hear about this. Every morning there are dozens of white women out on the streets of South Africa taking blacks who have so-called violated the pass laws, going to court with them, getting their charges reduced, getting their sentences reduced. One never heres of Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash. One never hears of Ina Perlman who is doing relief feeding and developing agricultural projects in the so-called homeland areas. This woman and groups of black and white women and men together feed three hundred thousand people a day, keeping them alive. Why are we not supporting these people? How many people here who call for disinvestment have sent a penny to Winnie Mandela whose husband has been away from her and her children all these years? With seven hundred people under house arrest, how many of us have voted in our clubs, synagogues, temples, churches, and meetings, to adopt a single child of a man or woman who has been under house arrest for years? I am not deeply impressed with a mere political act of calling upon our government to do something when we are not supporting a mentality in the country which says, how do you concretely do something to help? Now, I'm very delighted with high school and college students. I remember my youth - I was absolutely monstrous. But my point is that unless Friends School has some association with some group of people in South AFrica who are working for nonviolent change there, all the discussion about disinvestment and banks will leave you cold and uninformed. Would you write to a school there and say we want to send money for one student for a year? It would come to less than three hundred dollars. And you want that student to write back to you and tell you about their experiences and you'll tell them about what's happening here. Then something begins to click. That is human and it does not pit students against the faculty against the board of trustees against the bank. Now, I'm not going to jump on anybody who wants disinvestment. Don't misunderstand me. Because the people of South Africa would tell you even if they're against disinvestment and even if they think it's going to hurt black people, they will turn around and say, but don't stop anybody from raising the question since that's the only one they raise, because now I can tell my children that people over there are thinking about us. See, how complicated it is?

QUESTION: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Yes. Well, here again, I must honestly say I cannot answer your question directly. I can refer, however, to something I said and something I believe. Trust is essential between the Soviet Union and the United States. That trust is not something that will come tomorrow or a week from Thursday. It is a result of a long process. But what you do now with wherever there is injustice in the world, affects that ultimate process of trust. Because if human rights are made up of one thing and if my being a black, asking for black rights is not really human rights, I only ask for human rights when I ask for the same for all people, that I would ask for my own kind. If that is the spirit in which we are operating, we are sending symbols out to the whole world and we are being harbingers of the thing which ultimately will establish that trust. I want these young people to contribute to the Haitians living over here who were driven out by Duvalier. I want them to be kind to people who are coming in from Southeast Asia as refugees. I want the black students here never to say that, with blacks unemployed, we don't want other refugees who would be killed tomorrow if they went back home. If it starts at that level with us, all I can say is we are sending out the right signals, that ultimately give the answer. But that is a far cry from being able to answer your question directly because I don't know the answer. I don't know and you don't know. But what I do know is that it is possible for you to behave perfectly in regard to the human rights of others. It was possible for Gandhi largely to do it. It was possible for Martin Luther King to do it. And they did not have a bone in their body that you don't have. They did not have a brain that is any better than yours. Sometimes I thought Gandhi proposed some silly things. I'm glad to see that you are asking questions which cannot be answered because, as Gertrude Stein once pointed out, beware of answers. It is the questions that are important. Elie Weisel, whom I believe is the greatest spiritual person alive today, I never miss a speech that he makes because he never gives any answers. He raises questions. Largely about the holocaust. But every question he raises about the holocaust is a challenge to me. How could millions of people stand by and do nothing while six million Jews and six million other people were being murdered, burned? He does not pretend to have an answer to that question. But what he does is make you feel that whenever there is injustice anywhere, you want to do something about it. I don't believe there is any universal answer. To be very honest with you, I cannot think of a society which ever existed, democratic or undemocratic, where people were not mistreated. I've never known a society where there was a minority which was completely and totally accepted, but I refuse to live in past history. I want to be a part of the making of new history. And the only way I can do that is to be certain, to the best of my ability, and I will fail occasionally, to try to see that if any human being is being mistreated, that I do something about it. That is to say it is not enough for me to be opposed to injustice. I have to be opposed to injustice, first of all, in myself. Because that is the only final injustice over which I have control.

QUESTION: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Well, to begin with, I think that what you're asking is whether people can completely eliminate their fear. People tend, regardless of color, race or creed, to have a certain fear and apprehension about things which sound different, look different, behave differently from themselves. But you know I have no trouble answering your question. Because my answer is exactly the same as the one I gave a moment ago. If Schweitzer did it, why can't you and I? If Martin Luther King said I would prefer to see black people remain enslaved as against any black hurting one hair on the head of any white person, why can't you and I? I don't want people putting Martin Luther King on a pedestal so that they can say, "Oh well, he was a semi-god and I can't be like him." The fact of the matter is, if King did it, if Gandhi did it, if other people I've known have done it, if Sheena Duncan is doing it, if Molly Blackburn did it in South Africa, then why can't I. I'm not naming more black people purposely, because most people will protect their own kind. I know I'm a human, not because I work for the freedom of black people, but because I will work for the freedom of all people. That you can achieve, young man. I have not quite achieved it, but I have tried hard.and I hope that I can achieve as much as God has given me intelligence and will power to do so. Thank you very much.

BAYARD RUSTIN

# "HUMAN RIGHTS, NOT ATOMIC WAR - THE CENTRAL PROBLEM OF OUR TIME"

February 10, 1986

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MC CRAY: I want to thank you very much for that very nice beginning to a very special evening. I'd like to begin with my usual announcements and very cordially invite all of you to a reception at the conclusion of our evening's program. We'll meet as we've been doing, in the Common Room and I look forward to all of you joining us there. I'd also like to remind you, while I have so many of you here, about the Crucible which is being given by our upper school this week. So please come back again on Wednesday or Thursday evening at 7:00 o'clock. It should be a wonderful performance and I urge that you all attend. And, indeed, I welcome you to our third and final speaker of our bicentennial evening series. Students in the school have also heard the heads of the New York State Quaker Schools in a special assembly series. And as one could expect certain themes and interconnections have begun to emerge for all of us. Roger Rosenblatt, a graduate of Friends Seminary, gave us a context when he described the quality of a Quaker mind. You will recall he talked with us about liberal education and consensual decision decision making. Peggy McIntosh expanded the context as she presented a model of the human psyche. She pressed us to think deeply about the fabric of our human relationships and the role ascribed to men and women in our society. She would urge us to explore our curricula, to make certain that fabric is complete. And she would, I believe, agree with Roger that our experience and our style of problem-solving is directly derived from Quaker values which are part of our past and significant today. The three Quaker heads who joined us exemplify the very openness and warmth, the nurturing quality that Peggy McIntosh sees as so important and Roger defined as the Quaker mind. And so, this evening, we come to Bayard Rustin, who, like our other speakers, exemplifies in his very being and in all of his activities the Quaker spirit which we are exploring. He has been active in the struggle for human rights and economic justice for over fifty years. As a gifted musician, at one time, he sang with Josh White's Carolinians and he performed with Leadbelly at the New York Cafe Society. But in 1941, as a Quaker, he chose to place his religious convictions ahead of his musical interests and he began a long association with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He was active in A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement. He went to California to work with a program to protect the property of Japanese-Americans being held in detention. And in 1943, he was imprisoned as a Conscientious Objector. Following his release in 1945, Bayard Rustin organized the Free India Committee which championed India's fight for independence from Great Britain. Following the examples of Ghandi and Nehru, with whom he consulted during several visits to India, he was frequently arrested for protesting Britain's colonial rule there. In 1947, Bayard took part in a demonstration designed to test enforcement of the 1946 Irene Morgan case decision, outlawing discrimination in inter-state travel. Known as the Journey of Reconciliation, this protest was a model for the freedom rides of the 1960's. Arrested in North Carolina, he served thirty days in a chain gang. HIs account of that experience, serialized in the New York Post, spurred an investigation which resulted in the abolition of chain gangs in North Carolina. In the early 1950's, Bayard Rustin was active in the fight to end colonial rule in Africa. And he was instrumental and directed the fight to end racial discrimination in the United States Armed Forces. At the request of Mr. Randolph, he was granted a temporary leave from his position, as executive secretary of the War Resistor's League, so that he could assist Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the early days of the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott. His extensive background in the theory, strategies and tactics of non-violent action proved invaluable and was the foundation of a close relationship with Dr. King. Bayard Rustin organized the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in 1957, the National Youth Marches for Integrated Schools in

1958 and 1959; and Bayard was the Deputy Director and chief organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for jobs and freedom, which at that time was the-largest demonstration in the nation's history. Thought by many to be the high point of the Civil Rights Movement, the March on Washington created the political atmosphere for the passage of the major Civil Rights legislation of the 1960's. Concluding the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, and the Voting Rights Bill of 1965. In 1964, Bayard Rustin helped found the A. Philip Randolph Institute which has built a national network involved in voter registration drives and programs designed to strengthen relations between the black community and the labor movement. Bayard has also been actively involved in refugee affairs in the Sudan, Southern Africa, El Salvador and Pakistan. His work in Southeast Asia helped bring the plight of the Vietnamese Boat People to the attention of the American public. He lectures extensively. He has written extensively. He is the recipient of numerous awards and he has received more than a dozen honorary degrees. From among other universities, Harvard, Yale, Brown and New York University. It's a long introduction I know, and there's so much to tell you about him and his presence brings great honor to Friends Seminary and I'm very pleased to welcome and have you be with us during our bicentennial. Bayard Rustin.

BAYARD RUSTIN: Thank you. I'm very happy for the opportunity to be here and I would like you to behave yourselves in a certain fashion. I ~~will go on with my talk but~~ I'll keep an eye on you because ~~I should like~~ this to be more ~~intimate than this appears~~. So that if anybody has a question about ~~anything I've said, if you'll~~ just raise your hand, and clear your throat so that I'm sure to see you. I would like that kind of interruption. Because it is a~~lways~~ better for me to talk about what you want to talk about than what I want you to hear. Secondly, I will try to limit the time that I speak to half time because I would really like an involvement with you. So, if you don't mind, get out your pencils and keep any notes you want and I'll try my best to confuse you later if I haven't confused you at the beginning. But I hope that later I will confuse you on higher principles. I purposely chose the topic I chose that ~~human rights may be more dangerous, the failure to deal with human rights, than the Atomic~~ Bomb because I felt that ~~that~~ it would help you to think, "how could a sane person say that how we treat each other is more serious than the possible elimination of mankind altogether?" Nevertheless, that is a conviction I hold and, erroneous or not, I should like you to think along with me for a while in regard to this matter because, unless you have thought with me for a while, you will not have the insight to intelligently disagree with me.

First of all, let's understand where human rights come from. ~~And~~ The very place from which it comes is significant. ~~because~~ Without the Jewish religion, I think it would have been quite impossible ever to have arrived at a philosophy of human rights, because human rights springs from the simple fact that the Jews were the first to understand. ~~The Jews the first who understood~~ there was one God. Not the Phoenicians; not the Greeks, not the Romans. The Jews. ~~Now that is important because~~ It is ironic that so much pain should ever have been visited upon the Jewish people, who were indeed the discoverers of this most sacred notion. And what is that notion? If ~~you want to raise questions about it, go ahead; but I'll just try to be very~~ swift ~~about it~~. First, the Jews said there's only one God and therefore, there can only be one human family. And it is significant, that wrong or right in the light of women's lib, the Jewish concept was that God didn't create two people. God only created one. I sometimes wish it had been a woman; but ~~it~~, they say it was a man. But it doesn't matter. ~~And~~ But that ~~the~~ second person already was an integral part of the first one. Not another creature. Eve was already a part of Adam, at her creation. Secondly, it says if there's one God, ~~there's~~ and therefore one humanity, then we must have absolute respect for every other human being. ~~And~~ I'll tell you very simply why that is true. If I say the people in this front row are like that, but I am like this, I have essentially broken the human cycle. And once --I say those people are like that, but I am like this, for example when all white people in America in years gone by, ~~and thank God, not now~~, said that black people are like that, but we whites are like this, the, once that cycle is broken, there is nothing that you will not do to those people. Hitler would make lampshades of them finally; he would burn millions of them; he would deny them of every right that other people had, if, when white people said blacks are like that, but we are like this, it was only a minute's removal from enslaving them, taking the vote away from them, and making it three hundred years of American History before they could universally have the right to vote. So, the we/they concept is contrary. Human rights says that if I harm any one of you, by virtue of the fact that you are also an integral part of the human cycle, whether I know it or not, I am attacking myself simultaneously because when I preach hatred, I am preaching hatred to everybody. But if I'm also a part of the human condition, if I ~~treat~~ preach hatred against an Italian or a Jew or a Pole, I am also digging my own grave. Because it is hatred that makes it possible for people to do the same thing to me. And my objective must be to eliminate hatred.

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If one is to practice humanity, then must one must recognize that the law of ends and means exists. The law of ends and means says "I get in the end not what I seek to get in the end, but I get an accumulation of all the things I do to reach that end." And therefore if I lied for a good cause, I may or may not get the good cause but I will certainly be a liar. ~~If I brutalized other people~~, I may or may not free all the black people on earth, but if I brutalize a single hair of one head of one white, as Martin Luther King said, then I know that I am creating a situation where ultimately the same thing can be done to me.

Finally, on this first point, if there is not democracy, ~~automatical~~ly, there cannot be human rights. There can be a degree of democracy and violations of human rights. But there cannot be full-grown human rights without democracy. Because human rights ultimately has to do with one simple factor. Do I give you the right that every person should have of self-determination and self-expression? I may not like what you do. In fact, it may appear to me to be very harmful, what you are doing. But my objective is not to punish you for that. My objective must be to reveal to you that something else higher is involved. Let me analyze the thinking about South Africa today. Everybody is talking about how horrible it is, how badly blacks are treated in South Africa. We would all agree that that is true. No, none of us who are human beings would tolerate for a minute that treatment. But I want to ask you a question that you must bear in mind. When South Africa is discussed in America, how many times do you hear people talk about the importance of saving white people in South Africa from their own self-destruction? You don't hear that. And therefore in discussing South Africa, unless the person begins with the dual purpose of liberating both blacks and whites, he is talking about black superiority and not talking about human rights. There's a very hard thing for me to say, as a black. But it must be said because it is true.

I skipped the next section because you don't need it. Any time you clap, any time you clap at that point, I knew I was just being repetitious. Okay. Now, the gravest danger to human rights is selective morality. A double standard. For an example, our language has been ruined by double standard. What used to be terrorists are now described as freedom fighters. The authoritarians such as Marcos of the Phillipines, calls himself and his followers, millions of them, called him the "Liberator". The Arabs had denounced that Zionism, which is a two thousand year old yearning of Jews not to be kicked from pillar to post is now called racism. Totalitarian communism is now called socialism. But those of you who are old enough know that Norman Thomas stood for socialism. And it has nothing to do with the totalitarian communism. Tyranny is now referred to as the people's democracy. How would you like to live in the people's democracy? Come back and tell me if you liked it. Whites in this country, who stood beside Martin Luther King, some of whom were killed, by 1968, black people in America were calling them racist pigs. That is the double standard.

Now, American policy and the policy of each individual including every high school student, must not be a political analysis of human rights or an expeditious one. We have to be against terrorism, whether it is on the part of a black gang in Chicago, or the Ku Klux Klan, or the PLO, or the IRA or the Red Brigade, or anybody else who plays that game. I cannot call them something else if they are terrorists merely because they are black. Any more than an honest Irishman can call the IRA anything but terrorists, even if they're objective, seems to be a good word. Not only must we use the proper words, but we must be prepared to address ourselves properly and universally equally to all parts. It is wrong for Americans to talk about the problems in Russia and Poland and Afghanistan without in the same breath talking about our responsibilities for the injustice in the Phillipines, in El Salvador, etc. If we do not take that view, then we are being partisan.

Now, we must avoid the false distinction between authoritarians and totalitarians. Now I'm sorry to say I happen to be a good friend of, for years, Jeanne Kirkpatrick. But I must totally disagree with her when she says that of human rights under authoritarians is less dangerous than under totalitarians. And I don't think I have to argue that point. I asked you a question. Would you be, would you rather be in jail for twenty years under an authoritarian or a totalitarian? And anyone who can make a distinction, please do not raise your hand. I do not want to reveal to the audience a fool or a liar.

Now, human rights and here I come to the major point I wanted to make tonight. Human rights, if they exist and if the majority of the people in nations adhere to them, violence and war would be totally impossible. At the center of violence, of any form, and war, in any form, is the fact that I adopt for given reasons the right to brutalize other people. Violence and war spring from several things. Race, class, religion; people go to war because they're averse; people go to war to get more territory. But, every one of these good things, like having more territory, having racial equality, having equality amongst religious groups in the class, bear a responsibility that is as terrifying as the denial of those rights are. For regimes that deny human rights always behave recklessly. And the only reason any government does not behave recklessly is that the people have enough freedom within that nation to protest. And you can only protest where there is human rights. And therefore if the war in Viet Nam was wrong, we did not wait till the government decided it was wrong. The people of the United States said, because we have freedom rights, human rights, we can stop that war. And they did. No people could stop a war where there is a totalitarian nation. And therefore totalitarian nations can start wars very easily precisely because their people do not have human rights.

Now I want to point out another reason that war and civil rights are so connected. Trust is social as to whether we are going to deal with atom bombs. Trust. If we don't trust the Russians, we'll never come to any agreement. If they don't trust us, there cannot be an agreement. But, nations, if nations do not trust and respect their own citizens, no citizens in another nation can trust that government. And thereby that absence of trust, which is essential, means that no matter how many agreements and treaties you have, so long as there is a part of the world in which you know that those people cannot exercise their human rights, one ought also to know from political and psychological investigation, those people are helpless to join us in stopping war.

There is a third reason. If you consider why people go to war, they go to war for religion; they go to war for greed; for territorial expansion; for racial reasons; for fear and in defense of certain values. Great majority of people in a democracy will not go to war for religious reasons. Nor for greed. Nor for territorial expansion. Nor for race. Nor merely out of fear. The great temptation is to use violence in defense of justice. And the easiest way to get in to war is because you are you. War is justified to stop them from doing that to those people and if you'll think back about that, and you look at it, you will see that that is precisely what occurred. Many thousands of people who would not have wanted war with Hitler finally came into war with Hitler because they argued nobody should be treated the way he treats people in Germany. Now the fact is that I don't want to appear silly, and when Ghandi was asked a question, is war every justified? Ghandi said, yes. War and violence are sometimes justified. And the person smiled and thought that was the end of what Ghandi was going to say. But he came back and he said there, if something unjust is coming towards you, there are three ways to deal with it and only three. One, you can use violence against the undemocratic force. You can use non-violence a la Ghandi and Martin Luther King. And the third possibility is cowardice. You say, well, let them get away with it. He said the most immoral one is cowardice, doing nothing. And the most noble is to fight it non--violenty. But if you honestly cannot do it non-violently, then it is better to use violence because nothing is more destructive in the human condition than pure cowardice. And the man was ready to leave again and Ghandi said but one moment. Whether justified or unjustified, you cannot use violence in the human condition without making the total human condition worse, though it appears to be improved.

I want to now go to another problem. Because most of the devilment in this world is not caused by devils; most of the devilment in this world is tolerated because people of good will are indifferent. I can remember as a young man teaching school in New York City, the New York Times when Jews were running out of Hitler in 1938 and '39, denounced the Jews who came here and told what Hitler was as war-mongers who were stirring up the American people to fight Germany. We were indifferent. A battleship, not a battleship, I'm sorry. A ship, but with all kinds of arms on it, left Germany. It was called the St. Louis. Seven hundred Jews on it. They were supposed to go to Cuba. The Cuban government was told by Hitler not to receive them. They came to the United States and for three weeks, those seven hundred Jews were in Miami, close enough to see the shore and Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the American people said they could not come in to the United States. They went back to Germany and three fourths of them died in the concentration camps. Now let me point out, because I think this may be the most important part of my talk, young people. Indifference to other people does four distinctly different things. First, it is a tragedy. A tragedy for those who suffer. But that is the slightest part of the danger. Because if they're dead, they're dead. I mean, I'm sorry to talk this way but I am seventy four and the time is going to come. That's the tragedy. But indifference is even worse. It is self-denial. For when I am indifferent to you, I refuse to see myself in you. And thereby I deny my own existence. Thirdly, it is a punishment. But worse than a punishment, because it is a self-inflicted punishment, for in not addressing myself to your suffering, I let suffering and injustice grow like a flower. And if it grows like a flower, it will one day turn on me. And therefore not defending you is destroying myself. And, finally, it is an invitation to self-destruction. I ask for self-destruction when I don't defend your rights, because I permit hatred to blossom and it is for that reason that I must be opposed to all injustice wherever it is.

And I will close by telling you a story. I was recently in Germany last week and one of the people I met with was the wife of Pastor Niemueller. Pastor Niemueller was the head of the largest church in Germany during Hitler's time. It was on Unter der Linden, which was a fashionable street of Berlin. I asked Mrs. Niemueller to tell me if what I had heard for many years was a true story about her husband and she said it was. And this is what he said. I was living in Germany and I did not like Hitler, but I did not do much about it. And Hitler came for the Jews. And I said, I am not a Jew. And I didn't do anything to help them. And then Hitler came for the communists. And I said, I am not a communist. And I did nothing about it. Then Hitler came for the labor leaders. And I said I am not a labor leader. And when the labor leaders said, help me, I turned my back. And then they came for the intellectuals and the artists. And I said I'm not an intellectual or an artist and the artists and the intellectuals said, help me. But I turned my back. And then one night I heard the sirens wail. I heard the truck turn into my street. I heard the stormtroopers coming up the stairs. I heard them knock on my door. And I started to scream,help me. But I knew, through my own fault, there was nobody left to help me. Thank you. Now, the first question is always hard to get. So we'll start with the second.

VOICE: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Oh. The question is, having said all I said about human rights, and having said what I said about the treatment of Jews in Germany, he put it much more nicely, but what he really wanted to know is, how could you be a conscientious objector under those circumstances? My answer is two part; number one, I don't know what I would do if I were called upon today. I hope that I would be a conscientious objector. But I'm not sure because I must say that the experience of Hitler, which I did not know when I became a conscientious objector, must be weighed now that I know it. But secondly, the hope I have that I probably might become a conscientious objector was because of what I told you, the story about Ghandi. Very often, in the process of eliminating a danger, the use of violence only complicates that danger down the road. But that is the reason I have great respect for people who would not be conscientious objectors. Because each of us has to make these decisions in light of his experience and all of us are attempting, I believe, to come to a decent conclusion. One has to be careful, and I'd like to take South Africa as an illustration. It is not only that the process must be seen to include all, but the process must never proceed from anything less than a universal. If it is true that when people talk about South Africa, they are really talking about apartheid, which they want to get rid of, I must honestly say to you that my objective in having been to

South Africa now for my third time, and going into Southern Africa to set up schools and medical care for refugees from South Africa, my fundamental concern is not to get rid of apartheid. That is too narrow. It is in fact racist. My objective must be to establish democracy because no matter who rules South Africa, if there is not democracy, there will be some form of apartheid. If not the blacks, then to whites. If my objective is to get rid of apartheid, I mean, democracy, to get democracy is my objective, then I know that if I am successful, there cannot be apartheid either to black or white. And in the meantime, that gives me room to have affection and want reconciliation with the worst elements of the white community because those elements in the white community which do dastardly things, are the other side of me, myself, who am capable of doing dastardly things. And I'm only saved from doing it by attempting to remove the dastardly things done to others. This is a very difficult and complicated matter, young man. I don't want to fool you. I don't have the slightest idea what I would do, if I were called upon again when somebody was trying to eliminate a whole race of people and it would an agony for me. Between saving some people in the short run or adding to the tribulation of violence of mankind in the long run. I hope you are never faced with any such terrible challenge. Yes sir?

VOICE: I wondered what we,(end of side one.)

RUSTIN: of more democrat. Well it depends on how we look at it. If, if you look at the mistakes we have made in supporting regimes overseas, that I don't think we should have been supporting, not merely because of us but because of the longing of thers. The best thing I could do about Haiti was to call together people to set up a committee to defend Haitian refugees. That's all I could do. I am not a Haitian. But the fact that many of these groups which we have supported, which do not deserve our support, are now falling off their thrones, ought to encourage Americans to understand the greater need for democracy. The fact that Marcos is going, that Duvalier has gone, that somebody soon is going to go from Korea, those experiences ought to further our interest in attempting to make the United States more democratic. You know, you have to be careful young people, because you can get yourself into jams. I'll ask you a question. Do you have any respect for George Washington? Anybody have respect for George Washington? Well did you know he owned slaves? Do you have respect for Thomas Jefferson? Do you know he owned slaves? Did you know that George Washington owned a large -- on the Potomac and that everybody for miles around had to pay him so that they could get some water out of it? In other words, you could point up unfair things of every human on earth. But what a human is is the culmination, the collection of all he is but more important, as my mother used to say to me, boy, it is not what you have done in the past that makes me want to talk to you. It is the fact that you are now going in the wrong direction. Now, what is beautiful about Jefferson and Washington is that they were Americans. They were seeing a process. They grew in the process and thus Thomas Jefferson manumented that is freed a great number of his slaves. He sent a couple of his girl friends' children, that people thought perhaps were his, to Paris to school. They were mulatto. George Washington manumented his slaves and finally we judge people the way my mother wanted me judged, not where I stood, but in what direction was I going. And I believe that I can say to you that in terms of women's rights, American's gone in a good direction. In terms of the rights of homosexuals, American is going in a better direction. In the treatment of young offenders, America's going in the better direction. In the effort of trying to drop some of the monsters we've been supporting, America's going in a better direction. In terms of the treatment of black people, America's going in a better direction, although I would not want to leave you with the feeling that all is well. It is judge every situation the way you judge yourself. Am I making an effort to move in the right direction, not where do I stand, as if I'm embedded in concrete. Life is movement and all we can ask is that the movement be in a better direction today than it was yesterday. I saw somebody's hand back here. Oh, I'm sorry. Here.

VOICE: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: I will tell you my own experience. I believe that we should not ask a simple question, do you invest or don't you invest. That's too simple. Life is never like that. The question is, are there things which do great danger to people there that I ought to protest? Or, if there are things there which are helping to bring democracy and get rid of apartheid, why should I boycott them? Many American businesses in South Africa who adhere to the Sullivan principles, are working on the two most important things for democracy in South Africa. The education and training of black people, since one day blacks will have political power; but they will not have democracy if they are untrained. In the same way, they will not be democracy in Mozambique or Angola in the next fifty years because the Portuguese left without twenty five college graduates in the whole country. You can't have democracy under those circumstances. And you can't have democracy unless there are churches, schools, lawyers groups, doctors groups organized together as institutions, that can support the growth of democracy. And therefore I want to support those American institutions which are giving blacks equal wages, which are training blacks to go to school. The finest training center I have seen, I wish there could be one for young blacks and Puerto Ricans and poor whites in New York like this, is in Soweto, where the American businessmen have set up an ideal school for training these people who otherwise would never be able to participate in democracy. I am for selective divestment. And my -- is does it help to improve the lot of people there or not? There are some Americans who say, anything you do to help anybody in South Africa is wrong because the situation must get much worse before it can get better. That is a philosophy to which I cannot agree in the slightest. But I'm for selective. Yes?

VOICE: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Humans are capable of untold creativity; that is the other side of their being capable of untold devilment. Now, I will agree with you that mankind sometimes seems much more creative when he's being devilish than when he's being good. But that does not have to be. I think anyone who tells you what is going to happen in South Africa is not very wise. We don't know. And I think there's only one thing we can do in a situation where we don't know. And that is to try our best to build democracy there. And then do what Isaih, Jeremiah and Amos would advise. It is not for you to know whether the work that you are doing will be successful. God does not command you to be successful. He commands you of only one thing, never to lay down the task of trying to be effective. Therefore, I have set up a committee called Project South Africa. And if my two objectives are to train young people to be able to be a part of a democratic process, and if it is to build institutions, then my project, which New York Friends are backing, is to do what we can to help these young people learn and to help to build institutions. Therefore, the project asked lawyers groups here to support lawyers groups in South Africa. Teachers to support teachers. Individuals to support the women's groups. Women's groups in this country to support all kinds of groups. There are thousands of white people and thousands of black people working every day in South Africa for a peaceful solution. You will not read about it in the American papers because newspapers want the dramatic, the unseemly and the like. You will not hear about this. Every morning there are dozens of white women out on the streets of South Africa taking blacks who have so-called violated the past laws, going to court with them, getting them off, getting their prison sentences reduced. One never hears of -- Duncan and the black sash. One never hears of Ina Pearlman who where these people are pushed off good land and are starving, this woman and groups of black and white women and men together feed three hundred thousand people a day, to keep them alive. Why are we not supporting these people? How many people here who call for disinvestment have sent a penny to Winnie Mendela whose husband has been away from her and her children all these years? With seven hundred people under house arrest, how many of us have voted in our clubs, synagogues, temples and meetings, to adopt a single child of a man or woman who has been under house arrest for years? I am not deeply impressed with a mere political act of calling upon our government to do something when we are not supporting a mentality in the country which says, how do you concretely do something to help? Now, I'm very delighted with high school and college people. I, one of the good things about the young people is, I remember my youth. I was absolutely monstrous. I'm glad I do because it makes me appreciate what other monsters do when they're younger. But, the main thing I think is that unless Friends Schools has some association with some group of people in South Africa who are working for non-violent change there, all the discussion about disinvestment and banks will leave you cold and uninformed. Would you write to a school there and say 37A wants to send money for one student for a year? It would come to less than three hundred dollars. And you want that student to write back to you and tell you about his experiences and you'll tell him about what's happening here. Then something begins to click. That is human. And does not pit students against the faculty against the board of trustees against the bank. Now, I'm not going to jump on anybody who wants disinvestment. Don't misunderstand me. Because the people of South Africa would tell you even if they're against disinvestment and even if they think it's going to hurt black people, they will turn around and say, but don't stop anybody from raising the question since that's the only one they raise because I can now tell my children people over there are thinking about us. See, how complicated -- is? I saw a hand somewhere in here. Oh, up in the peanut gallery.

VOICE: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Yes. Well, here again, I must honestly say I cannot answer your question directly. I can refer however to something I said and something I believe. Trust is essential between the Soviet Union and the United States. That trust is not something that will come tomorrow or a week from Thursday. It is a result of a long process. But what you do now with wherever there is injustice in the world, affects that ultimate process of trust. Because if human rights are made up of one thing and if my being a black, asking for black rights is not really human rights, I only ask for human rights when I ask for the same for all people, that I would ask for my own kind. If that is the spirit in which we are operating, we are sending symbols out to the whole world and we are being harbingers of the thing which ultimately will establish that trust. That is, a base unanswer, but it is the only thing I know to do. I want these young people to contribute to the Haitians living over here who were driven out by Duvalier. I want them to be kind to people who are coming in from Southeast Asia, as refugees. I want the black students here never to say that with blacks unemployed, we don't want other refugees who would be killed tomorrow if they went back home, to go where they came from. If it starts at that level with us, all I can say is we are sending out the right signals, that ultimately gave me the answer. But that is a far cry from being able to answer your question directly because I don't know the answer. I want some of these students that --. I demand it. I don't know and you don't know. But what I do know is that it is possible for you to behave perfectly in regard to the human rights of others. It was possible for Ghandi largely to do it. It was possible for Martin Luther King to do it. And they did not have a bone in their body that you don't have. They did not have a brain that is any better than yours; sometimes I thought Ghandi proposed some quite silly things. I'm glad to see that you are asking questions which cannot be answered because as Gertrude Stein once pointed out, beware of answers. It is the questions that are important. Elie Weisel, whom I believe is the greatest spiritual person alive today, I never miss a speech that he makes because he never gives any answers. He raises questions. Largely about the halocaust. But every question he raises about the halocaust is a challenge to me. How could millions of people stood and do nothing? While six million Jews and six million other people were being murdered, burned. He does not pretend to have an answer to that question. But what he does is to make you feel that ever there is an injustice anywhere, you want to do something about it. And I don't believe there is any universal answer. To be very honest with you, I cannot think of a society which ever existed, democratic or undemocratic, where people were not mistreated. I've never known a society where there was a minority which was completely and totally accepted, but I refuse to live in past history. I want to be a part of the making of new history. And the only way I can do that is to be certain, to the best of my ability, and I will fail occasionally, to try to see that if any human being is being mistreated, that I do something about it. That is to say it is not enough for me to be opposed to injustice. I have to be opposed to injustice, first of all, in my self. Because that is the only final injustice over which I have control. Is there time for one more question? One more young man.

VOICE: Inaudible.

RUSTIN: Well to begin with, I think that what you're asking is whether people can completely eliminate their fear. People tend, regardless of color, race or creed, to have a certain fear and apprehension about things which sound different, look different, behave differently from themselves. But you know I have no trouble answering your question. Because my answer's exactly the same as I gave a moment ago. If Schweitzer did it, why can't you and I? If Martin Luther King said I would prefer to see black people remain enslaved as against any black hurting one hair of one head of any white person. We have just recently almost made a god of him. I'm not pleased with that either. Because I don't want people putting Martin King on a pedestal so that they can say oh well, he was a semi-god and I can't be like him. The fact of the matter is if Kind did it, if Ghandi did it, if other people I've known have done it, -- Duncan is doing it. If Molly Bradfern has done it in South Africa, and I, I'm not naming black people purposely, because most people will protect their own kind. I know I'm a human, not because I work for the freedom of black people. But, because I will work for the freedom of all human beings. That you can achieve young man. I have not qutie achieved it. But I have tried hard and I hope that I can achieve as much as God has given me intelligence and will power to do. Thank you very much.

# Human R

## The Cen

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Dan Hamlett-Leisen

*(Taken from remarks by Bayard Rustin on the occasion of the bicentennial of the Friends Seminary, February 10, 1986, New York, N.Y.)*

I purposely chose this topic because I felt that it would help you to think, "How can a sane person say that how we treat each other is more serious than the possible elimination of humankind altogether?" Nevertheless, that is a conviction I hold, and I would like you to think along with me for a while.

The concept of human rights springs from a simple fact that the Jews were the first to understand: there is only one God. It is ironic that so much pain has been visited upon the Jewish people, who were the discoverers of that most sacred notion. The Jews said that because there's only one God, there can be only one human family. God did not create two people. God created one. The second person was an integral part of the first one, not another creature. Eve was already a part of Adam at his creation. Secondly, if there's only one God and only one humanity, then we must have absolute respect for every other

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*Bayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. He has been active for over 50 years in civil rights and human rights causes, most notably as the organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, D.C. Bayard Rustin is a member of Fifteenth Street (N.Y.) Meeting.*

human being. If I say the people in this front row are like *that* but *I* am like *this,* I have broken the human cycle. And once that cycle is broken, there is nothing that I will not do to those people. For example, when Hitler said that the Jews are like *that* but we are like *this*, he could burn millions of them; he could deny them every right that other people had.

The we/they concept is contrary to the concept of one humanity and, therefore, to the concept of human rights. The concept of human rights means that if I harm anyone, I am attacking myself at the same time. When I preach hatred against an Italian or a Jew or a Pole, I am also digging my own grave. That is because hatred makes it possible for people to do the same thing to me. My objective must be to eliminate hatred.

If one is to practice humanity, one must recognize the law of ends and means. The law says, "I get in the end not what I seek to get, but an accumulation of all the things I do to reach that end." If I lie for a good cause, I may or may not get the good cause, but I will certainly be a liar. I may or may not free all the black people on earth, but, as Martin Luther King said, if I brutalize a single hair on the head of one white person, then I am creating a situation where the same thing can be done to me.

Furthermore, without democracy there cannot be human rights. Ultimately human rights have to do with one simple factor: do I give you the right of self-determination and self-expression? I may not like what you do, it may appear to be very harmful, but my objective must not be to punish you for that. My objective must be to reveal to you that something higher is involved.

# ights

# tral Issue Our Time

by Bayard Rustin

As an illustration, we all would agree that blacks in South Africa are treated very badly. But, when South Africa is discussed, how many times do you hear talk about saving the white people in South Africa from their own self-destruction? Unless we begin with the purpose of liberating both blacks and whites in South Africa, we are talking about black superiority, not about human rights. That's a very hard thing for me to say as a black, but it must be said because it is true.

The gravest danger to human rights now is selective morality—a double standard. Our language has been ruined by double standards. What used to be terrorists are now "freedom fighters." Authoritarians such as Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines call themselves "liberators." Zionism, a two-thousand year old yearning of the Jews not to be kicked from pillar to post, is called "racism" by Arabs. Totalitarian communism is now called "socialism." But the socialism Norman Thomas stood for has nothing to do with totalitarian communism. Some dictatorships are now referred to as "peoples' democracies." How would you like to live in a "peoples' democracy"? Come back and tell me if you liked it!

American policy and the policy of every individual must not be a political analysis of human rights. We have to be against terrorism, whether it is a black gang in Chicago, or the Ku Klux Klan, or the PLO, or the IRA, or the Red Brigade, or anybody else who plays that game. Not only must we use the proper words but we must be prepared to address ourselves properly, universally, and equally to all parts. It is wrong for Americans to talk about the problems in the Soviet Union and Poland and Afghanistan without talking about our responsibilities for the injustices in the Philippines and El Salvador. If we do not take that view, then we are being partisan.

Further, we must avoid the false distinction between authoritarians and totalitarians. I am an old friend of Jeane Kirkpatrick, but I must disagree with her when she says human rights are less endangered under authoritarians than under totalitarians. Just ask yourself a question: would you rather be in jail for twenty years under an authoritarian or a totalitarian government? Anyone who can make that distinction is revealed as a fool or a liar.

If the majority of the people in the world adhered to the concept of human rights, violence and war would be impossible. At the center of violence in any form is the right to brutalize people, to deny their human rights. Regimes that deny human rights behave recklessly, because the people do not have enough freedom to protest. You can only protest where there are human rights. We did not wait until the government decided the war in Vietnam was wrong. The people of the United States said, "Because we have freedom and human rights we can stop that war," and they did. No people can stop a war in a totalitarian nation, because they do not have human rights.

**The gravest danger to human rights now is selective morality— a double standard.**

Trust is another connection between war and human rights. If a nation does not trust and respect its own citizens, people in other nations cannot trust that government. Therefore, if we don't trust the Russians, if they don't trust us, we'll never come to any agreement.

Consider why people go to war. They go to war for religion, for greed, for territory, for racial reasons, for fear, and in defense of their values. In a democracy the majority of people will not go to war for most of those reasons. Our great temptation is to use violence in defense of justice. We get into wars to stop *them* from doing *that* to *those people.* Many thousands of people who did not want war finally came into World War II because they argued that nobody should be treated the way Hitler treated people in Germany.

When Gandhi was asked, "Is war

ever justified?" he said that yes, war and violence are sometimes justified. He said that if something unjust is coming toward you, there are three ways to deal with it. One, you can use violence against the undemocratic force. Two, you can use nonviolence as Gandhi and Martin Luther King did. The third possibility is cowardice, or to simply let the aggressor get away with it. To Gandhi the most immoral response is cowardice, doing nothing. The most noble is to fight nonviolently. But, if you cannot do it nonviolently it is better to use violence because nothing is more destructive to the human condition than cowardice. However, Gandhi added, you cannot use violence, justified or unjustified, without making the human condition worse, even though it may seem to be improved.

**Most of the devilment in this world is caused because people of good will are indifferent.**

Another problem is that most of the devilment in this world is caused because people of good will are indifferent. I remember, as a young man, reading in the *New York Times* about Jews coming here from Germany to warn us about what Hitler was doing. These refugees were denounced as war mongers who were trying to stir up the American people to fight Germany. We were indifferent. A ship called the St. Louis left Germany with 700 Jews on it. They came to the United States, and for three weeks they waited off the coast near Miami. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the American people said that they could not come into the United States. They had to go back to Germany, and three-fourths of them died in concentration camps.

Martin Niemöller, head of the largest church in Germany in Hitler's time, summed up our responsibility to protect human rights with this story:

> I was living in Germany and I did not like Hitler but I did not do much about it. Hitler came for the Jews and I said, "I am not a Jew," and I didn't do anything to help them. Then Hitler came for the Communists and I said, "I am not a Communist," and I did nothing to help them. Then Hitler came for the labor leaders and I said, "I am not a labor leader," and I turned my back. Then they came for the intellectuals and the artists. I said, "I am not an intellectual nor an artist," and I turned my back again. Then one night I heard the sirens wail; I heard the truck turn into my street; I heard the storm troopers pounding up the stairs; I heard them bang on my door. I started to scream, "Help me," but I knew, through my own fault, there was nobody left to hear me. ☐

# THE NEED FOR DEMOCRACY

*(After his talk, Bayard Rustin offered to answer questions from students. Here are parts of some of his answers.)*

I hope that I would be a conscientious objector if I were called upon today, but I'm not sure. The phenomenon of Hitler, which I did not know about when I became a conscientious objector, must be weighed now that I know it. Secondly, I hope that I might become a conscientious objector because of what I told you about Gandhi. The use of violence in eliminating a danger very often only complicates that danger down the road. That is the reason I have great respect for people who would be conscientious objectors.

When people talk about South Africa, if they are really talking about getting rid of apartheid, I must say that my objective, having been to South Africa three times, is not to get rid of apartheid. That is too narrow; it is, in fact, racist. My objective is to establish democracy. No matter who rules South Africa, if there is no democracy there will be some form of apartheid, if not for blacks, then for whites.

So, finally, we judge people the way my mother wanted me judged: not where I stood but in what direction I was going. In women's rights, the United States is going in a good direction; in the rights of homosexuals, we are going in a better direction; in treatment of young offenders, we are going in a better direction; in dropping some of the monsters we have been supporting overseas, we are going in a better direction; in the treatment of black people, we are going in a better direction. I would not want to leave you feeling all is well. You must judge every situation the way you judge yourself: not where do you stand but are you making an effort to move in the right direction?

The question of whether or not to disinvest in South Africa is too simple. The question should be, "Are there things that are helping to bring democracy and get rid of apartheid that I should support?" Many U.S. businesses in South Africa are working on the two most important things for democracy in South Africa: the education and training of black people. One day blacks will have political power, but they will not have democracy if they are untrained. You can't have democracy unless there are churches, schools, lawyers, and doctors to support the growth of democracy. I want to support those U.S. institutions which are giving blacks training and equal wages. So, I am for selective disinvestment. My yardstick is, "Does it improve the lot of people there?"

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# Three Essays by Bayard Rustin

*Myths of the Black Revolt*
*The Role of the Negro Middle Class*
*The Ballot Box and the Union Card*

A. Philip Randolph Institute

# Three Essays by Bayard Rustin

A. Philip Randolph Institute

September, 1969

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# The Myths of the Black Revolt

Inevitably during a period of social turmoil there develop conflicting political strategies for change. These strategies will be based on varied emotional responses to daily events as well as on fundamentally different philosophies.

Such intellectual conflict is occurring today in the black community, and I think this is all to the good. The debate may be characterized by great emotion and rhetoric, but ultimately it will serve the educational function of refining theories, delineating positions, and stimulating further dialogue.

A full-fledged ideological and political debate has not taken place in the black community since the monumental exchanges between W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington which occurred over a half century ago. The intensity of today's dialogue is an indication of the aroused political awareness of black people and an overall heightening of aspirations and militancy. As a result of these developments, there is enormous potential to build a movement for progressive social reform. But this potential can also lead to consequences of a reactionary nature for it is in itself a politically neutral phenomenon. An informed black militancy, based on a clear analysis of the economic and social situation of Negroes both in the South and in the Northern ghettos, an identification of the major institutions which can provide blacks with the maximum power and leverage in their struggle for equality, and a political strategy that can influence these institutions to serve the needs of the poor—such a militancy will move our society in a progressive and equalitarian direction. But a militancy that is based on frustration, withdrawal, and a desire to simplify or avoid reality rather than transform it will unintentionally aid the right, isolate blacks, and destroy the possibility of solving the problems which afflict our nation.

It is with the hope of furthering dialogue so as to encourage the emergence of an effective, programmatic militancy that I offer here a critique of certain myths that have recently become popular among some blacks. Let me be clear that by "myths" I am not referring to those allegorical stories by which a people or nation interprets its history and beliefs, but to a series of concepts that derive from wish-fulfillment or a misperception of political reality, and which can thus mislead black people in our struggle to achieve equality. Such myths deserve serious critical appraisal.

## 1) The Myth of Black Unity

The myth of black unity is put forth by those who perceive race as the dominant factor in determining the political consciousness of a group. I do not deny that race is *one* such factor, particularly in the case of Negroes. To a degree, black people have a common heritage of slavery, although one out of every nine Negroes before the Civil War was a freedman, and there were 4,000 *Negro* slaveholders. There was also the very considerable difference between those slaves who were forced to work in the fields and those others—relatively more advantaged—who were house servants. In terms of contemporary experience, a certain unity is imposed upon blacks by those whites who stereotype Negroes and discriminate equally against them. But the failure to differentiate among blacks is the result of white prejudice and ignorance and should hardly serve as a model of belief for those blacks who wish to abolish racism in America.

Of the factors which obstruct black unity, there is age—a generational conflict exists today in the black community to the same degree that it exists in the white community; and geography—blacks have no territorial focus for unity, and beyond that, there is little shared experience between rural and urban Negroes, as well as between Southern and Northern Negroes.

But more profoundly, there are differences of class and philosophy. Negroes, like the Irish, Italians, Jews or any other American ethnic group, are divided socially and economically on the basis of class, and engage in the same practices of residential "grasshopping" and job mobility. One may criticize these practices, but they must be recognized as sociological realities. Moreover, the white employer is divided from the white employe by virtue of the fact that the profits of the one come out of the wages of the other—and vice versa. To deny that this can also be true of blacks is not merely to perpetuate an illusion, but also to lend support to those beliefs—that Negroes are inherently different from whites, that they are not subject to the same laws governing human behavior—which have always been used to segregate blacks and deny them equal access to the social and economic advantages of this country.

Philosophical differences are as pronounced as class divisions. If one were to ask representatives of various black organizations to draw up a program for the education of Negro children, the plans would be far from identical. The Muslims would propose a program based on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the NAACP plan would be integrationist, and CORE would demand separate black school districts. There are also serious philosophical differences among the most extreme groups. Those who wish to build a political movement by appealing solely to the racial consciousness of blacks will be deeply disillusioned.

## 2) The Myth of Black Capitalism

The fact that black capitalism has been proposed by Richard Nixon is by itself enough to make one question its efficacy as an economic program. But it is also being proposed by many other people and by some leaders of CORE and consequently warrants close analysis.

I favor some aspects of the proposal for black capitalism more for psychological than for economic reasons, because it is important to destroy the brutal stereotype that black people are incapable of engaging in entrepreneurial activity. But the economic impact of black capitalism has been—and can only be—marginal at best, and if we are not careful, this approach may actually compound the injustices from which Negroes suffer.

There is, first, the very simple fact that the vast majority of black people are not capitalists and will not become capitalists in the forseeable future. They are salaried workers, and those most in need are the working poor and the unemployed. Any program to economically uplift the majority of black people must be designed specifically for these individuals.

Now black capitalism does not appear to me to be so designed. Its main beneficiaries will be a small number of entrepreneurs, and because of the conditions under which they must earn a living, they will have a stake in racial separatism—a condition that has never been conducive to black progress. In general, black entrepreneurs must oppose economic integration for the simple reason that they are threatened by white economic competition. Andrew Brimmer, the only Negro member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, has pointed out that "With the progress of desegregation the considerable protection which segregation provided for Negro businessmen has been eroded substantially. Thus, in virtually every large city (especially in the East and Midwest), hotels and better class restaurants which previously catered exclusively to Negroes have encountered hard times." Much of the talk we are hearing about black capitalism today, therefore, results from the desire to restore a black monopoly over a segregated black market. Yet this has been difficult in the face of competition from large chain organizations, particularly since, as Brimmer notes, some black enterprises, due to high operating costs in the ghetto, have been forced to raise their prices ten to 15 per cent above those of their larger competitors. I cannot see how under such an arrangement a black worker or welfare recipient can benefit from "buying black."

But I can see how they will benefit by federal programs to reconstruct our cities, to provide full employment, a decent income and adequate health care for everybody, and to improve the quality education in our schools. To the degree that talk of black capitalism diverts our attention and political energies away from this fundamental solution to the social and economic problems of black Americans, to that degree its ultimate effect will be deleterious. And to the degree that it re-inforces racial separatism, it will exascerbate those problems of poverty and discrimination which derive from separatism.

## 3) The Myth of Reparations

Reparations is attractive as a concept, but as a program it is impractical and politically reactionary. The power of the concept derives from its call for justice, and certainly no individual of good will can deny the magnitude of the injustices that have been committed against black people in America. But it is equally a call for retribution, and as such it has become more a *moral* than a *political* demand. James Forman is, in effect, not demanding equality for black people so much as he is condemning white people. He seeks not to correct social injustice but to purge white guilt.

It is in part for this reason that he has chosen to direct his attack at the church, the institutional embodiment of our society's moral and religious pretentions. But I would question the efficacy and the social utility of an attack that impels the attacked to applaud and morally debase themselves. And I would doubt that two such hate- and self-hate-generating feelings as Forman's moral aggression and white churchmen's guilt can produce anything that is socially creative. Certainly such feeling will not improve the lot of the unemployed black man and the miseducated black child.

But of course it will be said that Forman is demanding *money*—"15 dollars per nigger," to quote his own words. This pittance, if ever given, would hardly right the balance of wrongs committed against black people, nor would it appreciably improve their present situation. Most black people, I am sure, do not even *desire* such charity. They want work with dignity. Justice will be embodied in their attainment of an equal social position, not in the flagellation and self-flagellation of white people.

Moreover, the political effect of the demand for reparations can only be reactionary. It will, first, tend to isolate blacks from any political allies. Demands of a purely racial nature cannot appeal to the white poor who have common interests with blacks. And I do not trust those affluent whites who, out of guilt, are sympathetic to reparations. Guilt is an uncomfortable emotion, and the guilty party will ultimately rationalize his sins and affirm them as virtues. By such a process, today's ally can become tomorrow's enemy. Political alliances are not built on the shifting sands of moral suasion.

Second, it is an error for black people to focus their struggle on so organizationally diffuse and non-political an institution as the church. This can only deflect their attack away from the major political and economic institutions of the society and thus seriously weaken the effectiveness of the black movement for equality. The church may have been chosen as a target because of its vulnerability, but it is precisely because of this debility that black people must concentrate their energies elsewhere.

## 4) The Myth of Black Studies

In the long history of the black struggle, many slogans have emerged which have defined the demands of Negroes at a particular point in time. During Reconstruction, for example, the slogan was "Forty Acres and a Mule." It was both precise and practical. Today's slogans are neither, and Black Studies is a good illustration of this point.

What Black Studies *should* mean is a thorough and objective scholastic inquiry into the history of the black man in America. This history has been scandalously distorted in the past, and, as a field of study, it has been relegated to a second-class status, isolated from the main themes of American history and omitted from the historical education of American youth.

But I am afraid that Black Studies, as it is presently conceived by its proponents on campus, will not correct these errors so much as compound them, for its primary purpose will be to further ends that are fundamentally nonscholastic. It is hoped, first, that Black Studies will serve the *ideological* function of creating a mythologized history and a system of assertive ideas that will facilitate the political mobilization of the black community. Such an ideological undertaking would necessitate the substitution of a glorified version of black history for the present debased version, but *neither* version seems unduly concerned with the discovery of historical truth.

It is also hoped that Black Studies will serve the *political* function of developing and educating a cadre of activists who conceive of their present training as a preparation for organizational work in the black community. One may feel —as I do—that there should be more young Negroes engaging in activities designed to uplift their brethren, but to the extent that Black Studies is used as a vehicle for political indoctrination, it ceases to be a legitimate scholastic program.

What I find most distressing about the ideological and political conception of the role of Black Studies is the contempt that is shown toward black history and culture as potential academic disciplines. Faculty members will be chosen on the basis of race, ideological purity, and political commitment—not academic competence. Needless to say, this is not the best way to go about developing an intellectually respectable program. Under such conditions, competent black professors will not even *want* to teach in Black Studies programs—not simply because their academic freedom will be curtailed by their obligation to adhere to the revolutionary "line" of the moment, but because their association with such second-rate programs will threaten their professional status. If such a situation is permitted to develop, Black Studies will become little more than a haven for opportunists and ideologues.

There is, finally, the *psychological* function of Black Studies. It is hoped that by studying Negro history and culture, the self-image of young blacks will improve. Implicit here is the dual assumption that first, young Negroes have a negative self-image because second, they are ignorant of their history. If there is truth to either assumption, then I entirely agree—they should devote many intensive hours to the study of our people's rich heritage of struggle and achievement.

But Black Studies is also serving the psychologically protective function of enabling black students who have been brutalized in the past by segregated education to withdraw from the demanding competition of the university. In this I see little virtue. Providing these students with separate courses of study in soul music and soul poetry—things they can just play with and pass—will enhance neither their competence nor their confidence. Nor will it deal with the fundamental problem of improving the quality of their education in order that they can obtain skills that will be useful in the world they must eventually enter as adults.

To solve this problem would require larger and better trained teaching staffs, remedial efforts, and an expansion of facilities, all of which can be obtained only through a massive increase in present expenditures. And if these changes are not made, the cheap separatist solution will ultimately boomerang, for Black Studies can provide psychic comfort for Negro students only temporarily. When they realize that college administrators are interested more in political accommodation than quality education—when they realize that New Leftist students and faculty members are using black students for their own revolution-by-proxy—and when they realize that they are not being given an education but only a paper degree that will hardly improve their intellectual competence or their economic power, then they will rebel with far greater violence and bitterness than anything we have yet seen.

I want to conclude by emphasizing that I am opposed to any program in Black Studies that separates the contribution of black men from the study of American history and society. Racist textbooks and historians have played this game too long for black people to add to the damage that has already been done. The magnificent contribution of black people to America must be recognized and recorded, not only by black people, but also by whites who can benefit at least as much from such knowledge.

## 5) The Myth of Violence

There are those who propose violence as the solution to the problems of poverty and injustice. The rationale here is that by threat of force, black people can extort from the white community the resources they need to improve the conditions of their lives. I disagree with this proposition not only because I believe that unjust means cannot lead to just ends, but also because the tactic of violence is suicidal. Whites may for a time make minor concessions to blacks who use violence—and thereby help to discredit non-violence as an effective means for achieving social change—but the point must inevitably be reached when the state will take repressive measures which will inflict untold harm upon the black community. Those who romanticize black violence—particularly the pseudo-revolutionaries of the New Left who can retreat into their universities and suburbs when the repression comes—deserve special condemnation.

Moreover, the solution to social injustice cannot be brought about by violence which is calculated to increase white fear and political reaction. Black violence will strengthen George Wallace sooner than it will increase the economic and political power of Negroes. If blacks are enraged because they do not have jobs and whites are fearful that somebody may take their jobs away, the solution is not social warfare but full employment. If blacks are enraged because they do not have decent homes, and whites are fearful they will lose their homes that are still not fully paid for, then the solution is not violence destructive to the entire social fabric, but the construction of adequate housing for all. It is because what is needed is the expansion of resources in order to reduce competition over what presently exists and to provide a secure existence for everybody that A. Philip Randolph proposed a Freedom Budget for all Americans.

Finally, I should add that blacks have already suffered great losses from the ghetto riots of recent years, not only in lives, but also in property and jobs. The burned-out homes and places of business have not been rebuilt but remain as glaring monuments to the futility and self-destructiveness of violence. And a study has shown that in Washington, D.C. alone, 4,900 employees—the majority of them Negroes—lost their jobs as a result of the riots which swept the city following Dr. King's death. Violence may indicate to America the despair which blacks feel, but its major effect is the aggravation of the degrading social and economic conditions which have nurtured and perpetuated that despair.

## 6) The Myth of Separatism

Separatism is valid neither from a psychological nor a political point of view. Dr. Kenneth Clark has recently argued that "There is absolutely no evidence to support the contention that the inherent damage to human beings of primitive exclusion on the basis of race is any less damaging when demanded or enforced by the previous victims than when imposed by the dominant group." Some separatists today are withdrawing in despair from American culture, others out of a nationalist affirmation of the desirability of a separate black society. But both are withdrawing from the challenge posed to the Negro by W. E. B. DuBois "to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self . . . to be both a Negro and an American. . ."

Even if separatism were psychologically sensible—which it is not—it does not make political sense. The only reason the Civil Rights Bills of 1964, 1965 and 1968 were passed was because Negroes had allies in the labor movement, the liberal community and in religious organizations. It was only this coalition of forces that had the power to defeat the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition that has traditionally blocked any progress in the field of civil rights. Black separatism will strengthen the conservative coalition by weakening its opposition (that is why Republicans and Southern conservatives have always favored segregation), and it will be an obstacle to the realignment of the Democratic Party. Let us remember that it was the *integrated* delegations from Mississippi and Georgia which forced the segregationists from those states out of the last Democratic Party convention.

Black people are being elected to offices throughout the country for the very reason that they are *not* campaigning on a separatist line. Charles Evers' slogan, "Don't vote for a black man. Or a white man. Just a good man," is being adopted in concept by black politicians in every region. In the Southern states, the number of black elected officials has increased dramatically in recent years. There were only 72 in 1965 when the Voting Rights Act was passed, and today there are 461, and that number is steadily growing. Men like Evers, Howard Lee, Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher are proving that black separatism is an obstacle to black political power. This point was also proved by Tom Bradley who, though defeated by a man who deliberately aroused racial fears and hatreds, nevertheless won 47 per cent of the vote in a city only 18 per cent black. It is only a matter of time before Los Angeles too shall have a black mayor.

## 7) The Myth of the Black Revolution

I believe that the black struggle for equality is revolutionary but not in the traditional sense of a violent seizure of state power. The black revolt is fundamentally *cultural* in that Negroes are affirming their dignity as black people and are demanding that their humanity be fully recognized and appreciated. But *politically,* blacks are not demanding revolution but rather participation in the democratic process and the enjoyment of the fruits of American society. In general, they want their rightful share of the pie.

Thus, the demand for equality is itself not revolutionary, but the response that must be made in order to satisfy this demand very much is. By this I mean that justice cannot be done to blacks in the absence of a total restructuring of the political, economic, and social institutions of this country. There cannot be full employment, the rebuilding of our cities, the reconstruction of our educational system and the provision of adequate medical care for everybody within the context of our present definition of social and economic priorities. When we talk about the achievement of these goals, let us be clear that we are proposing nothing less than the radical re-fashioning of our political economy.

The Negro struggle for equality will continue until the kind of revolution I have described is achieved. There will be periods, such as the present, when progress will be slow, and as a result, there will be bitterness, frustration and a casting about for instant solutions that avoid the challenges of fundamental social change. But even in what I have called "myths" I see a sign of hope, for they represent a sustained protest against injustice and thus symbolize the refusal to accept the condition of inequality. But our task must now be to transform these myths into the reality of a political strategy and a social program so that we can get on with the job of transforming America.

# The Role of the Negro Middle Class

The question of the role of the Negro middle class has been a persistent source of controversy and confusion since the time of Reconstruction. There have been some who have castigated this class and others who have glorified it, but few have been able to treat the subject with the objectivity they could call forth in discussing any other middle class racial or ethnic group in America.

I think the confusion results from the fact that the Negro middle class behaves in a way that is characteristically middle class but uniquely Negro. The sociological distinction I am drawing between class and race is essential to a full understanding of the problem. But unfortunately, it is a distinction that is rarely made, with the result that we are burdened with analyses of the Negro middle class that are superficial or misleading.

There are some, for example, who are asking the Negro to behave as if class were totally unimportant. By ignoring the class factor, they arrive at a sentimental notion of black solidarity if they are apologists for middle-class Negroes; and if they are their critics, they condemn them for deserting their poor black brothers. Both the apologists and the critics in this case fail to understand that there are serious class divisions in the Negro community which must be recognized for what they are. The apologist is blind to these divisions while the critic thinks that they should not exist, and both are bound by the feeling that race—and not class—is the force that motivates group behavior. Therefore, they are caught by surprise when the Negro middle class acts in a way that is typically middle class, and their response is either to close their eyes to this phenomenon or to become enraged about it. The fact of the matter is that conflicts of an economic nature have arisen within each minority group in America. At the turn of the century, for example, the relations between the wealthy "lace curtain Irish" and the poor "shanty Irish" were anything but friendly. Moreover, Jewish organizations, which developed as a means of forwarding Jewish life and culture, emerged along class lines. The American Jewish Committee attracted the very wealthy, the middle classes were drawn to the American Jewish Congress, while the poor joined more orthodox groups.

Further evidence of these class divisions can be found in a pattern of behavior known as "grasshopping" which describes the residential changes made by individuals during the process of upward mobility. As the poor Jew rose economically, he left the Lower East Side for the Upper West Side and eventually ended up in Scarsdale. And as the head of the Irish family accumulated capital he moved out of Hell's Kitchen into what is now Harlem. The Italian worker, when he was upgraded by the emergence of trade unions, left Mulberry Street for a six-room house in Queens. It is little wonder that the Negro should act similarly. The process of economic mobility, which carried him from Harlem to Jamaica and eventually to St. Albans, should not be ignored or condemned so much as analyzed as a sociological reality.

While it is true that this social process has created a distance between middle-class and lower-class Negroes, it has also enabled the former to be of great assistance to the latter. I am here referring not only to the historical fact that it was middle-class Negroes who founded the universities, schools, churches, and newspapers which have helped unify and uplift all black people. I am also speaking of the political role they have played in the Negro struggle for equality.

Here again Negroes do not differ substantially from other groups. In times of cultural and political revolution, the money, the energy, and the leadership for a forward social thrust is provided by the class that is better off, in the interest of the poor. This has been true of the independence movements in Africa and the West Indies and of the struggle for the extension of democracy in Latin America. It was also true of the American and French revolutions in the Eighteenth Century, and more recently, of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. And, finally, it is true all over the world today in countries where there are minorities who have suffered from discrimination. This includes the Untouchables in India, the French Canadians in Canada, the Walloons in Belgium, and the Welsh and the Scotch in the United Kingdom.

And it is true of the Negro movement in America. It was the NAACP, which is predominantly middle class, that won all the great legal battles which gave rise to the period of protest and sit-ins. The greatest protestor of all was Martin Luther King, Jr. who came from the privileged upper middle class of Atlanta. Even the young SNCC people, who dramatized and accelerated the sit-ins and who helped establish a high degree of political freedom in Mississippi, were children of middle class parents.

Moreover, it was middle-class Negroes who provided the leadership and the initiative for the black struggle during its very early stages. Leaders like Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and A. Philip Randolph were all men of immense learning. Their profound social vision was the result of long hours of study and reflection which required certain advantages that have been denied the most brutalized segments of the black community.

We are thus dealing with a paradox. Those blacks who are most exploited are often least inclined to engage in political protest, while the greatest revolutionaries emerge from the wealthier classes and would thus seem to have least reason to revolt. I am aware that there are exceptions to this rule—that there were many slave revolts and that in our own time oppressed masses of black people have engaged in violent protest. Yet these protests have tended to be more spontaneous expressions of despair and frustration than disciplined political movements for social justice.

The psychological dynamic that is at work here is that oppression leads to despair which will manifest itself in apathetic inactivity or sporadic outbursts of undirected rage. A more advantageous social condition, on the other hand, leads to hope and, therefore, to activity that is designed to improve one's situation. In the magnificent autobiography of Frederick Douglass he recounts his transfer from an evil master to a relatively good one and the psychological effect this had upon him:

> "The freedom from bodily torture and unceasing labor had given my mind an increased sensibility and imparted to it greater activity. . . . Beat and cuff the slave, keep him hungry and spiritless, and he will follow the chain of his master like a dog, but feed and clothe him well, work him moderately and surround him with physical comfort, and dreams of freedom will intrude. Give him a bad master and he aspires to a good master; give him a good master, and he wishes to become his own master. Such is human nature. You may hurl a man so low beneath the level of his kind, that he loses all just ideas of his natural position, but elevate him a little, and the clear conception of rights rises to life and power, and leads him onward."

While those who are better off are thus in a position to lead a social struggle, it is of course true that they do not always wish to do so. Their interest in their own welfare may cause them to exploit the lower classes or to totally ignore their plight. Moreover, for reasons of status they may often try to disassociate themselves completely from those below them.

This is again a universal phenomenon, but it applies to middle class Negroes in a unique way *because they are Negroes*. For example, they are in a weaker position in relation to the whole society than the white middle class because of the historic exploitation of black people in this country. They have less capital than whites of the same class, and they have been adversely affected by segregated institutions, particularly in the fields of education and employment. Yet at the same time they are far more advantaged than the Negro lower class which has suffered even greater damage from the evils of slavery and discrimination.

The middle-class Negro, therefore, trapped between privileged whites above him and exploited blacks below him, finds himself in a difficult and frustrating position. He does not have the full status attributable to him by virtue of his class, and he suffers from the indignities that have been committed against his race. With full access to the wider society denied him, he has been forced to achieve wealth and status within a segregated context — and this has not been easy. Although the situation of the Negro middle class has changed appreciably since 1939 when E. Franklin Frazier wrote *The Negro Family in the United States,* his analysis sheds light even today on the hardships which segregation has caused middle-class blacks, and the sometimes questionable activities which, out of their frustration, they have resorted to:

> ". . . behind the walls of racial segregation, where they enjoy a sheltered and relatively secure position in relation to the lower economic classes, they look with misgivings upon a world where they must compete with whites for a position in the economic order and struggle for status. Hence much of their racial pride is bound up with their desire to monopolize the Negro market. They prefer the overevaluation of their achievements and position behind the walls of segregation to a democratic order that would result in economic and social devaluation for themselves."

This is, of course, not to say that the Negro middle class *in general* is guilty of the faults which Frazier has analyzed, but rather that the evil of segregation has made possible a situation in which some middle-class Negroes have been forced to seek economic and social advantage to the detriment of their poorer black brothers.

The gains made by the civil rights movement during the past decade and a half have substantially altered the conditions underlying the relationship of middle class to lower-class blacks. As the struggle for equality continues the process of black liberation, the need of middle-class blacks to accumulate wealth within a segregated context should be reduced. And as the walls of segregation are broken down, there will be more healthy interaction between the races, which should enhance the development of a genuine sense of identity among middle-class Negroes. They will, therefore, no longer need the protection of segregation to insure a false sense of status.

But of course there are still problems. Many blacks today with master's degrees and Ph.D.'s cannot find employment that satisfies their aspirations. They rightly desire the same opportunities that whites of equal qualifications now have open to them. But because segregation and discrimination still exist, they are frustrated in their drive for advancement. Without a full outlet for their aspirations in the wider society, they are seeking to monopolize the avenues of advancement within the ghetto and are thus calling for all-black schools with black teachers and supervisors, black capitalism, and other forms of racial separatism. According to social psychologist Thomas F. Pettigrew, a study completed in 1968 shows that "college graduates tended to be the more separatist in those realms where their training gives them a vested interest in competition-free positions — Negro-owned stores for Negro neighborhoods and Negro teachers in mostly-Negro schools. . ."

While some middle-class blacks may derive moderate economic benefits from this kind of separation, I doubt that they shall find total self-fulfillment. The ghetto does not have the economic resources sufficient to satisfy their demands, and they cannot achieve the status they desire if they avoid the challenges of free and open competition with the wider society. They may find temporary comfort in the ghetto, but ultimately confidence and self-realization come from leaving a protective environment, not by retreating into it.

The demand for "Black Power" that is being made by many of these Negroes today is, therefore, a demand for *"Black Middle-Class Power,"* and I fear that even if they achieve their goal it will not enhance the economic and political power of lower and working-class blacks. It is this latter group, however, that is most deprived and most numerous. Consequently, the energies of the black struggle for equality must be concentrated above all on improving its lot.

If these poor black people are to be uplifted we need an economic package — a comprehensive program designed to achieve full employment, a minimum wage, and a guaranteed income. In addition, our cities must be reconstructed, millions of new homes must be built so that people will no longer be forced to live in deteriorated housing. Funds must be provided so that each child can receive the superior education to which he is by rights entitled. And we must also have free medical care so that, among other things, the infant mortality rate among Negroes does not continue at its present catastrophic level.

It is obvious that an increase in black businesses or in the number of managerial positions open to Negroes will not bring us any nearer to the economic program I have described. We need what A. Philip Randolph has called a "Freedom Budget"—a ten-year commitment by the Federal Government to spend $18.5 billion annually over present expenditures so that all poor people in America, black *and* white, will no longer suffer from poverty.

The achievement of such an economic program would require a strong political movement, one which today does not exist. It requires building a coalition of Negroes, the trade union movement, and liberals who together would constitute a political majority in America.

This coalition cannot sustain the loss or decimation of any of its component parts without suffering irreparable damage. It is here that the role of middle-class Negroes becomes so essential, for they must provide the leadership that will help make the black community a powerful element in this majority movement. The central question, therefore, is not so much whether these Negroes remain in the ghetto, but whether they will join in doing those things that will uplift the black poor.

Finally, in struggling for a program of integration and equality for poor black people, the Negro middle class will find that it has benefited itself as well.

For the segregation of the black community will lead to the isolation of the black middle class, and the impoverishment of masses of Negroes will ultimately affect the conditions under which all Negroes must live. The primary role of middle-class blacks, therefore, is within a political movement for social justice. And by participating in the struggle to uplift their impoverished brothers, they will find their identity and become liberated as human beings.

# The Ballot Box and the Union Card

In the black man's long history in America, no decade has been filled with more significant events than the one terminating at the close of this year. The 1960s have witnessed great social and political triumphs, and also saddening defeats. Men of great stature emerged only to disappear suddenly. There has been an unprecedented rise in the hopes and aspirations of black people, and the frustration of these hopes has led to despair, violence and withdrawal. We would have to go back a century, to the time of the Civil War and Emancipation, to find a decade whose importance approaches the one we are now living through.

The sweep and complexity of events require that we resist the temptation of an emotional and simplistic response, and instead try to analyze the present situation with the utmost precision. Accordingly, what is demanded of blacks is not undirected rage—however compelling this may be—but a clear definition of political and economic objectives, as well as a strategy for achieving them. In the absence of such a program, rage must feed upon itself and inspire comforting but self-defeating forms of withdrawal, or violence—which is destructive to all concerned—and induce in the white community the uncreative feelings of guilt or fear. This dynamic of rage, fear and guilt is unusually forceful today, and its social consequences can only be reactionary.

The prevalence of confusing emotions has led to the identification of white racism as the most pressing and immediate problem that must be solved. I reject this analysis, not because I think white Americans are innocent—I am sure many are prejudiced, as are some people of every race—but because it cannot lead to a constructive programmatic solution to the plight of black Americans. In the first place, if we locate the source of the problem in the attitudes of white people, it follows that the solution has to be mass psychoanalysis, something I find neither practical nor appealing. More importantly, white breast-beating will hardly help the black youth who is unemployed or the black child who is being miseducated. Quite the contrary, it will compel the well-meaning yet guilty individuals to justify their position by a soothing process of rationalization and self-delusion. Thus unintentionally, and perhaps even unconsciously, they may end in giving tacit approval to the growing white reaction against the movement for equality.

We have to focus our attention, therefore, on the social and economic conditions that have produced poverty, segregation, deteriorated housing, inferior schools, and poor health. If we can make improvements in these fundamental areas, I think it is possible that—as emotions and attitudes adjust to the new and more equitable social conditions—we shall also see a marked reduction in rage, fear, and racism. But of course, such changes do not evolve spontaneously. They can be brought about only by a political movement whose specific objective is their attainment.

Regrettably, no such movement exists today. Nor is any serious thought being given to how to build one, or what groups it should be composed of. All that exists are various go-it-alone proposals, made more out of the desire to withdraw from social struggle than the hope that anything worthwhile can be achieved. Filling the vacuum created by the absence of effective programs, we have a mélange of cheap solutions, new forms of exploitation and psychological palliatives.

For example, there is the peculiar notion of drawing industry into the ghetto through tax incentives. The new concern of business leaders with the plight of the poor is admirable, and the Urban Coalition and similar organizations have an important contribution to make. It is highly misleading, though, to suggest that private enterprise can rebuild our slums more cheaply than the Federal government. If anything, I think it would be more expensive precisely because business, unlike government, demands a profit margin —in this case provided by tax advantages. As the 1969 Report of the Council of Economic Advisers pointed out, "a dollar of direct expenditure and a dollar of tax incentive have identical effects upon the budget, requiring either a reduction in other Federal programs or an increase in taxes. One technique adds to Federal expenditures; the other lowers Federal tax receipts."

Thus by the second technique, funds that might otherwise build homes would be used to guarantee earnings for the investor. At a recent meeting of bankers, lawyers and businessmen who favor tax incentive proposals, it was explained how by sponsoring a Federal housing program a private investor might earn an income of $126,000 and avoid paying any taxes. The source of enthusiasm for schemes of this kind is financial profit, not social justice.

There is also much talk of black capitalism as the means by which Negroes can achieve "self-determination." This is a highly dubious economic strategy, since Negroes are overwhelmingly a working-class people, and where they have engaged in entrepreneurial activity, it has usually been in the marginal area of small-scale neighborhood services. Yet while Negroes in general have little to gain from black capitalism, the concept is highly popular today among a small, vocal minority of black nationalists. For them, profit and separatism are interdependent, for behind the walls of segregation they will be able to monopolize the ghetto market. But segregation—especially for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many — can by no means be considered progressive.

In addition to tax incentives and black capitalism, we are increasingly hearing proposals for reparations, decentralization, and community control, all of which reveal a preoccupation with peripheral issues and a failure to come to terms with the problem of altering the basic forces shaping the lives of the poor in America. Businessmen, out of altruism or a need for workers in a tight labor market, have hired thousands of hardcore unemployed, yet at the same time they support recommendations to curb inflation that would leave *millions* without jobs, including those who have recently benefited from their generosity. Decentralization and community control may provide some needed administrative changes, but its major effects will be to remove the burden of abolishing poverty from the rich and place it on the shoulders of the poor, and to justify a reduced governmental role in the struggle for social justice. By supporting such proposals, Negroes and liberals may well play into the hands of the conservatives.

In addition, since every one of these solutions in predicated upon the maintenance of the ghetto, whatever small contribution they can make will be negligible compared with the massive social injustices magnified daily by ghetto conditions. Black capitalism or "reparations" may in fact bring several hundred thousand dollars into the ghetto, yet from Central Harlem, the South Bronx and Bedford-Stuyvesant alone, $223 million are siphoned out annually by racketeers. A forest fire cannot be extinguished with a garden hose.

If the fire is to be quenched, a political strategy must be devised and an economic program planned to attack injustice at its source. I am not concerned with designs that might elect a local official or employ a few individuals, but with building a movement that can change the fundamental social and economic relations in the society. For this, it is essential to work within the institutions capable of providing black people with the maximum power and leverage in their efforts to achieve equality. I am referring to the Democratic party and the trade-union movement, and the instruments that black people must use to make them more viable and progressive are the ballot box and the union card.

The Democratic party is essential to the black struggle because it is the sole mass-based political organization in the country that has the potential to become a majority movement for progressive social reform. True, it is not a majority party at this time, and there remain within it powerful reactionary elements, particularly the Southern conservatives. Yet at the 1968 National Convention in Chicago, many of them were unseated by insurgent delegations from Mississippi and Georgia composed of Negroes and white moderates. The dominant forces within the party are now precisely those groups — Negroes, liberals and labor—that form the basis of a majority coalition of the democratic Left, and which can move the Federal government to act upon the problems afflicting our nation. It is toward such a coalition that we must build, and we can only hope to do so through the active and effective use of the ballot box.

The trade-union movement is essential to the black struggle because it is the only institution capable of economically uplifting the masses of impoverished and exploited Negroes. Its legislative program for the creation of jobs, urban reconstruction, education, health, and tax reform is specifically designed to help the lower and lower-middle classes in which blacks are so disproportionately represented. By organizing the unorganized—whether farmworkers in California, sanitation workers in Memphis, or hospital workers in New York and Charleston—the trade-union movement enables hundreds of thousands of poor Americans to escape from the lumpenproletariat and achieve a measure of dignity and economic security. The union card, therefore, must be combined with the ballot box to form the basic dynamism of the black struggle.

Many young Negroes today deny that the electoral process and the trade unions can play an effective role in the black movement. But they have no comprehensive strategy to replace the one I have just outlined, and without such a strategy their protest, though militant in rhetoric and intention, may be reactionary in its effect. For in the present political period, protest is of value only to the degree that it can creatively and nonviolently call attention to social injustice and enhance the use of the ballot box and the organization of the unorganized. To the extent that it becomes violent, protest will strengthen the Rightist forces in the country and make impossible the further advancement toward political and economic equality.

While the objectives I have proposed can be achieved nonviolently, their realization would nevertheless amount to a revolution in our society, to a fundamental reorientation of our social and economic priorities. Indeed, the problems of our cities cannot be solved by anything less than a revolution.

I must caution, however, that even if we were to achieve these objectives, there would still be protest, since the change we are presently undergoing also involves the demand for dignity and democratic participation in the political process. There must, in other words, be visible minority representation in governmental decision-making bodies. What is more, these bodies must become responsive to the needs and aspirations of their constituencies. Until this final objective is achieved, we cannot in all honesty claim to have built a democracy in this country.

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Rustin article

# THE ROLE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS IN THE BLACK STRUGGLE

by Bayard Rustin

The current fashion in progressive circles is to be anti-middle class. This is true of blacks and whites alike. It should not be too surprising that this attitude is most common among precisely the middle classes, for it is rooted in the guilt and anxiety of well-off people who feel that in some sense they have "sold out." The lower classes are too busy trying to become middle class to feel guilty about their aspirations. I think it's fair to say that the anti-middle class feeling of the affluent should be taken with a grain of salt. Among those who rail against affluence, we'll find very few who voluntarily go into poverty. If anything, their anti-middle class attitude enables them to live more easily with their middle class status. It soothes their conscience.

I begin this way in order to clear away some of the confusion that inevitably enters into any discussion about the middle class. If we are going to try to define the role of the black middle class in the struggle for racial justice, we had best not let status anxiety and life-style preference get in the way of objective analysis. What matters is not how a black person feels about being or not being middle class, but rather how the black middle class functions in the black struggle and within the broader context of American political and economic life.

In viewing the problem this way, the very first thing that should occur to us is that the middle class has produced the finest black leaders in every walk of life. From its ranks have come W. E. B. DuBois, the great black intellectual and political leader; A. Philip Randolph, the greatest black figure in the labor movement; Martin Luther King, Jr., the brilliant speaker and protest leader; the poet James Weldon Johnson; the musician Harry T. Burley;

the playwright Lorraine Hansberry; the jurist Thurgood Marshall, and so many, many others. From the time of Frederick Douglass to that of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young--from the time of Mary ~~Cloud~~ McCleod Bethune to that of Dorothy Height and Patricia Roberts Harris, it has been the middle class that has produced some of the finest black leaders. The 17 black members of Congress, the younger black leaders such as Julian Bond or John Lewis, and other blacks who have distinguished themselves all share, to one extent or another, certain middle class characteristics. These include a high level of education, whether formal or informal, and the opportunity to develop political and intellectual skills which remain only latent among those who must devote all their time and ~~enery~~ energy to the day-to-day struggle for survival.

By approaching the question in this way, I do not in any way mean to imply that the middle class is any more moral or virtuous than poorer classes. But we must try to look objectively at the kind of social and economic conditions that encourage the development of leadership qualities; and conversely, we must not ignore the fact that oppressive conditions can lead to apathy, despair or at best a grinding preoccupation with immediate problems which restricts the growth of broad social vision.

In his great autobiography, Frederick Douglass describes the psychological effect of being transferred from an evil master to a relatively benign one:

> The freedom from bodily torture and unceasing labor had given my mind an increased sensibility and imparted to it greater activity....Beat and cuff the slave, keep him hungry and spiritless, and he will follow the chain of his master like a dog, but feed and clothe him well, work him moderately and surround him with physical comfort, and dreams of freedom will intrude. Give him a bad master and he aspires to a good master; give him a good master, and he wishes to become his own master. Such is human nature. You may hurl a man so low beneath the level of his kind, that he loses all just ideas of his natural

> position, but elevate him a little, and the clear conception of rights rise to life and power, and leads him onward.

We can conclude from this that the moderate improvement in the status of the American Negro in the last decade will not dampen the movement for racial justice but will increase its militancy and effectiveness.

The situation I have described is not unique among American blacks. Most great revolutionary leaders have come from the middle class intelligentsia. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were members of the intelligentsia, as were such leaders of the French revolution as Danton, Robespierre, Condorcet and Marat. Karl Marx was the son of a lawyer, while the father of Friedrich Engels was a wealthy manufacturer. The father of Lenin is described by his biographer as "a solid and respectable figure in the bureaucratic and intellectual life of the provincial capital" of Simbirsk in Russia. Trotsky was the son of a wealthy farmer. The early Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen received a Western education and earned a medical degree in Hong Kong, while Mao Tse-tung began his career as a librarian, teacher, newspaper editor and union organizer. Gandhi was educated in England and practiced law before developing the tactics of nonviolence with which he led India to independence.

The same pattern can be seen in Africa. Most of the great leaders of the African revolt against colonialism were members of a Western-educated elite. Some of them, like Tom Mboya, the late Kenyan leader, came from poor and illiterate families, but they nonetheless managed to obtain a level of education which enabled them to become leaders. In his autobiography, Mboya describes how his father, a poor sisal worker, saved and sacrificed so that his son could get the best education possible. Frantz Fanon, whose works have been so popular with militant nationalists, was able to develop his theory about the mentality of colonialized peoples because of his training as a psychoanalyst.

So far we have identified one pattern: political movements are generally led by members of the intelligentsia. This is not to say that all members of the middle class are capable of being political leaders, but only that those who have been the most successful leaders are usually quite cultured individuals. But to say that leaders are often middle class does not explain the kind of leadership that will help or hinder particular struggles. We should try to understand not so much the intentions of leaders as the social conditions which influence leadership to behave in one way or another. This is especially important in the case of American Blacks. Black leaders with the very best of intentions can behave badly if they do not understand how their actions affect the different forces that play upon the black community.

We owe a great deal to the black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier whose prodigious talents enabled him to understand and explain the inter-action of social forces as few scholars have been able to do. In his study Black Bourgeoisie, he analyzed the black middle class not as some social entity in and of itself, but as one group among many. His genius was to be able to understand the relations among the different groups in society. According to Frazier, the most important relations for the black middle class, were to the Negro folk masses on the one hand, and to the white elite on the other.

"From the beginning," Frazier wrote, "the Negro intelligentsia, or what DuBois called the 'Talented Tenth,' was created by philanthropic foundations supported by northern industrialists." It was for this reason--that is, because the black "Talented Tenth" was created by the white elite--that Frazier didn't think very highly of DuBois' plan "of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races." How could the Black elite act independently on behalf of Negroes if it did not exist independently? Politically, for example, the black elite "has been restricted to attempting to satisfy the demands of Negro voters while acting as the servants of the political machines supported by the propertied classes in the white community." Economically, it was too weak to compete in the open market so it developed the idea of "the separate Negro economy" which is really "the hope of the black bourgeoisie that they will have the monopoly of the Negro market." Socially, the black elite "rejected the folk culture of the Negro masses," yet however hard it tried to conform to middle class standards, it still encountered "the contempt and hostility of the white world."

Was there a way for the black middle class to escape the control exercised by the white elite? Frazier seemed to think that the proper role for the black middle class would be to identify with the needs and aspirations of the Negro masses, and to develop a program to meet these needs in the face of resistance by the white elite. Frazier didn't write Black Bourgeoisie to offer a strategy for social change. The book is a sociological, not a political work. But it is not difficult to deduce from the book the kind of strategy he felt would be most appropriate in light of his analysis of American society.

In describing the restoration of white supremacy in the South following Reconstruction, he notes that "The race issue was utilized to defeat not only the Republican Party but the democratic upsurge which was threatened by the alliance of the black freedmen and the poor whites." The Southern white elite, called the Bourbons, feared the democratizing potential of an inter-racial alliance, and so it exploited the race issue both to divide this alliance and to divert the anger of the poor whites away from itself and against the blacks. In this way the white elite transformed a potentially progressive class conflict into an utterly reactionary racial conflict.

The same kind of situation arose in the North after the First World War when the massive black migration from the South created the potential for another black-white alliance. In the North the vehicle for consumating this alliance was the labor movement, and as Frazier points out, the white elite used whatever influence it possessed over Negro organizations(by virtue of its "philanthropic" assistance) to encourage strike-breaking and other anti-union actions by blacks. It was not, according to Frazier,until A. Philip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and led the "March-on-Washington" movement during the Second World War that the foundations were laid for a genuine Negro-labor alliance. This alliance provided the instrument with which blacks and whites together could challenge the power of corporations through strikes and collective bargaining. It also aided their common fight for legislation, especially at the national level, to bring about needed social reforms. In my view, it was this alliance, forged by Randolph three decades ago, which has been responsible for all the great reforms of the modern era, from the abolition of Jim Crow in the South, to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, to the substantial improvement in the economic status of blacks.

For reasons that Frazier elaborated, some members of the Black middle class will see their own interests lying not in an inter-racial alliance but in racial separatism:

> ...behind the walls of racial segregation, where they enjoy a sheltered and relatively secure position in relation to the lower economic classes, they look with misgivings upon a world where they must compete with whites for a position in the economic order and struggle for status. Hence much of their racial pride is bound up with their desire to monopolize

> the Negro market. They prefer the overevaluation of their achievements and position behind the walls of segregation to a democratic order that would result in economic and social devaluation for themselves.

Separatism may provide the illusion of progress for some blacks in that it enables them to advance themselves against limited competition and to monopolize positions of power in the black community. But from our previous analysis, it should be clear that the only group that benefits from separatism is the white elite which is quite happy to see blacks go off in a corner by themselves. What this elite wants to prevent at all costs is the harnessing of "black power" (meaning the total political and economic influence of American Blacks) to a broader movement for social change.

Moreover, the crisis of the black middle class, which results from being uneasily suspended between the Negro masses and the white elite, cannot be resolved through separatism. Separatism only deepens the crisis of the black elite by intensifying its competition with the Negro masses and institutionalizing its separation from white society. (The notion that an artificial wall of separation will help blacks develop a more secure identity has been disputed time andagain by Dr. Kenneth Clark, the distinguished black psychologist. The only real security is a sense of confidence and personal worth, and this can come only from facing up to all the challenges that exist in the world, not by hiding from them.) The solution to the crisis of the black middle class would seems to lie in uniting with the Negro masses in the struggle to build a democratic, integrated social order.

It would be quite wrong to suggest that it is only some members of the black middle class who at times advocate separatism. It has been advocated by elements among the black poor who, I believe, have acted out of an understandable sense of frustration and bitterness. In addition, many blacks of different classes have chosen nationalism as the way to develop a sense of cultural identity. The militant rhetoric of separatism and the cultural styles associated with it have confused the situation by creating a false sense of progress for blacks. What we need now, as always, is clear-headedness.

It is this sense that the black middle class can make an enormously important contribution. Because its members possess the skills necessary for leadership, they should be in the forefront of the effort to develop intelligent perspectives and build effective alliances. The notion that has been put forth by many black students that they want to acquire skills in order to bring them back to the ghetto is a useful one in that it emphasizes the value of such skills. If we can combine this notion with the idea that the application of these skills must be guided by strategies for wiping out poverty and ghettoes entirely, we will have a useful definition of the role of the black middle class.

6/29/73

# THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO MIDDLE CLASS

by Bayard Rustin

The question of the role of the Negro middle class has been a persistent source of controversy and confusion since the time of Reconstruction. There have been some who have castigated this class and others who have glorified it, but few have been able to treat the subject with the objectivity they could call forth in discussing any other middle class racial or ethnic group in America.

I think the confusion results from the fact that the Negro middle class behaves in a way that is characteristically middle class but uniquely Negro. The sociological distinction I am drawing between class and race is essential to a full understanding of the problem. But unfortunately, it is a distinction that is rarely made, with the result that we are burdened with analyses of the Negro middle class that are superficial or misleading.

There are some, for example, who are asking the Negro to behave as if class were totally unimportant. By ignoring the class factor, they arrive at a sentimental notion of black solidarity if they are apologists for middle class Negroes; and if they are their critics, they condemn them for deserting their poor black brothers. Both the apologists and the critics in this case fail to understand that there are serious class divisions in the Negro community which must be recognized for what they are. The apologist is blind to these divisions while the critic thinks that they should not exist, and both are bound by the feeling that race--and not class--is the force that motivates group behavior. Therefore, they are caught by surprise when the Negro middle class acts in a way that is typically middle class, and their response is either to close their eyes to this phenomenon or to become enraged about it.

The fact of the matter is that conflicts of an economic nature have arisen within each minority group in America. At the turn of the century, for example, the relations between the wealthy "lace curtain Irish" and the poor "shanty Irish" were anything but friendly. Moreover, Jewish organizations, which developed as a means of forwarding Jewish life and culture, emerged along class lines. The American Jewish Committee attracted the very wealthy, the middle classes were drawn to the American Jewish Congress, while the poor joined more orthodox groups.

Further evidence of these class divisions can be found in a pattern of behavior known as "grasshopping" which describes the residential changes made by individuals during the process of upward mobility. As the poor Jew rose economically, he left the Lower East Side for the Upper West Side and eventually ended up in Scarsdale. And as the head of the Irish family accumulated capital, he moved out of Hell's Kitchen into what is now Harlem. The Italian worker, when he was upgraded by the emergence of trade unions, left Mulberry Street for a six-room house in Queens. It is little wonder that the Negro should act similarly, The process of economic mobility, which carried him from Harlem to Jamaica and eventually to St. Albans, should not be ignored or condemned so much as analyzed as a sociological reality.

While it is true that this social process has created a distance between middle class and lower class Negroes, it has also enabled the former to be of great assistance to the latter. I am here referring not only to the historical fact that it was middle class Negroes who founded the universities, schools, churches, and newspapers which have helped unify and uplift all black people. I am also speaking of the political role they have played in the Negro struggle for equality.

Here again Negroes do not differ substantially from other groups. In times of cultural and political revolution, the money, the energy, and the leadership for a forward social thrust is provided by the class that is better off, in the interest of the' poor. This has been true of the independence movements in Africa and the West Indies and of the struggle for the extension of democracy in Latin America. It was also true of the American and French revolutions in the Eighteenth Century, and more recently, of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. And finally, it is true all over the world today in countries where there are minorities who have suffered from discrimination. This includes the Untouchables in India, the French Canadians in Canada, the Walloons in Belgium, and the Welsh and the Scotch in England.

And it is true of the Negro movement in America. It was the NAACP, which is predominantly middle class, that won all the great legal battles which have rise to the period of protest and sit-ins. The greatest protestor of all was Martin Luther King,Jr. who came from the privileged upper-middle class of Atlanta. Even the young SNCC people, who began the sit-ins and who established a high degree of political freedom in Mississippi, were children of middle class parents.

Moreover, it was middle class Negroes who provided the leadership and the initiative for the black struggle during its very early stages. Leaders like Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, and A. Philip Randolph were all men of immense learning. Their profound social vision was the result of long hours of study and reflection which required certain advantages that have been denied the most brutalized segments of the black community.

We are thus dealing with a paradox. Those blacks who are most exploited are often least inclined to engage in political protest, while the greatest revolutionaries emerge from the wealthier classes and would thus seem to have least reason to revolt. I am aware that there are exceptions to this rule--that there were many slave revolts and that in our own time oppressed masses of black people have engaged in violent protest. Yet these protests have tended to be more spontaneous expressions of despair and frustration than disciplined political movements for social justice.

The psychological dynamic that is at work here is that oppression leads to despair which will manifest itself in apathetic inactivity or sporadic outbursts of rage undirected. A more advantageous social condition, on the other hand, leads to hope and, therefore, to activity that is designed to improve one's situation. In the magnificent autobiography of Frederick Douglass, he recounts his transfer from an evil master to a relatively good one and the psychological effect this had upon him:

> The freedom from bodily torture and unceasing labor had given my mind an increased sensibility and imparted to it greater activity......
> Beat and cuff the slave, keep hem hungry and spiritless, and he will follow the chain of his master like a dog, but feed and clothe him well, work him moderately and surround him

> with physical comfort. and dreams of freedom will intrude. Give him a bad master and he aspires to a good master; give him a good master, and he wishes to become his own master. Such is human nature. You may hurl a man so low beneath the level of his kind, that he loses all just ideas of his natural position, but elevate him a little, and the clear conception of rights rises to life and power, and leads him onward.

While those who are better off are thus in a position to lead a social struggle, it is of course true that they do not always wish to do so. Their interest in their own welfare may cause them to exploit the lower classes or to totally ignore their plight. Moreover, for reasons of status they may often try to disassociate themselves completely from those below them.

This is again a universal phenomenon, but it applies to middle class Negroes in a unique way because they are Negroes. For example, they are in a weaker position in relation to the whole society than the white middle class, because of the historic exploitation of black people in this country. They have less capital than whites of the same class, and they have been adversely affected by segregated institutions, particularly in the fields of education and employment. Yet at the same time they are far more advantaged than the Negro lower class which has suffered even greater damage from the evils of slavery and discrimination.

The middle class Negro, therefore, trapped between privilaged whites above him and exploited blacks below him, finds himself in a difficult and frustrating position. He does not have the full status attributable to him by virtue of his class, and he suffers from the indignities that have been committed against his race. With full access to the wider society denied him, he has been forced to achieve wealth and status within a segregated context--and this has not been easy. Although the situation of the Negro middle class has changed appreciably since 1939 when E. Franklin Frazier wrote The Negro Family in the United States, his analysis sheds light even today on the hardships which segregation has caused middle class blacks, and the sometimes questionable activities which, out of their frustration, they have resorted to:

> ...behind the walls of racial segregation, where they enjoy a sheltered and relatively secure position in relationtto the lower economic classes, they look with misgivings upon a world where they must compete with whites for a position in the economic order and struggle for status. Hence, much of their racial pride is bound up with their desire to monopolize the Negro market. They prefer the overvaluation of their achievements and position behind the walls of segregation to a democratic order that would result in economic and social devaluation for themselves.

This is, of course, not to say that the Negro middle class in general is guilty of the faults which Frazier has analyzed, but rather that the evil of segregation has made possible a situation in which some middle class Negroes have been forced to seek economic and social advantage to the detriment of their poorer black brothers.

The gains made by the civil rights movement during the past decade and a half have substantially altered the conditions underlying the relationship of middle class to lower class blacks. As the struggle for equality continues the process of black liberation, the need of middle class blacks to accumulate wealth within a segregated context should be reduced. And as the walls of segregation are broken down, there will be more healthy interaction between the races, which should enhance the development of a genuine sense of identity among middle class Negroes. They will, therefore, no longer need the protection of segregation to insure a false sense of status.

But of course there are still problems. Many blacks today with Masters degrees and Ph.D.'s cannot find employment that satisfies their aspirations. They rightly desire the same opportunities that whites of equal qualifications now have open to them. But because segregation and discrimination still exist, they are frustrated in their drive for advancement. Without a full outlet for their aspirations in the wider society, they are seeking to monopolize the avenues of advancement within the ghetto and are thus calling for all-black schools with black teachers and supervisors, black capitalism, and other forms of racial separatism. According to social psychologist Thomas F. Pettigrew, a study completed in 1968 shows that "college graduates tended to be the more separatist in those realms where their training gives them a vested interest in competition-free positions--Negro-owned stores for Negro neighborhoods and Negro teachers in mostly-Negro schools......"

While some middle class blacks may derive moderate economic benefits from this kind of separatism, but I doubt that they shall find total self-fulfillment. The ghetto does not have the economic resources sufficient to satisfy their demands, and they cannot achieve the status they desire if they avoid the challenges of free and open competition with the wider society. They may find temporary comfort in the ghetto, but ultimately confidence and self-realization come from leaving a protective environment, not by retreating into it.

The demand for "Balck Power" that is being made by amny of these Negroes today is, therefore, a demand for "Black Middle Class Power," and I fear that even if they achieve their goal it will not enhance the economic and political power of lower and working class blacks. It is this latter group, however, that is most deprived and most numerous. Consequently, the energies of the black struggle for equality must be concentrated above all on improving its lot.

If these poor black people are to be uplifted, we need an economic package--a comprehensive program designed to achieve full employment, a minimum wage, and a guaranteed income. In addition, our cities must be reconstructed, millions of new homes must be built so that people will no longer be forced to live in deteriorated housing. Funds must be provided so that each child can receive the superior education that he is by rights entitled to. And we must also have free medical care so that, among other things, the infant mortality rate among Negroes does not continue at its present catastrophic level.

It is obvious that an increase in black businesses or in the number of managerial positions open to Negroes will not bring us any nearer to the economic program I have described. We need what A. Philip Randolph ahs called a "Freedom Budget"--a ten-year commitment by the Federal government to spend $18.5 billion annually over present expenditures so that all poor people in America,black and white, will no longer suffer from poverty.

The achievement of such an economic program would require a strong political movement, one which today does not exist. It requires building a coalition of Negroes, the trade union movement, and liberals who together would constitute a political majority in America.

This coalition cannot sustain the loss or decimation of any of its component parts without suffering irreparable damage. It is here that the role of middle class Negroes becomes so essential, for they must provide the leadership that will help make the black community a powerful element in this majority movement. The central question, therefore, is not so much whether these Negroes remain in the ghetto but whether they will join in doing these things that will uplift the black poor.

Finally, in struggling for a program of integration and equality for poor black people, the Negro middle class will find that it has benefited itself as well, For the segregation of the black community will lead to the isolation of the black middle class, and the impoverishment of masses of Negroes will ultimately affect the conditions under which all Negroes must live. The primary role of middle class blacks, therefore, is within a political movement for social justice. And by participating in the struggle to uplift their impoverished brothers, they will find their identity and become liberated as human beings.

A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027
212-666-9510

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman    Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

# BACKGROUND PAPER WHITE HOUSE PLANNING CONFERENCE

-- Bayard Rustin

We are at "the end of the beginning."

So President Lyndon B. Johnson has defined the state of the civil rights struggle for the fulfillment of the moral principles of equality and brotherhood which are so basic to the American ideal.

And so we here can define our task in the same terms. Our agenda is to complete the beginning that has been made -- and then to chart the bold, new departures which are required if every American is to be a full, first class citizen of his own land.

## *I. To Complete the Beginning*

Ten years ago, and some ninety years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed segregation in public education and laid the juridical basis for eliminating discrimination from every area of the national life.

In the ensuing decade, there has been a vast awakening of conscience among millions of Americans, Negro and white. There have been heroic struggles in the streets and in the jails and there have been those who paid with their lives to make freedom truly indivisible. In the courts, the battle to challenge every segregationist statute and practice has become more intense than ever before. And out of all these activities, out of this most dynamic movement of our time, there has come a new national commitment to full civil rights in the form of a series of laws, and, above all, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965.

The main impact of these victories has been felt in the South, for it was blatant and self-proclaimed discrimination which was the first target of the movement. Yet even here, if one can now see an end to that mockery whereby democratic institutions were used to enforce an anti-democratic policy of segregation, these beginnings are still incomplete.

For despite the law of the land as articulated by the Congress and proclaimed by the Supreme Court, American racism still has powerful weapons for the subversion of our national policy and principles.

Terror and physical and economic sanctions are effectively used to nullify the solemn will of the society as a whole.

Civil rights workers have been beaten and murdered and those accused of these vile crimes against them have been exonerated in trials which make a disgrace of the judicial process. We therefore propose

> *that the Congress make it a federal crime to interfere in any way with any citizen engaged in implementing the national policy for full and complete racial equality;*
>
> *that the Department of Justice vigorously pursue the enforcement of existing laws against the discriminatory selection of juries at all levels of American life; and that the Congress make more precise and specific rules toward the same end.*

We cannot say that we have yet come to the end of the beginning when racist terrorists can strike down American citizens who are acting in accordance with the highest traditions and the express public policy of the nation. The physical safety of the participant in the political process is a fundamental concern, and precondition, of democratic life. We demand that it be guaranteed for every citizen.

In addition to outright terrorism, the civil rights movement confronts more subtle forms of intimidation. First and foremost are the economic reprisals taken against Negroes in the South who actively participate in the freedom struggle -- or who simply assert their democratic right to the ballot. A strengthened Fair Employment Practices Statute should contain provisions aimed directly at this evil, for there are the most obvious and outright patterns of economic coercion which can be brought under the rule of law.

In addition, we believe that there are many situations when direct federal aid should be provided to those who suffer economic hardship and deprivation because of their fidelity to the democratic ideals of this nation. It has recently, and rightly, been suggested that the victims of violent crime (and in the case of those who die, their families) should be reimbursed by the public, that the individual should not be required to shoulder the burden which society's failure to give adequate protection imposes upon him. We believe that this principle should be applied to those who suffer from both physical and economic terror in the civil rights movement. We do not suggest that they should be given a hand-out. We ask that America give them their just due for performing a courageous and vital function in the democratic process.

In the South, then, there is often a brutal, open and utterly anti-democratic double standard of justice where the Negro is involved and almost always when the issue is civil rights. But in both the North and the South, the social and economic position of the Negro often results in his being victimized by a more sophisticated double standard. Condemned to miserable ghettos, high rates of unemployment and an unjust share of society's misery, the Negro is often unable to view the policeman or the judge as a friend or protector of law and order. They appear in the guise of the enemy, as one more source of the torment which white America imposes upon the Negro.

We therefore support every effort to eliminate social class factors from the administration of justice, i.e., programs to give financial support so that the right of indigent defendants to a full legal defense can become a reality; rigorous observation of recent Supreme Court decisions regarding the rights of citizens who are arrested; and, in local areas, independent civilian review boards for hearing complaints against the police.

In addition, there are existing laws -- and again, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 are most crucial in this regard -- which must be fully and totally implemented. In this context, we believe that the government of the United States should play a most active role in initiating action against discrimination. From the earliest days of this Republic to the present moment, Negroes have been segregated and abused in flagrant violation of principles which the entire nation claimed to hold sacred. Now that this scandal is coming to an end, shall the victims of injustice be told to shoulder the main burden in redeeming the honor of the whole society? The answer is clear. Precisely in the name of equal rights before the law, the government has the responsibility to volunteer its resources in this great struggle and to say clearly and unambiguously that it is the duty of the United States of America as a nation to work positively for its own basic principles.

In all of these proposals to complete the beginning that America has made in the fight for equality, it should be clear that we envision that the civil rights movement will increase its activity in the coming period. We have come as far as we have by employing a wide range of complementary tactics: challenging segregation in the courts; legislatures, and in the streets. On all these fronts, our efforts must be redoubled if we are truly to arrive at the end of the beginning and if the movement is to be prepared for the even more profound struggles that lie ahead.

## *II. The New Departures*

In the course of the great struggles against segregationist statutes, America has become conscious that the problem of discrimination is deeply rooted in the national life, that it is more profound than laws and court decisions.

Most specifically, we now understand that every formal and open support of segregation could be abolished and that the American economy and social structure could still perpetuate, and even intensify, the second class status of the Negro. What Congress and the courts give, the marketplace could take away.

This grim reality was the central theme of President Johnson's historic address at Howard University. Thus, it is now only necessary to cite but a few of the facts which show how potentially tragic the situation is.

Between 1949 and 1959 -- years of the "Negro Revolution" -- the percentage of the white wage received by the Negro worker declined from 57% to 53%.

In 1948, Negro and white unemployment were roughly equal. In the fifties and early sixties, Negro unemployment was consistently double that of white, and Negro teen-age unemployment has often been at rates as disastrous as those which prevailed for the entire nation during the depression of the 1930s.

*At this point, it is very much worth while to pause and take a more careful look at the problem of Negro unemployment. It is happily ture that Negro unemployment has, as a result of the nation's improved economic performance in the sixties, declined from the level of 12.6% which it reached in 1958 (and 12.5% in 1961). Today, non-white joblessness in the United States stands at roughly 8.3%. But, and this is of great significance, the proportion of Negro unemployment compared to white has remained constant despite this progress -- it is twice as serious. So if in 1958, 12.6% of the Negroes were unemployed and 6.1% of the whites, in 1965, the corresponding figures are 8.3% and 4.2% -- or still a ratio of 2 to 1 against the Negro. In other words, there is continuing discrimination even when gains are made.*

But these statistics conceal an even more dangerous trend: the persistence of Negro youth unemployment. In 1961, 24.7% of those Negroes between 14 and 19 years of age were out of work. And it is estimated that in 1965, this incredible rate will only decline to 23.2%. This is an expression of the fact that Negro job progress has been largely a result of calling men with previous experience back to work. The official figures give us no reason to be optimistic about the huge number of young, and often unskilled, uneducated Negroes who will be entering the labor market in the next period. *For in the next year, Negroes, who are 11% of the population, will be 18% of the new entrants to the labor force. Approximately half of this disproportionate number of young Negroes will be without the equivalent of a high school education and they will be competing in an economy in which the demand for skill and training is increasing dramatically.*

It is thus possible that there be a deterioration of the Negro's social and economic position at the very moment when the civil rights movement achieves great political victories. As a result, the new "freedom" would be a bitter thing indeed, and economic servitude would be as effective an instrument of discrimination as any racist law.

During the past year, the public has become somewhat more conscious of the way in which these statistics about the economics of Negro life describe more than a series of random and unconnected facts and indeed form the basis for important social patterns. In particular, the problems of family life among poor Negroes have been emphasized as an example of the kind of problems one encounters in this regard. We think that it is extremely important that this point should be made and understood -- and just as important that it should not be misunderstood.

In 1940, Edward Wight Bakke described the effect of unemployment on family structure. Bakke demonstrated a model tragedy: *the jobless father is no longer a provider, credit runs out, the woman is forced into the labor force. Then, if relief becomes a necessity, the woman is even more of the focal point -- and the welfare investigator is often a woman, too. The father is dependent, the children bewildered, the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered.*

See page 312 "Mark of Oppression

Bakke's research was a description of the plight of the white unemployed. Thus, the fact that Negro scholars, like the late Franklin Frazier and Dr. Kenneth Clark, and other investigators, have described this pattern as a typical one among the Negro poor does not mean that it has anything to do with some "inherent" Negro trait. *It is a relationship between family life and joblessness which holds, and has held, for both blacks and whites. If Negroes suffer more from this problem today, it is not because they are Negro but because they are so disproportionately a part of the unemployed, the underemployed and the ill-paid.*

What has happened in America is that the post-Emancipation labor market denied many Negroes the opportunity to become "economic" fathers -- the breadwinning heads of stable families -- just as the laws of slavery had denied the Negro the juridical right to marriage and children.

So it is that today:

> 35% of all Negro children live in broken homes;
> 25% of Negro women who have been married are divorced or separated;
> 14% of all Negro children are receiving Aid for Families of Dependent Children.

*The answer to this problem is not to give the impoverished masses of the black ghetto sermons about middle class virtues. It is to give them jobs and decent, integrated housing and schools.* For the official Government statistics already show that, in the 1950s, the Negro family became much more stable in good times, less stable in bad. And this issue, let it be emphasized, is not one of special pleading on the part of the Negro male, but a vital question of Negro life as a whole. As Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women put it, "If the Negro woman has a major underlying concern, it is the status of the Negro man and his position in the community and his need for feeling himself an important person, free and able to make his contribution in the whole society in order that it may strengthen his home."

## *III. Negro Poverty*
and the ghetto

Thus, Negro poverty is a special, and particularly destructive form of American poverty.

The white immigrant waves of the 19th and early 20th centuries faced ethnic and religious prejudice. But they were never confronted by an organized system of race hatred with its own laws and myths and stereotypes, its own economy. Those of the older generations of the white poor who fought their way out of poverty could thus assimilate into American life as soon as they acquired money, education, mastery of the language. But the Negro lawyer, doctor or teacher is often as victimized as the Negro laborer and every Negro, whatever his work, faces the evil of prejudice.

Secondly, Negro poverty is special because masses of Negroes migrated from the rural South to the urban South and North and entered the mainstream of the American economy only a few years before the once insatiable demand for unskilled muscle power went into decline. The older white immigrants came to an economy which could put grade school drop-outs to work; the Negro of today must compete with machines which have high school educations.

But Negro poverty is also a part of American poverty and this is a crucial fact in developing new policies and departures.

Indeed, I think it can be fairly said that the Negro movement is one of the main reasons why we now have a War on Poverty to help the white and the black poor. For it was the struggle for civil rights that first tore away the veil and revealed the tenements and the rats and all the rest of the black misery, and once this was seen then the plight of the white slums and the white rural poor of Appalachia could be seen too.

The non-white poor are more than doubly poor because of their race -- but they are still roughly a 25% minority of the total impoverished American population. The three-quarters of the American poor who are white do not share the terrible problem of race prejudice with Negroes but they do have a similar deficiency in education and skill and thus the same kind of disadvantage in the labor market.

*Given this analysis, a most important fact emerges: Negro poverty cannot be abolished without the simultaneous abolition of white poverty, and vice versa.*

Because of this, the range of programs which are required to provide Negroes with genuine economic opportunity will not, by far and large (the exception is primarily in the area of Fair Employment Legislation), be "civil rights" laws. Instead, they will be measures aimed at transforming the living conditions of all the poor, black and white. To the extent that Negroes suffer economic misery disproportionately compared to whites, an anti-poverty program will in that sense "disproportionately" help Negroes -- but not by singling them out for special treatment.

In the areas of new departures, then, the civil rights concern merges with the anti-poverty commitment. But then, there is an even larger convergence which must be noted. Poverty, both Negro and white, effects the entire nation. The despair of the poor is often a source of crime; the neighborhoods of the poor produce little public revenue and demand huge public expenditures; the very existence of the poor in a society as productive as America'S is a corruption of morality. Therefore, in righting the grievous economic wrongs which have been done to the Negro, it is not only necessary to bring justice to the poor whites, but the entire level of the country will be raised as well. In this context, one of the major economic tasks of the Great Society is the abolition of poverty and the consequent granting of economic and social content to the political freedoms being won by the civil rights movement.

To accomplish all this is a considerable undertaking. It will require the active participation of every sector of American society: of the voluntary institutions, like the churches and charitable organizations; of both business and labor; and of government at every level.

## *IV. Voluntary Organizations*

America is a land in which the individual charitable impulse plays a major role. The power of this practical idealism must be oriented toward the next stage of the Negro Revolution. For example:

> *The religious leadership in America has become conscious of its responsibility to the cause of equality and anti-poverty, but their rank and file often lag well behind in this regard. The voluntary sector must thus attack every vestige of racial prejudice to be found in its own organizations; it must convert its own constituents.*
>
> *In the voluntary sector -- and particularly in charitable institutions like hospitals -- one often encounters poverty jobs for Negroes and other poor people. Philanthropy cannot build on other people's misery, and the voluntary sector must recognize its responsibility to pay decent wages and to allow for collective bargaining.*
>
> *Many voluntary organizations have massive building programs. They must pledge that not one cent shall be spent upon Jim Crow construction.*

*The voluntary sector often holds extensive investments. Churches and universities and hospitals should never hold shares in poverty enterprises, like slums.*

*Above all, the voluntary sector can begin to establish lines of human communication between black and white America. Churches can exchange visits and so can individual parishioners; universities can exchange both students and faculty.*

## *V. Business and Labor*

**In the economy, both business and labor can help in the crucial task of annulling the unwritten Jim Crow laws which exist in the labor market.**

*Business:*

*should not take refuge in the excuse that qualified Negro workers cannot be found, but should aggressively pursue on-the-job training programs consciously designed to train Negroes;*

*the Plans for Progress Program can be intensified so that every enterprise in the land will be playing an active role in promoting the national commitment to full equality;*

*where mechanization or automation is going to have its usual, particularly cruel impact upon displaced Negro workers, business must assume a social responsibility superior to any technical consideration and engage in government-labor-community planning to see to it that new jobs are found;*

*business and particularly small and new businesses, should be given tax and other incentives (as in the Economic Opportunity Act) when their policies will promote the hiring and upgrading of Negroes and others who are poor.*

**The American labor movement is the most successful voluntary organization for the abolition of poverty in American history. The economic challenge of the civil rights struggle now gives it the opportunity to face up to a new and profound challenge which is in keeping with this tradition.**

**Almost half of the heads of poor families work hard and long -- and they are still poor. Some of them are denied coverage under the nation's collective bargaining policies (farm workers), others lack Social Security, some work at the sub-poverty official minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, many are in unorganized shops.**

*We believe that the labor movement's program for increasing minimum wage and extending its coverage constitutes a major step forward for the working poor.*

*We urge the labor movement to fight vigorously so that all farm and domestic labor will be brought under the social benefits of the welfare state, for in the doing there will be an important contribution to Negro well-being.*

*Finally, we believe that the labor movement must bring its unique skills -- organization and collective bargaining -- to the unorganized poor. Some trade unionists have already suggested that strong, stable internationals and locals "adopt" organizing campaigns among workers who are so poor that they cannot pay the cost of organizing themselves, at least at the outset. Others have indicated that union organizing experience can make a major contribution to help organize the poor for "maximum feasible participation" in the War Against Poverty.*

## *VI. The Responsibility of Government*

But, frankly, neither the voluntary sector, nor business and labor, can do much to ablish Negro and white poverty unless government recognizes its responsibility.

For, as the Employment Act of 1946 stated, and as every Administration since, Democratic or Republican, has realized, a complex, inter-dependent and enormously productive economy like ours does not automatically and effortlessly achieve full employment, a proper rate of growth, a just distribution of benefits. In this regard, our analysis of the problem of Negro poverty -- and of white poverty as well - points in certain important directions for federal action.

There are unemployable Negro and white poor, among them the children, the aging and the permanently handicapped. No measure of full employment or of economic growth can put an end to their misery. They must be provided with a decent level of life as defined by American society.

*We believe it is wrong for America to have Social Security benefits which are often tragically under the poverty line. We believe that it is cruel for various welfare payments to be figured as a partial percentage of what is needed. We consider it outrageous that there are still dependent children programs which promote separation and divorce because of rules against an able-bodied male being part of the recipient family.*

*We believe that this nation is productive enough to adopt the principle that all unemployable people have a right to a decent annual income.*

*In addition, we believe that all pension and other social insurance programs should have an escalator clause. In West Germany, for instance, such payments are readjusted upwards in proportion to the increase in the GNP every two years.*

However, we do not mean to suggest that we propose to "buy off" the unemployable poor by a simple cash payment. That could often condemn them to lonely, bitter existences lived out in racial ghettos. *In addition to recognizing their right to a decent personal consumption income, we must also grant their right to proper levels of social income and amenities -- like decent housing, social programs, leisure time activity, and the like.*

Then there are the unemployed poor and the working poor, Negro and white.

Along with the majority of the Senate Sub-Committee on Employment and Manpower in 1964, we believe that if the nation's projected GNP is going to produce levels of unemployment and underemployment which are in contradiction to our commitments to civil rights and the abolition of poverty, then the government must create a larger GNP which will suffice to promote our national goals.

*We believe that one area of tremendous need which could provide a basis for an enormous expansion of the economy and a resultant elimination of unemployment, underemployment, and working poverty, is investment in the nation's social capital: in schools, parks, mass transportation systems, hospitals, theatres, and above all, decent, integrated and desirable housing for every American.*

In the age of automation, we believe that there is another area of need, one that is well nigh inexhaustible: investment in human beings. In the course of the most modest War on Poverty, we have already discovered that poor people can do "non-professional" social and educational work.

*We believe that the human care of human beings should be a major area of growth for this nation and that we should begin to train, on every level of skill and education, people whose work will be helping people.*

To some, the proposals made here may seem so sweeping as to be incredible. To us, the truly incredible fact is that America allowed Watts to happen in 1965 and that it did so because the problems we have been describing -- depression rates of unemployment, increasing widespread rates of high school drop-outs, the consequent frustration and corruption of much of family life -- were ignored. After the Harlem riots of 1964, something was done; anti-poverty money was pumped into Harlem. After the events in Watts, something will be done.

But are we thus to teach impoverished Negroes that the only way they can get the ear of white America is to rise up in violence?: That is a really outlandish proposal in a democracy. And the ideas which we here advocate are a first step toward genuine sanity.

Finally, we do not propose an isolationist paradise in order to fulfill our civil rights and anti-poverty commitments. The nation has long honored military service -- with ROTC subsidies, with the GI Bill of Rights -- and we believe that we should now make social service -- of every kind at least as honored a calling as that of the warrior.

For we believe that, in an integrated nation, black Americans can contribute, not simply to the well-being of their own countrymen, but to that of the world as a whole.

In short, after "the end of the beginning" in the struggle for civil rights, we propose that the energies and skills and talents of Negroes be put to work in the service of the nation and of mankind.

New York, N. Y.
November, 1965

# The Awesome Attica Tragedy

*The statement below was presented at a news conference at the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., in New York City, September 24, 1971. On behalf of the 15 co-signers, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, read the statement to the news media. With him at the press table were Haywood Burns, executive director, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Jewell Handy Gresham, Coalition of Concerned Black Americans; Roy Innis, national director, Congress of Racial Equality; Vernon Jordan, executive director, United Negro College Fund and executive director-elect, National Urban League; and Eleanor Holmes Norton, commissioner, New York City Commission on Human Rights.*

*Other signers included Kenneth B. Clark, president of MARC; James W. Cobb, president, National Bar Association; Jack Greenberg, director, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Dorothy Height, president, National Council of Negro Women; C. Eric Lincoln, president, Back Academy of Arts and Letters; Lillian Roberts, associate director, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Bayard Rustin, director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Harold R. Sims, acting executive director, National Urban League; and Emerson C. Walden, president, National Medical Association.*

TO us who have long fought for equal justice in America, Attica has become a tragic symbol of the great distance we still have to go. For us, Attica is more than an awesome tragedy in which prison personnel and inmates alike were sacrificed. For us, Attica is a watershed in the history of American criminal justice. Either it will produce wholesale reform of the administration of justice or its tragic effects will be compounded in the nation's inaction.

We feel compelled to speak out against the tragic mistakes made at Attica lest they ever be tolerated again. And we are pledged to give continuing voice to the demands for minimal decency granted the Attica inmates before the siege and to see that other reforms are undertaken immediately by the State Department of Corrections.

We deplore the Governor's failure as Chief Executive of the State to go to Attica, take personal command, and lend the prestige of his office to the effort to avert tragedy.

We deplore the hasty, blanket endorsement by the President of the United States of the wholesale use of indiscriminate force—an endorsement given repeatedly in the face of facts which cry out for denunciation.

We deplore the undisciplined use of deadly force by State officers that led to the deaths of correction personnel and inmates.

We deplore the irresponsibility of the State's initial sensationalistic response following the attack: the false and premature information given the public that the hostages had died brutal deaths at the hands of the inmates when police bullets actually had killed them, and the use of unnamed "outside forces" as scapegoats for the tragedy.

We deplore the State's ineptness and insensitivity in the aftermath of the siege, especially the lack of information available to the families of dead, injured and other inmates and the slow access given prisoners to medical and legal personnel.

We do not underestimate but, indeed, are sympathetic with the difficulty of the decisions Governor Rockefeller and other state officials faced in those trying days. At no time was the way out of the tragedy clear. But the failure of the Governor to come to the scene and the wholesale use of firearms to retake the prison make abundantly clear that all efforts were not exhausted to preserve human lives.

We cannot believe the way to reform of the nation's penal system lies in prison insurrection, taking of hostages, or other violence. It is perhaps the greatest indictment of our present penal system that those in power only seem prepared to recognize that problems do exist when confronted with the immediate challenge of prison insurrection. As a society, we should not require such warnings before undertaking those steps necessary to protect the life, dignity and humanity of those whom we have placed behind bars.

ONLY long-range steps to eliminate racism and poverty, steps we have long fought for, can alter the rate of crime and the disproportionate number of minority group youth that go to Attica and other prisons. But in the name of decency some immediate steps are required to be taken by the Governor and the Department of Corrections, including these:

(1) As a first step toward prison reform, immediately follow through on promises for institutional reform made by Commissioner Oswald to the Attica inmates by implementing such inmate proposals as "Provide adequate food, water, and shelter to all inmates," and "Allow true religious freedom."

(2) Initiate an immediate investigation of prisoner treatment at all state institutions with a view to isolating reforms that can be instituted immediately.

(3) Establish a grievance machinery for prisoner complaints at each institution, a step toward avoiding violent rebellion as a means of airing grievances.

(4) Inform the family of each inmate at Attica and the public of his physical condition.

(5) Especially during this period, allow an expanded schedule of visits to Attica inmates by relatives, and medical and legal personnel, including professionals independent of the Department of Corrections.

(6) Initiate immediate training programs for all prison personnel, including the use of volunteers from the communities from which so many inmates come, so that guards and other prison personnel will not be victimized by a prison system that inadequately prepares them to deal with inmates.

(7) Immediately initiate an affirmative recruitment program to integrate the work force of the state prison system in order to end the disparity between an 85 per cent miority group prison population and an almost totally white prison personnel force.

The dangerous phenomenon of pandering to ethnic groups has come to dominate American politics and has led to a further fragmentation of our nation.

The current Presidential campaign provides numerous illustrations of this trend. Rather than presenting concrete proposals for dealing with unemployment, inflation and lack of educational opportunity, all of which cause agony for poor ethnic Americans, politicians spend their time in minority communities eating spaghetti, or kielbasi, or knishes, or rice and peas. We have seen such currying of favor in the unseemly debate on where the U.S. Embassy in Israel should be located,rather than presenting to the American people proposals directed toward the realization of peace in the Middle East. Such pandering not only detracts from the credibility of the candidates but also reveals the degree to which the political process has deteriorated.

The Presidential campaign of this great and diverse country should be an enterprise of unification and coalition-building. Those who seek the Presidency should engage in efforts which speak to all Americans as Americans. Their responsibilty is to fashion out of the diverse and frequently competing group interests in our country, a common interest, an American interest. They should project an economic and social program for the benefit of the total society. They have an obligation to articulate the fundamental issues which confront our society - the problems of deindustrialization, of a growing underclass of poor, of unacceptable levels of joblessness.

We live in a difficult economic and social climate. The rich become richer, the poor poorer, the middle class grievously overtaxed and the unskilled poor become economic untouchables.

In such a climate, those who aspire to our nation's highest office owe it to the electorate to speak honestly about these deep divisions. They should articulate programs and themes which fashion a national unity despite the diversity and agony that now abounds among many ethnic groups.

I do not suggest that blacks should not be proud they are blacks, or that Poles should not be proud they are Polish, or that Jews ought not to be proud they are Jewish. I am suggesting that whatever different histories, traditions, and faiths we may hold, we must be united in social goals if we are to solve the vast problems our nation faces.

I therefore suggest that as you enter the world of work, as you seek your place in this great nation, that you look carefully at your political leaders and examine whether in their actions as well as their words they are serving to bring this country closer together.

For only if we elect leaders who possess a vision of the transcendent, common national purpose, will we be able to enjoy the climate of opinion in which true social progress can be achieved.

Artcls
Rustin

Bayard Rustin prepeared the following as a column for New America. We thought Socialist Party members would be interested in reading it before they voted in the upcoming referendum.

# Socialist Unity Now

by Bayard Rustin

During the past five years we have witnessed growing divisions within the liberal coalition, divisions between blacks and whites and also between liberals and the trade union movement. At a time when we must prepare for a presidential election of supreme importance, these divisions weigh ~~especi~~ heavily upon us.

Because the ~~problems~~ divisions within the liberal coalition ~~is~~ are so distressing, we should be especially pleased by any counter-trend toward unity. ~~within the~~ That is why I hail the movement toward unity of the Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Federation. The unification of these two excellent organizations will hardly solve the problems of the liberal coalition. But it points a way toward a solution. It represents a recognition ~~by these two~~ that in unity there is strength, that division not only undermines the strength of the whole but of each of its parts as well.

Hopefully the members of the Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Federation will be able to convey this message to those people in the larger political arena with whom they have worked to build a strong liberal coalition.

Each partner to this unity brings with it special qualities. The DSF has a long and illustrious record of Socialist and trade union activities. ~~Its members have~~ It has provided leadership and direction for the Workmen's Circle, a fraternal and service organization that ~~has helped tens of thousands~~ continues to play an important role in the lives of its tens of thousands of ~~people;~~ members; for the Jewish Daily Forward which remains the largest Yiddish language newspaper in the world; for the Jewish Labor Committee and for the WEVD radio station.

The Socialist Party, in addition to being one of the most ~~articulate~~ intelligent political organizations articulating a pro-labor, coalition politics strategy, has been instrumental in ~~bring~~ the building of its youth arm, the Young People's Socialist League. Not enough can be said for the YPSL. During a period when every nominally socialist and supposedly radical youth organization ~~went~~ has gone off the deep end, the YPSL has made steady, pain-staking advances. It has remained both radical and rational and has built better ties with the labor movement than ~~It is not an exaggeration to say that The YPSL is more than~~ any youth movement I can remember. ~~The YPSL and~~ The health of the YPSL is ~~a sign~~ one of the best signs of the vitality of the Socialist Party.

I applaud the prospective unity between the Socialist Party and the DSF not simply because the socialist movement will benefit enormously, but also because the liberal coalition needs a strong socialist movement. American politics is changing rapidly, and a ~~The labor movement is entering politics on an unprecedented scale, and more and more Americans are beginning to see the primacy of economic issues.~~ period of transition is inevitably a time when there is much confusion. A movement which combines realistic political analysis with the highest idealism can provide an essential element of clarity and direction at such a time. The present political trends have, in fact, vindicated the ideas that socialists have been arguing for in recent years. They have emphasized the importance of the labor movement, and now the labor movement is becoming more politically involved than even before. They have pointed to the primacy of economic issues, a view which the majority of American voters now accept. ~~They have argued for a majority liberal coalition~~ The accuracy of socialist ideas will likely increase the influence of socialists within the liberal coalition.

Such influence will be enhanced most of all by the ~~pxx~~ planned unity between the Socialist Party and the ~~DF~~ DSF. Hopefully this unity will take place as quickly as possible so that the socialist movement can realize its fullest potential in 1972.

**November 15, 1971**
**Sharon, Conn.**

[redacted]

Bayard's talk on continuing education

The National University ~~Ed~~ Extension Conference is discussing an exciting development this year, "New Learning Environments: Emerging Directions and Dimensions of Continuing Education". As a society, we are coming to the point where the educational step-child of continuing education is being replaced by the concept of [redacted] education as a life-long process. I am sure that [redacted] as educators you are now struggling with the difficult task of translating that concept into a reality that meets the needs of all adults. I hope to make a few observations about the needs of blacks and other minorities that should be addressed by a responsible and creative life-long learning system.

As with most good ideas, ~~that~~ this new interest in education for adults was [redacted] as much the result of necessity as of desirability. The end of the baby boom has meant the decline of the traditional college population and a threatening cost squeeze on our institutions of higher education. Though financial pressures are pushing colleges in the direction of [redacted] attracting adult students, by and large this new emphasis has been handled responsibly. The trend in adult-orineted courses has been away from/non-~~enrichment a.~~ credit life enrichment courses toward career-oriented, credit courses. There are, nonetheless, all too many institutions which are ripping off young and old adults. Moreover, there are serious questions confronting even well-intentioned and sincere programs: the proper use of life experience credits being ~~the~~ among the most important.

These problems are to be expected in a new and growing field. Nonetheless, I believe that minorities have an important stake in the development of a situation where university presidents would take as much pride in having an outstanding continuing education program as they presently display in having an outstanding chemistry or business administration program.

If this is to come about I want to suggest that there is a need for an affirmative action program for continuing education.

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One of the most encouraging signs for the future of continuing education is the response of the labor movement. A number of unions have gained collective bargaining agreements that provide educational benefits for employees. The United Automobile Workers and the auto industry have agreed on a tuition assitance program that provides up to $900 a year per worker. The Carpenters, Plumbers, and other building trades have negotiated a fund that provides from 15¢ to 17¢ per hour worked for apprenticeship and journeyman training. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local #3(in New York) has negotiated a percentage of the payroll to go into an educational and cultural trust fund. The fund provides scholarships for members and their families, citizenship training, a program involving members in cultural events— theater, etc., and other educational benefits. One of the most unusual aspects of the IBEW program is that sponsors a week retreat on the art of critical thinking.

There are about 40 Labor Education Centers associated with universities or colleges across the country and most international unions have (active and effective) education departments. Many community colleges are also adapting labor education programs( and are already involved in the manpower training area.) (The proper role of community colleges in labor education is now being discussed by the labor movement and others.)

Despite this admirable progress, the largest single group deprived of a college education are America's workers. The passage of the life-long learning bill which provides public funds to complement negotiated education benefits is a healthy develppment.

The question which I want to raise is whether you are out digging out this money, working with unions and corporations to serve the educational needs of America's workers.

One of the most idfficult questions facing continuing education is the merits and disadvantages of life experience credits. I have been very skeptical about a number of educational innovations that I saw functioning essentially as gimmicks, which did not face squarely and honestly the real educational needs of students. Life experience credits have the potential of becoming a gimmick. But if used with educational purpose(?), they can be a useful technique to encourage self-confidence among (minority) adults who might otherwise doubt their ability to make it in college.

Despite this admirable progress, the largest single group deprived of a college education are America's workers. The passage of the life-long learning bill last year which provides public funds to complement negotiated education benefits is a healthy development, provided that college administrators are out there digging up this money, working with unions and corporation to serve the educational needs of America's workers.

As of yet, these new benefits have not been well-utilized, but they have tremendous potential.

Continuing education must [redacted] address the needs of workers as workers and of trade unionists as trade unionists and not as has been the habit workers as potential accountants. I don't want to deny anyone the opportunity of becoming an accountant, but neither should the needs of workers xxx be ignored. Labor history, economics, politics, international affairs, [redacted] occupational health and safety [redacted] --even philesophy and literature--are some of the areas where continuing education can meet the needs of workers.

A program of continuing education that wants to meet the needs of minorities should work closely with labor. Almost two million blacks are trade unionists. That is more than belong to any other institution except the church. Of special interest in this regard is the increasing numbers of blacks who are holding elected or staff positions in their unions. So far as I know there is no one who has made a reliable count of this growing phenomena. But in my work at the Randolph Institute xxxxxx I have seen a tremendous increase in the number of blacks in leadership x positions in the labor movement in recent years.

One of the most difficult questions facing continuing education, ~~is~~ the merits and disadvantages of life ~~experience~~ experience credits, ~~and~~ is ~~also~~ also of special concern to minorities. I have been very skeptical about a number of educational innovations that functioned essentially as gimmicks and which did not face squearely and honestly the real educational needs of students. Life experience credits have the potential of becoming a gimmick that would reduce a degree earned through continuing education ~~education~~ to a second- or third-rate education. But if used with educational prupose, they can be a useful technique to encourage self-confidence among adults who might otherwise doubt their ability to make it in college.

The United States does not have a coherent and effective manpower policy. Developing such a program in the context of a full employment economy is one of the major tasks facing us as a society. Continuing education will ~~have to justify~~ probably be asked to justify itself in terms of manpower policy. While I have no doubt that continuing education can make a contribution to make, it would be unfortunate to turn it into vocational education. The problem more properly is one of integrating continuing education into manpower policy.

education speech

conclusions

During the next decade and beyond, blacks and other minorities ~~will benefit from~~ have a growing interest for continuing education, both traditional and non-traditional education speech

UAW and auto industry--tuition assistance--maximum of $900/year per worker

Carpenters, Plumbers and most of building trades--fund of 15¢-17¢ per hour for apprenticeship training and journeymen

IBEW #3-- a percentage of payroll for educational and cultural trust fund Scholarships for members and their family, citizenship education, week retreat--art of critical thinking, members to cultural events, international travel.

About 40 Labor Education Centers, most international unions have education departments. Proper role of community colleges in labor education is now being discussed; most community colleges are also involved in manpower.

equipping workers to play a larger role in society

educare--Shanker

life-long learning now law--provision of public funds to complement negotiated benefits. In these days of rising tuition, this could be very important.

largest single group deprived of a college education are workers, not any minority group

why aren't they out digging up this money from unions corporations,etc.

The most serious problem that must be addressed by life-long learning is the most basic. The U.S. Office of Education estimates that there are 23 million American adults who are unable to perform basic coping skills. Illiteracy,mf measured by any standard is higher among minorities than the general population. The percentage of black adults with very little education is high. I believe that this is the first priority mf for life-long learning.Unfortunately, it may well be the most difficult and intractable problem. It will require the energies and cooperation of many institutions--businesses, labor, the media, government, and the educational system. I would hope that that as people who know a great deal about continuing education that you would apply your talents and knowledge to this difficult task.

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What I want to suggest is a need for an affirmative action program for continuing education. I am not suggesting the introduction of a [redacted] quota system, [redacted] not the lowering of standards. But our universities and colleges [redacted] can [redacted] only fulfill their responsibilities to society if they consciously and energetically develop programs to meet the needs of those who have been by-passed or handicapped by inequal educational opportunities in the past. I fear that in all too many instances [redacted] adult [redacted] college education is skimming the cream of the crop, attracting those students who are most motivated and best-equipped and not those who [redacted] in greatest need and who would benefit the greatest..

Although college attendance rates have narrowed considerably in recent years far fewer blacks graduate from college than whites. In 1973 only eight percent of 25-34 year old blacks had completed four years of college as compared to 19 percent of whites in the same age brackets. The rate of college completion among young black adults today is still lower than the level achieved by whites in 1960. One area of great need is to ~~get~~ encourage these young blacks who have attended some college but dropped out back into the educational stream.

Another important [redacted] area for continuing education is upgrading the skills, [redacted] competence, and creditionals of blacks with college degrees. At each level of education black men and women have less income than whites and this is true even for college graduates.

There is a great [redacted] potential for attracting black adults to college. [redacted] We know that the greatest bulk of adult students are between 25 and 34. It is this same age group among blacks that we can expect to be most readily involved in continuing education. While in 1969 only 57% of blacks in the 25-34 age group had four year of high school or more, it is projected that in 1980 this level of education will be achieved by almost 74 percent. The gap between blacks and whites in high-school education will have been reduced from 20 percent in 1969 to 10 percent in 1980.

The demographics of the black population are extremely favorable to continuing education. While in 1968 one-third of the black labor force was 45 years or older, only about one-fourth will be that old in 1980. More than half will be under that age. More than half will be under 35 years of age, born after World War II and educated in the era of urban migration and social change that followed.

Among the most fashionable of current educational concepts is the idea of "relating the worlds of work and education." While the [redacted] this idea has [redacted] primarily been applied to secondary education, it might [redacted] could well have its greatest application in continuing education. The experience of the paraprofessional career ladder program in New York City is a good example of this need. Although the program has been severely curtailed by New York's financial crisis it demonstrates the possibility of involving minorities who might not otherwise be quote-unquote college material.

(expand some more on this)

One of the most encouraging signs for the future of continuing education is the response of the labor movement. A number of unions have gained collective bargaining agreements that provide educational benefits for employees [redacted] As of yet, these new benefits have [redacted] not been well-utilized, but they have tremendous [redacted] potential. A program of continuing education that wants to meet the needs of minorities should work closely with ~~the~~ labor. Almost two million blacks are trade unionists. That is more than belong to any other institution except the church.

details, etc

Continuing education must break out of its class barrier and address the needs of workers as workers and of trade unionists as trade unionists and not as has been the habit workers as potential accountants. I don't want to deny anyone the opportunity of becoming an accountant, but neither should the needs of workers be ignored. Labor history, economics, politics, international affairs, occupational health and safety are some of the areas where continuing education can meet the needs of workers.

Of special interest in this regard is the increasing numbers of blacks who are holding elected or staff positions in their unions. So x far as I know there is no one who has made a reliable count of this xx phenomena. But in my (our) work at the Randolph Institute we xxxx have seen a tremendous increase in the number of blacks in leadership positions in the labor movement in recent years.

Albion speech + paper

I am sorry to say I do not believe there is any way to train men for leadership. The one thing I am sure of is that universities in vacuum and business agencies in vacuum cannot create leadership, for leadership is born out of genuine struggle in a world in which conflict is inevitable. Therefore I believe that the society itself, the priorities it emphasizes, the objectives it makes desirable and possible, the strategies and tactics it inspires, and the nature of its political institutions all conspire to create or frustrate the development of a genuine leadership.

If this is true, then it seems to me that America is in grave danger, for, to a large degree, the climate and institutions in which we are presently operating are not conducive to the creation and development of good leadership. Nor is this a situation that is peculiar to our own time: It has been so from the very beginning of this nation. Looking back, it seems to me that the failure of American leadership springs from the attitude we have traditionally taken toward conflict, and because of this we have never quite accepted the opportunities for clear and positive leadership that crises and conflicts present. In other words, rather than meet crises head on, we have always believed it is sufficient simply to muddle through without daring, without flexibility, and without imagination. Now, as we all know, in a crisis or in a revolutionary situation, very little of what appears workable actually works. Therefore That which appears most irrational is sometimes most necessary. This, of course, ~~Now that~~ is not to say that irrationality is the best strategy or answer to critical problems; however, ~~but~~ that which is real and rational may very well in fact appear to be too revolutionary for the majority.

It has often been said that the greatest leaders of our history were our ~~the~~ founding fathers: ~~of this nation~~, Jefferson, Washington, Adams. This may or may not be so, but if it is so, then we will have to find some way to square it with the fact that many of the current problems we face all spring from a failure of nerve and therefore a failure of leadership on the part of these founding fathers. For instance, while the Declaration of Independence may have been an enlightened document for 1776, viewed in Terms of our present situation it certainly was not a leadership document. We have seen that it essentially led ~~lead~~ to such outrages as Dr. King being stoned in the streets of Chicago, and Negroes remaining ~~being~~ at the bottom of the economic ladder today. In other words, in the light of our historical experience, the Declaration of Independence was a hypocritical document. What it essentially said was that all men are created equal only if these men ~~they~~ are white. And that is not all. If the Declaration of Independence did not provide clear leadership, the Constitution of the United States was an even more crippling document. To be said in favor of the Declaration is that it was merely a piece of paper; however, ~~but~~ the Constitution became ~~was~~ more than that -- it institutionalized as law the basic shortcomings and leadership failures of the Declaration.

Perhaps it was Jefferson himself who most clearly illustrated the moral confusion and hypocrisy behind these old documents. While manumitting his own slaves at the time of his death, he had refused while alive to put the authority of the Constitution behind the political fight to eliminate slavery under law. That, by any desirable measure, is not great moral leadership. But Benjamin Franklin was even worse: He was the creator under law of the racist concept. To Franklin, the Negro was not a man, he was a thing, a fraction of a man. As in South Africa today, a Negro was to be counted as three-fifths of a man, in order that slave holders should be more strongly represented in the House of Representatives. All of this was to ensure, of course, that black men did not have any representatives in the Congress of the United States. Look at this: Kansas wants to come into the Union. The nation says, yes, it wants more states. But the minute Kansas enters, the question that Jefferson left unresolved -- what to do about the Negro -- rears its ugly head, and instead of welcoming Kansas, we have a bloody confrontation. I therefore submit that every beautiful and creative promise in this nation has been aborted or else distorted into something ugly by the failure of vision and morality on the part of our founding fathers.

The Reconstruction period followed the Civil War in which millions lost their lives. Then in 1877 a diabolical promise was made to put the Negro back into a new form of slavery and degradation. The nation continued on this path, for a hundred years, ~~only to create~~ creating thereby the illusion of ~~100 years~~ a country of peace. ~~but which was in fact the simmering that~~ However, this was not a peace but in fact a fomentation which in 1955 and 1964 was to ~~break out~~ erupt in dislocation in our streets and rioting across this nation. ¶ Let's look at another of our "esteemed" figures. ~~"esteemed"~~

Today we ~~may be~~ are quite used to thinking ~~that~~ of Woodrow Wilson was a man of great courage and stature. But we have to remember that it was Wilson who came to Washington, D.C., where no segregation existed, and created it in the civil service and in every office building, separating Negroes from whites in cafeterias, in toilets, and doing all this while fighting a war to make the world safe for democracy.

(I will omit our policy to the Indians to whom we lied, then virtually exterminated)

Now the real problem as I see it is that leadership cannot evolve in a society that is not prepared to commit itself to an intelligent and timely solution of its historical and current problems. What will happen, rather, is that people who feel the idealism for leadership will not stand up or go forward if they do not also have the feeling that the society itself is committed to the necessity for change. And as long as this situation obtains, so long will we be in trouble.

Let us, therefore, look at some of the problems we have. There is the failure of this society to do intelligent planning, intelligent social planning. While G.M. and corporations plan each second, we choose to muddle through. Well, we seem to say, if we are not able to eliminate poverty today, somehow or other American capital will do it next week. As a result we face a situation where because we are not prepared to deal forthrightly with the problem of poverty, we are in danger of tearing this nation to pieces by permitting more than 50,000,000 people to live horrible and deprived lives in sprawling slums or rural shacks. On the one hand, we will have Negroes in our society so driven by frustration that they will create dislocation, law-and-order problems, and rioting in the streets. But on the other hand, we have their counterparts, the people who stoned Dr. King in Chicago.

¶ And in the face of all this what the society does is not to offer an intelligent, analytical leadership. Instead, the Presidenttof the United States gets on the air and talks about Stokely Carmichael being engaged in reverse racism. This is hardly the truth. What Stokely Carmichael says is different from what the racist says. The racist says no matter who you are, where you've come from, what you've done, I hate you and don't want to be associated with you. What Stokely Carmichael says is, I have asked you for 300 years to be kind and decent and honest, but you still tell me I am less than a man. So O.K. If you don't like me, I don't like you. Whitey, get out of my way. There is a need for leadership to see the profound difference between these two positions, the moral depravity of the oppressor and the negative psychological reaction of the oppressed. They are not and cannot be made the same things.

¶ American leadership ought to see and make clear that the very people who riot in the streets, and who are black, and those who throw stones at Dr. King, and who are white, can only be relieved of their frustration on the one hand and their fear on the other when this society is prepared to come forth withha gigantic program to liberate them socially, psychologically, and economically. Whites will not have to fear ~~because there are inadequate jobs and housing,~~ that their jobs and housing will be taken away, and therefore throw rocks at King; and Negroes will not need to riot ~~because there are inadequate~~ To get more jobs and better housing, ~~and jobs~~. We must therefore create leadership committed to the eradication of white fear and black frustration in one fell economic swoop instead of wasting time and energy in talking about reverse racism and how naughty it is for Negroes to riot.

Mr. Johnson promised the American people that he would launch a Great Society and eliminate poverty. Now, ~~And~~ by reneging on that promise now in the name of Vietnam, he is not only creating more frustration and more fear, ~~and is~~ not only failing to give moral leadership to this nation, but ~~he is~~ also simultaneously destroying the effectiveness ~~leadership ability~~ of every relevant Negro leader. You cannot talk rioters into "behaving." They "behave" when they/have jobs, and the possibility of decent education and decent homes. Therefore to renege on the war on poverty is to make it quite difficult for Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph or Martin Luther King to continue to exercise persuasive leadership. All of this clearly points to one thing: Ours ~~This~~ is a society which by default rather than by ~~instead of~~ leadership is teaching every young Negro ~~in this nati~~on to believe that the only way ~~it is possible for him~~ to get accommodation is to riot.

Here are a couple of examples. After the Chicago riots young Negroes said to Dr. King: "Aha! Do you see? You've been here for a year begging Daly to do something about housing and jobs. He hasn't paid any attention to you and your non-violence. But we went out last weekend and tore up the streets and in 24 hours he gave us the sprinklers that we wanted for the fire hydrants and he gave us four swimming pools. Man, you're not with it, Dr. King. These white folks want you to raise some hell before they're going to give you anything."

When I went into Watts immediately after the riots, the young boys in Watts were talking about their manifesto. ~~"Burn, baby, burn."~~ I made the stupid observation that I should like to see a copy of their manifesto. Whereupon, they laughed, and one fellow took out of his pocket a box of matches. He took a long time pulling one out, ~~[illegible]~~ Then he lit it and said, "Baby, that's our manifesto, 'burn, baby, burn.'" ~~That's funny Isn't it?~~ ~~Now~~ So I said to him, "Look, what have you won? What have you won?" And this was his answer: "We asked the chief of police to come in and he would not come. We asked the mayor to come, he would not come. We asked the governor to come, he would not come. We wanted to tell them we have no transportation system, we wanted to tell them we have no hospital, ~~we~~ we wanted to tell them the police are beating us. But after we issued our manifesto, they all came running." And then he said to me sotto voce, "And man, when you leave here be careful. They got so many sociologists, economists, college professors, and social workers out in that street, that you may trip over some of them."

I maintain that this is clear evidence that the general society rather than giving positive leadership to the solution of our problems is muddling through and thereby not only discouraging the intelligent leadership which now exists, but also teaching youngsters that the only way to win is to be violent.

The second failure of this society in regard to leadership is that except where American capitalism is concerned, we refuse to work out programs, set priorities, check our resources against our needs, and establish a will for change. Henry Ford can tell you what the cars are going to look like ~~for the next ten~~ Ten years from now, but nobody can outline a plan for dealing with basic social problems in the United States, and if you do so you will be called a way-out idealist. It ~~is~~ would not be true to say that Americans are against planning; we plan all the time. What we are not interested in doing is planning in the interests of the poor and the downtrodden. This is a great mistake, for these priorities have to be central, they have to be based in the national need and on values we proclaim to be central and crucial to the moral life style of our society.

A third problem. The question of leadership is related to the nature of American politics. We do not have politics in the United States. What we have is political confusion. What we have are four parties, Western-Southern Republican, Eastern Republican, Northern Democrat, and Southern Democrat. And what a political mockery ~~we have when~~ it is to find Robert Kennedy and James Eastland are in one party and Jacob Javits and Barry Goldwater are in the other.

Now let us look at political leadership in relation to the war in Vietnam. If you are against the war in Vietnam which party can you vote for that is consistently progressive? (In ~~Chicago~~ Illinois, for instance, Percy might be better on foreign policy than Douglas, but he is reactionary on domestic questions.) You can vote for neither party, because we've been sold a child-like concept that somehow or other a bipartisan foreign policy is great and desirable. It is only great in that it relieves each political party from having to be responsible to its constituency (a constituency that sometimes combines Henry Ford and Fannie Lou Hamer), and eliminates the possibility of electoral dissent. A society that does not have political parties with sharp and significant philosophical differences, and wherein there can be contention and debate, is a society that ~~willpro~~ will produce no political leadership that can deal effectively with problems. Areas of active confrontation within political structures are needed to educate for leadership. That is to say, leadership cannot be achieved through a search for consensus, whereby everything is boiled down to the least common denominator; this only creates an illusion of social peace while underneath all kinds of things are fomenting and not being given attention.

Fourth: The problem of leadership and the technological revolution. We are now living in a society dominated by automation and cybernation. And heretofore what we have had has been a pyramid in which at the top a small number of people had leisure and at the bottom people worked like drones. The technological revolution we are now passing through is reversing that process rapidly. At the top we now have highly skilled people who are so overworked that they do not know what to do about it, while increasingly the machine and the mathematical calculators are taking more and more work away from the average man. Now, unless we are prepared to see the implications of this for democracy we are in serious trouble; and no leadership can grow on this problem without being prepared eventually to face the implicatons.

The ultimate nature of democracy is not determined by votes alone. The final nature of democracy for the individual and the state springs from the ability of the people who produce goods and services to withdraw the production of those goods and those services from the society as a means of getting accommodation to their needs.

And thus, there could be no freedom to vote for women in this country without social dislocation. The suffragettes did many things ~~in the streets~~ which, if Negroes had done them, would have evoked outcries that they be sent back to Africa, at the very least. The suffragettes' activities included locking up the President in his office and lying down in front of him.

~~The labor movement does not get industrial democracy only because workers go to the polls and vote. Often, the very judges they elect will bring injunctions against their right to organize.~~

Now if we are going to create a society in which those at the top work less ~~harder~~ and less ~~harder~~ to produce more and more and those at the bottom are increasingly faced with unem-loyment because we prefer machines to muscle power, then we are posing a challenge for democracy because we are creating the danger of having a class which is in production and services and a class which is not. And that class which is removed from the production of goods and services will be a threat to the democratic process and to the perpetuation of democracy because they have no leverage. They have no services to withdraw as a means of winning redress to their grievances. Leadership cannot grow in an atmosphere of computer specialization where one knows more and more about less and less.

The fifth problem is the problem of increased government intervention as a result of the failure of the private sector to carry out its responsibilities. There will be the war on poverty, there will be moon projects, there will be Vietnam now and perhaps other Vietnams in the future. More and more the government is allotting to itself more and more responsibility, because the rest of the society is not capable of doing it. There is not a city in this country which has enough money to educate all of its children. There is not a city in this country that could put all of its unemployed people back to work. There is not a city in the nation that could by itself deal with the problem of tearing down slums and ~~building them again~~ rebuilding integrated neighborhoods. They must all go to the Federal Government. Yes, but the rub: the more you go to the Federal Government for more and more money, the more will the federal apparatus take over the control of the lives of the people. It becomes necessary, therefore, for us to find a new power, a new form of checks and balances in this society, and that is one of the things Michael Harrington had in mind when he insisted during discussions with Sargent Shriver in the early days of the War on Poverty that the poor themselves must participate in the decisions affecting the problems of their own lives. Otherwise, with their lives already demoralized by the relief worker, by the spectacle of all that money going to the moon, by the policeman who is a government official, and by the tax collector who is a government official, there would be no area for individual freedom, no alternative to the dependence upon government for millions of dollars. But rather than encouraging the poor to exercise a leadership and participation in regard to the money the government is giving them, what we have is the opposite, something like the Headstart program in Mississippi. The minute the poor really rise up -- independent of the local power structure and the entrenched political machine -- to become a check and a balance, the project is withdrawn. When CDGM was awakening and organizing local people, the money was cut off. Haryou-Act has more financial descrepencies and problems than CDGM but it is spending money seemingly to prevent riots -- although not by training leadership but by buying troublemakers off. That is not leadership. That is destruction of the whole democratic process.

Nevertheless, here, in a nutshell, is the picture of our contemporary situation: Negroes are in the United States to stay. The poor are here, too, but to stay poor? The technological revolution will change the face of this nation, yet we are not prepared to face the implications this will have for the lives of our underclass. Leadership continues on its old unadventuresome voyage. This will not do. We have to strike out on a new courageous tack, and fundamental to our commitment to that tack must be a perception that there is no "security," and that only through calculated risks will we ultimately make the harbor of a just society for all.

Now there is also the necessity to develop a world view that is objective and historical if we are to ~~have leadership and~~ develop an enlightened leadership. Seventy-five per cent of this world is poor, while ~~W~~we, who are a ~~very~~ very small part of the world's population, manipulate 75% of the world's wealth. That is a revolutionary factor, and no "ifs", "ands" or "buts" can provide leadership for changing that, so long as we have no priorities for real sharing. The problem of war emerges to direct the young people in our colleges away from taking leadership seriously. ~~Every-~~ all the things I read about our young college people ~~in our colleges~~ and the war in Vietnam ~~is~~ are not calculated to encourage them to want to be responsible leaders. The situation is so confused that they want to get as far away from any leadership possibilities as they can.

There is involved in all this the self delusion of security. And I believe that this is perhaps the greatest problem that we have as Americans, for the persuit of security leads to a death of the soul and the death of leadership. There is only one security and it is that which springs from the voluntary acceptance of insecurity. Every mother knows this. If you get an over-cautious mother who doesn't want her child to face the possiblity of falling down the ~~steps~~ stairs and breaking its neck, then when the child starts to walk ~~she holds on to him every minute~~ it cannot walk without holding on. Finally, the child just takes ~~his~~ its fists and hits ~~her~~ the mother or fails utterly as a person. The child knows that the ability to learn to walk and to develop its own grace springs from the acceptance of the risk of falling and breaking its own head.

Since all real security springs from the voluntary acceptance of insecurity, a nation rabidly in the persuit of security cannot develop a courageous leadership. And the reason that it cannot is that the leader is never prepared to face and accept the possibilities and implications of calculated risks And without that, really, we have nothing.

All of these errors lead to the alienation and miseducation of youth, and their rejection of any values which would stimulate an enthusiasm for leadership.

Finally, I must return to the problem of leadership as it relates to the nature of American politics and the political parties, to the measure of confrontation which is needed, and by all means, to the ability of this society to face social reality. We are in a world of revolution. Nothing is safe. All over Asia and Africa, there will be many, many, governments; many, many, tendencies; many, many, confusions. I would hope that out of this search there could emerge a democratic socialism, but perhaps that is unlikely. Communism -- left-wing totalitarianism -- is here to stay. It will take many and varying forms. However, Communist regimes are not identical to one another and can be negotiated with.

Negroes are in the United States to stay. The poor are here, but not to stay poor. The technological revolution will change the face of this nation. Yet we are not prepared to face the implications this will have on the lives of our underclass. Leadership continues on its old unadventuresome voyage. We have to strike out on a new courageous tack, and fundamental to our commitment to that tack is a perception that there is no security

Since the real security springs from the voluntary acceptance of insecurity, a nation rabidly in persuit of conventional safety cannot develop a courageous leadership. The reason it cannot is because the leader is never prepared to give himself up to the possibilities and implications of calculated risks And without that, really, we have nothing.

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and that only through calculated risks will we ultimately make the harbor of a just society.

# NEW FEDERALSIM and COMMUNITY CONTROL

N.Y. Regional
Conference
Meetg. 1965(?)

# DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

by

Bayard Rustin

Let me state two conclusions at the outset. The first is that demographic changes now underway are adversely affecting social justice, particularly with regard to black Americans. The second conclusion flows from the recognition that demographic trends are not only causes of various social problems but are also symptoms of deeper problems.

To pursue the second point, it seems to me that the population movements that concern us here are part of a technological revolution which we have permitted to develop haphazardly, free of social controls and priorities. It is not as if we are unable tp predict what economic conditons will set people in flight from the farms, or what conditions will keep them there. It is not as if the Northward migratinns of Negroes during and after World War Two was unpredictable. To go farther back, the "Great Exodus" of Mississippi Valley Negroes, by the tens of thousands, into Kansas in the late 1870's--one of the most dramatic population movements in American history--was clearly motivated by two things: racial brutality and economic hardship.

Perhaps I have chosen too simple an example. But my point is that social justice, or its absence, affects where people life, just as the reverse is true. People move about in response to tangible, nameable social and economic forces. To this proposition everyone would doubtless agree. What is in dispute is how helpless we are in the face of such forces. I do not want to begin my remarks without observing that this is not an esoteric questinn. Indeed, it underlies the present political campaign.

There are basically three population movements that profoundly affect the civil rights revolution. I assume this audience is familiar with the statistics, so I shall recall only a few to your memory.

First is the continuing movement of Negroes out of the South. As late as 1910, 90% of the Negro population lived below the Mason-Dixon line. In 1950, the figure was 60%. In 1960 it was 52%. I think we have now passed the half-way mark. In any case, the 1970 census figures will help explain the shifting locale of civil rights activities which we have already begun to experience.

The 1970 figures will also show some 18 million Negroes living in big cities, North and South. Urbanization is the second continuing demographic fa-tor, and it is important to remeber that it is not a Northern phenomenon exclusively. The political potential of the Negro in the urban South is waxing, and I expect some major civil rights breakthroughs in this area.

Finally, there are the population shifts between the central cities and the suburbs. In the last decade, the suburban population grew by 44% as against one and one-half percent for the metropolitan centers. About this development I want to say a few words because it brings us closer to home.

The causes underlying the suburban exodus of middle-class whites are undoubtedl complex. But it needs to be stressed that this movement predates the 1954 Supreme Court decision and cannot therefore be blamed on fear of school integration. Economic factors are far more important. The suburban exodus is not merely a matter of color differentiation, but of class differentiation as well. Its participants are white-collar and professional workers in the expanding sectors of the American job market. Or they are skilled blue-collar workers for whom strong unions have won decent wages and a fair measure of job security.

As these people leave the central cities, they leave behind not merely Negroes and Puerto Ricans, but unskilled and semiskilled workers in marginal and low-paying service jobs. Thus, without making our discussion overly complicated, I insist that we not lose sight of the relationship between the decay of our central cities and the growth of racial slums, on the one hand, and the changing structure of our labor force, on the other hand. The latter, it seems pretty clear to me, is one of the byproducts of our unharnessed technological revolution. City and regional planning, to be effective, will have to proceed in the context of national planning to harness the technological revolution to our unmet social needs.

But, to return to my immediate subject: it has been predicted that within 14 to 16 years, if present population trends are arithmetically projected into the future, Negroes will be in the majority in Detroit, Baltimore, Chicago, and St. Louis. Ten years later, we can add Philadelphia to the list, which already includes Washington and Newark. Whether or not one accepts this arithmetical projection, the fact remains that the number and proportion of minority families in urban areas is increasing.

In the last decade, the Negro population of New York City increased by over 45%, from 747,608 to 1,087,931. In the same period, the white population declined by 475,000. Incidentally, the population of those over 55 years of age increased by 265,000. Thus, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are not the only ones left behind. They are joined by the elderly and by disadvantaged youth. To envision the social services they need is to understand Barry Goldwater's war on the cities--and Senator Dirksen's war on the Supreme Court.

I am not here to make a political speech, however. Nor, actually, am I here to discuss demography. A professional sociologist could do that better than I. My interest is how the demographic and economic trends I have discussed relate to the quest for social justice. And here I want to say a few words about the civil rights movement.

That movement, I believe, is in a transition period, whose outcome may well be determined by the answers we can provide to the problems under discussion here. The transition is symbolized by the passage of the Civil Rights Act. But it predate the Act, as social realities are always perceived before they are legislated. To put it simply: what began as a movement against the more overt or lega/ly-sanctioned forms of racism is increasingly turning toward the social and economic barriers to genuine freedom. Tjhe integration of public accommodatinns is largely meaningless to the unemployed Southern Negro--and entirely meaningless to the Norther Negro.

For the Civil Rights Act does not create jobs, abolish slums, or provide integrated quality education. When the movement tries to tackle these problems, it runs up against stone walls. The confrontations have yielded only token victories--a handful of jobs here, a couple of school pairings there.

The New York City school situation is a perfect example. We now have 131 elementary schools and 25 junior high schools that are at least 90% Negro and Puerto Rican. This is twice the figure of five years ago. Yet, ten years ago, the Supreme Court declared that segregation is inherently harmful to education. I am not suggesting that there has been a deliberate conspiracy to undermine the spirit of the Court ruling. Admittedly, integrating the elementary schools of Manhattan, where 70% of the school children are Negro and Puerto Rican, is a very difficult task. But the other side of that coin is that the Court's ruling challenges the society at a deeper level. We are challenged to develop modes of broad social and economic planning that bring actual conditions of social life into conformity with national goals and purposes.

It is our overall failure in this regard that generates so much frustration within the civil rights movement. To be more specific: it is precisely because the larger society does not accept--or practice--the principle of a coordinated master plan combining housing construction with school construction that some civil rights leaders refuse to admit that school integration may be dependent on housing integration.

I am prepared to admit this ultimate dependence because I propose a more militant and radical answer to Parents and Taxpayers and other sudden worshippers of the "neighborhood school": "Very well, you may have neighborhood schools. We now propose to break up your lilly-white neighborhoods, and to build you some new schools and housing as well. Meanwhile, we shall proceed with massive crash programs in the ghetto schools, just to make sure that minority youth gain ground in the meantime."

There is nothing, it seems to me, to preclude such an approach--nothing except a radical redefinition of urban renewal, and money. But in a society of abundance, these prerequisites are reduced to one: commitment. Moral and political commitment.

This, I think, is what the civil rights movement is really trying to say. But because it has not formulated the matter in these terms, and because the commitment is lacking in the larger society. the cries of the movement seem raucous, distorted, and shrill. This distortion, my friends is born of a larger distortion, the distortion of the larger society.

My challenge to PAT is not merely rhetorical. I believe it is possible to launch a massive housing program with built-in integration features.

Certainly, such a program is needed by black and white alike. The 1960 Census found 550,000 dwelling units in the City which were "deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacking essential facilities." Not only do Negroes and Puerto Ricans live in worse housing than whites, but they pay relatively more rent. Thus, 37% of the City's whites pay less than 15% of their income for rent, but only 20% of the Negroes and 25% of the Puerto Ricans enjoy similar ratios.

The problem of slums and overcrowding remains, although we have had public housing since 1935, middle income housing since 1945, urban renewal since 1949, and a steady expansion of code enforcement programs.

Behind the failure of these efforts are reasons which most of you know. Low-income public housing has been quantitatively and qualitatively inadequate, an has fostered segregation. Public housing has been virtually excluded from those boroughs with a low Negro population--Staten Island and Queens, for example. These are precisely the boroughs which contain the most available vacant land. On wonders what PAT's reaction would be to the utilization of this land for public housing, which might help desegregate the ghettos.

Instead of using this land and building more public housing, we evict people from already inhabited dwellings, build more expensive housing in their place, and force them into ever-expanding ghettos. Downtown this is called urban renewal.

Uptown we call it "Negro removal."

I don't have to discuss all that is wrong with present and projected city housing programs. But I do want to make two observations. We have talked about utilizing available land in Queens and Staten Island. Inasmuch as the Northeastern seaboard, from Boston to Baltimore is on the way to becoming a continuous metropolis, we have to think in terms of regional planning for housing. I am more and more in favor of the abolition of states altogether.

In addition to planning across state lines, we need to plan across class lines. So long as class and color increasingly converge, I am doubtful of achieving racial integration in the absence of economic integration. I fail to see why, with our national resources, we cannot adopt the British concept of mixed-income housing. That is, essentially, the subsidization of low-income families in middle-income housing.

This kind of housing program, massively scaled, well planned and coordinated with the construction of educational parks could, I think, make an important beginning in renewing urban life and advancing social justice.

I say beginning, because other commitments are implied. The abolition of slums, the overhaul of our entire educational system, the erection of adequate health services and facilities -- all of these involve a vast increase in public expenditures and in public employment.

All of this also, and obviously, involves the Federal government. Therefore we are discussing politics. I shall save for another occasion the role of the civil rights movement in creating the politics we need for meaningful planning.

Ed. Fund/Decentlza

**A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund**

**A. Philip Randolph**
*President*
**Dr. Robert Gilmore**
*Treasurer*
**Bayard Rustin**
*Executive Director*

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

April 18, 1969

Dear Sir:

As a result of the extraordinary conflict that has taken place in New York City over the issue of school decentralization, the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund called together many concerned organizations in the hope that they might work out a set of guidelines that could clarify the complexities and reduce the hostilities which have become associated with decentralization.

The document which emerged from the meetings is thus not intended to influence legislation so much as to inform the legislators of the views of these organizations and some of the points of mutual agreement between them. While there was not unanimity on all points, there was at least understanding of why various positions were taken. We hope that this document will assist you in your deliberations on the issues involved, for it is only through informed action that we can hope to avoid racial polarization in New York City.

The A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund stands ready to assist you at any time. Please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

B.R.

Bayard Rustin,
Executive Director

Dollie L Robinson

Dollie L. Robinson
Director of Education

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enc.

**Norman Hill,** *Associate Director*
**Rachelle Horowitz,** *Administrative Assistant*
**Emma Thomas,** *Staff Associate*

# DECENTRALIZATION

The following document on school decentralization was produced by the A. Philip Randolph Education Fun in collaboration with civil rights leaders, labor leaders, and community representatives at conferences held on February 5 and 6 and March 10 at the New York Hilton. This is an educational document which is conceived as a series of principles and guidelines that we hope will help citizens think through problems connected with decentralization and assist communities in the orderly decentralization of urban school systems wherever such reform is contemplated. It is an attempt to represent the legitimate interests of both parents and teachers, those two groups who have a profound and mutual concern for the quality of education in our schools. Although representatives of the following organizations participated in the discussions which led to this document, there are a number of points on which the various groups had some measure of disagreement. Therefore, the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund takes full responsibility for this document.

New York City Central Labor Council
National Urban League
Syracuse University
Howard University
Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers
AFL-CIO Educational Department, Civil Rights Department
United Federation of Teachers
More Effective Schools Program
American Federation of Teachers
National Association of Advancement for Colored People
Model Cities - Central Brooklyn
International Ladies Garment Workers
National Council of Puerto Rican Volunteers
D.C. - City Council
National Council of Negro Women

D. C. - Board of Education
Puerto Rican Development Program
D.C. Health & Welfare Council
Herman Ridder Jr. High School
Jamaica Community Corporation
Kheel Associates
Board of Examiners
Council of Supervisory Associations

This document is not an effort to analyze the problems as was done in the conferences of February 5th, 6th and March 10th, but is merely to point up some of the areas where there was some degree of consensus.

## ITEM 1 Desegregation

Racial and ethnic desegregation of the public schools must be a primary and immediate objective. Decentralization must not be permitted to institutionalize segregation.

Educational research, particularly The Coleman Report and Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, indicates that desegregation of the educational environment on a class basis (and therefore, in our society, racial desegregation) greatly enhances the academic achievement of minority group children. Therefore, the mood of reform associated with decentralization can be helpful in redistricting our schools so as to achieve the maximum possible amount of racial desegregation.

We do not believe that there is an inherent conflict between decentralization-community control and desegregation. There *is* such a conflict where decentralization-community control is defined or viewed as racial and/or ethnic separation for the purpose of achieving "self-determination." We reject this concept of decentralization community control based exclusively on racial or ethnic separation.

The districts should be small enough to promote effective local participation but large enough to promote desegregation wherever feasible. Where desegregation is not feasible within a district, there should be city-wide commitment and authority to promote programs of desegregation between districts and to prevent discrimination by local boards.

## ITEM 2. Powers of Local Board on Appointment of Superintendent, Principal and Supervisory Staff

The local board should appoint the district superintendent on a contract basis, and the superintendent would be accountable to the local board. Principals and other supervisory staff should be appointed by the local board from qualified lists on the recommendation of the district superintendent.

The qualification requirements for all supervisory staff, as well as methods of recruitment, training, internship, evaluation, and tenure, should be redesigned to promote maximum leadership quality, fairness and accountability as well as relevance to the needs of the varied communities in big city school systems.

## ITEM 3. Recruitment of Teachers

Under decentralization there must be local recruitment of teachers with the guarantee that a central agency will provide staff where local efforts have failed to recruit enough teachers. We therefore propose that decentralized district boards should be represented on a city-wide central agency that will be responsible for the recruitment, testing, employment, and assignment of teachers.

In addition, local districts in areas of great educational need should be able to recruit teachers for a given period prior to the time assignments are made by the central agency. Teachers recruited by the local boards should be certified by the central agency and upon the request of the local district, assigned to that district. A cut-off date for such local recruitment should be set some time in the Spring so as to insure full and adequate staffing of all schools by the central agency.

## ITEM 4. Hiring of Teachers

After teachers are hired, they should be assigned by the central agency to a local district in greater number than the actual number of vacancies in that district. The district governing board will then assign teachers to schools within its district.

For new and inexperienced teachers there should be an internship program consistent in length with an established probationary period of one year. At the end of the probationary period the local district governing board will determine who among the teachers on probation will be retained. Those not accepted will be returned to the central agency to be assigned to another district for an additional internship.

## ITEM 5. Firing

We recognize that teachers must receive on-going training and consistent help to assure professional growth and effective performance.

After such training and after a trial period of one year, rational means should be instituted to assure the retention of the best teachers and the dismissal of those who are incompetent. This dismissal must be accompanied by due process for the teacher which would include the presentation of written charges by the local board, hearings, and the right of appeal.

Just as teachers should have the right to due process, parents with complaints against teachers, otherwise unresolved, should have recourse to a civilian review board that would be available to all parents in the school system. This board should have investigative powers, the length of proceedings before it should not exceed thirty days, and its actions must be binding.

## ITEM 6. Salaries

Salary levels and schedules should be centrally determined, but there should be representatives of district governing boards sitting in on the negotiations.

In addition, a special fund should be set aside over and above centrally-mandated costs, which will enable local districts to conduct innovative educational programs. This fund should be a fixed percentage of the entire school budget, and it should be apportioned to local districts on the basis of educational need.

## ITEM 7. Collective Bargaining

A structure must be worked out that will give to the local boards the opportunity to participate in collective bargaining sessions at the city-wide level.

Moreover, those matters which are allocated to the authority of the local boards should be subject to collective bargaining at that level.*

ITEM 8. Accountability

It is not enough that the teacher be accountable to the parent for the educational performance of the child. There must be standards to measure that performance. In addition, the entire system must be accountable for the performance of each local district. The power to determine and enforce educational standards should reside with the central board. This should include the determination of a minimum curriculum that is required of each district. The central board should direct periodic expert evaluation of the total educational program of each school and district that will include reports on pupil achievement, professional (including supervisory) performance, and special projects and programs. These reports should be made public and should serve as the basis for each district effectuating needed change in its educational program.

ITEM 9. Election of Board

The members of the Central Board should be elected and should receive remuneration. The Board should be large enough to insure true representation of the ethnic groups in the city.

Local board members should be elected by adults who have been residing in the community for at least three months. A majority of these board members should be parents of children in public school.

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* There were some who felt that all collective bargaining should be city-wide.

The terms of all local board members should be staggered so as to insure continuity, and the board must be large enough to be truly representative of the community.

## CONCLUSION

While we must work for change within schools, we must remember that there are social and economic factors, over which schools have little control, that deeply effect the educational performance of children. Children who are brutalized by poverty and hunger will be concerned less with learning than with the bare fac t of survival. It is therefore incumbent upon all people of good will who wish to improve our schools to recognize the necessity for abolishing economic deprivation and to join in a political movement that can achieve this end. Voter registration activities will thus be as important as new reading programs, and electing a congressman as important as reducing class size. Most of all, achieving a Federal program of full employment must be the goal of anyone who sincerely wishes all children to be able to look forward to a life of dignity and opportunity.

Commentary Article
by Bayard Rustin 3-12-73

Commentary Post art (X1)

Did the Great Society fail? One need only examine the substantial progress blacks have made during the past decade, both in terms of securing their constitutional rights and in narrowing the economic gap between the races, to understand why the answer to this question must be an emphatic 'no'.

Let me make it clear that I by no means celebrate the Great Society as totally successful; government was in fact guilty of promising more than it could deliver and of raising the aspirations of the poor to heights that could not be fulfilled, given the political realities. But acknowledging its shortcomings is quite a different thing from dismissing the programs of the Johnson era as outright, though well-intended failures. The truth is that the poor have benefited from these programs; that government bureaucracy has been reformed, in the sense that serving the needs of the poor has become an essential function of the bureaucracy; and that, for the first time since the New Deal, the direction of social policy has been determined by a commitment to the principle of equality.

What, then, brought about the gap between promise and performance? I think there were three broad, fundamental weaknesses in the Johnson Administration's war on poverty strategy which substantially reduced its effectiveness. First, the objectives were short-sighted, with an emphasis on providing services; a more effective strategy would have had a more ambitious and permanent goals, such as a guaranteed annual income for the poor. Second, the Administration devoted a good deal of effort to programs which sought to correct the political powerlessness of minorities, at the expense of attacking, head on, the economic roots of inequality. (I am referring here to community action programs and, not, obviously, to the Voting Rights Act.) And, finally, a most serious weakness was the enormous underfinancing of the majority of programs.

The consequences of underfinancing were crucial; in some cases, the lack of financial commitment has paved the way for Nixon's current campaign to discredit liberal social formulas. As Leon Keyserling demonstrates in his analysis of the federal program to provide decent housing for the poor, the refusal to provide massive financial aid can undercut an entire social program:

> The reason why the federal effort to rehouse low income families 'failed' is that it has not been tried, except in token form. An annual building program averaging one-twentieth of the annual need has inevitably raised almost as many problems as it has solved. It has tended to make 'poor houses' of the public projects. It has permitted the slums to remain in full force. It has perpetrated one of the most dangerous of all social errors, to offer promises rather than performance.

By citing Keyserling, I am not proclaiming, as some on the Left have, that the failure of this or that Great Society program invalidates the traditional objectives of liberal social policy. Keyserling himself observes that the federal housing program has done an "immense amount of good." Between 1960 and 1970, the percentage of metropolitan area black families occupying housing with inadequate plumbing facilities declined from 24 per cent to seven per cent. While this can be traced , in part to the general improvement in the economic status of blacks, it must certainly be a partial result of the expansion of public housing projects, programs of apartment rehabilitation launched under federal aegis, and reforms of the discriminatory policies of government-assisted housing finance agencies--all of which were a part of the much maligned Great Society housing effort.

And while the services approach contributed to the haphazardness of federal social programs, where the services provided were those basic to the day-to-day experience of the poor, much good was accomplished. The reduction in the educational gap between the races is a good illustration of this. Recent statistics indicate that black high school graduates are enrolling in college in roughly the same proprotion as their white classmates. The dropout rate has also been substantially reduced. The average black youngster today has completed 12 years of schooling; in 1960, only 36 per cent of non-white males and 41 per cent of non-white females had completed 4 years of high school. I consider it inconceivable that the educational programs of the Johnson years did not have something to do with dramatic improvement.

Is Richard Nixon, then, waging a "counterrevolution" against Johnson's liberal social policy? I think the answer must be 'yes'. The implications of the "New Federalism" are of a fundamental departure from the basic relationship between government and those whose interests are served by social progress, a relationship that has been a conerstone of liberal doctrine.

The current budget contains but an inkling of the massive transformation of government functioning which I see as the ultimate Nixon objective. Nixon seeks, first, to institutionalize the philosophy that liberal social change is unworkable and that the federal government's role should therefore be reduced to that of caretaker, reacting, perhaps only in crisis situations. Second, Nixon hopes to reinforce the preeminent position business enjoys among the forces striving to dominate the formulation of government policy. While this has been a traditional function of Republican administrations, Nixon's approach is more calculated than that of his GOP predecessors.

It is this commitment to business interest that has produced the massive public relations campaign to discredit the Great Society, that has impelled Nixon to appoint those with corporate backgrounds to a high per centage of policy making posts, and that has caused him to refuse to countenance tax reforms. It has even influenced the Administration's approach to minority advancement:

black capitalism, a scheme which the President has wholeheartedly endorsed, has proved as ineffective as any program which the Administration proposes to cut back. Yet, precisely because it appeals to such a narrow constituency--there are, after all, few black capitalists--and there fore raises few expectations, it has a stabilizing effect broad social spending programs do not.

The most 'revolutionary' aspect of the New Federalism, and also the most ominous, is the transfer of spending powers from Washington to the states and municipalities. The implications of the revenue sharing concept cut much deeper than the specifics of the budget cutbacks. For while Nixon may refer to what he is doing as decentralization, local autonomy, or whatever, I propose that he is really paving the way for a renaissance of a familiar tactic--a "New States Rights manifesto.

This is not to suggest that Nixon seeks the reintroduction of Jim Crow, although the abrupt dismissal of Father Hesburgh as chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, the handling of Supreme Court appointments and the efforts to emasculate the Voting Rights Act are indicative of Nixon's lack of regard for the issues which the civil rights movement saw as basic. But by handing over to local authorities the responsibility for spending policies, Nixon has at one stroke enchanced the power of those who have been the least able to respond to the need for social change.

This is why I find the widespread favorable response of liberals to the principles of revenue sharing unsettling. The civil rights movement, it should be kept in mind, did not succeed simply in extending the rights of minorities; it was also largely responsible for discrediting the principle of states' rights as applied to a broad range of policy questions. The movement taught us that the states and cities could not respond to the social needs of the poor and disadvantaged; eventually, this idea began to be reflected in basic government policy. It appeared that the liberal ideal of a strong, socially responsible federal government was about to be realized.

At this juncture, acceptance of the revenue sharing philosophy could have profound consequences. There exists, for example, a genuine housing crisis in the ghettoes, a crisis that will only be exacerbated by the moratorium on housing programs imposed by the Administration. If, as seems likely, the responsibility for determining urban development priorities is handed over to the mayors, there is little likelihood that those areas which most critically need help will see much of that money. What we may in fact witness is a revival of the urban renewal policies of the past, with high rise luxury apartments going up admist the slums.

The Left bears substantial responsibility for this situation. Decentralization has become attractive at least partially because of those who have decried the powers of Washington while insisting, from a leftward vision, that the fundamental task is bringing government "closer to the people." Among whites, this attitude permeated the New Left and ran strongly among the reformers who dominated the McGovern campaign. For blacks, it was reflected in the emphasis on "nation building" at the expense of broad strategies for social change.

The antagonism to government which has sprung up among liberals is also to be found in the criticism of what is often referred to as "distant and unresponsive" bureaucracy. Such criticism does not take into account the often progressive role played by the federal bureaucracy during the Johnson Administration. It was a bureaucracy which compelled reluctant school boards to use funds for compensatory education programs for the low income pupils for whom such money was intended. During the same time the Department of Housing and Urban Developement began to insist that--regardless of real estate and other interests--urban renewal projects were to include provisions for low income housing as well as middle income housing and that relocation programs be carried out in a more equitable manner. HUD thus, assured that these projects would serve as instruments for social progress.

Considering the current state of affairs, the question of what constitutes the limits of social policy I find irrelevant. The issue is not an academic debate over whether we have reached the outer boundaries of orderly liberal change; we have not even succeded in achieving the modest goals of the Great Society.

Nor is the problem, as some would have it, that the Great Society attempted too much; on the contrary, it did not go far enough, and, more to the point, it employed strategies that, from both political and policy standpoints, were often counterproductive.

Nothing that has transpired in the past decade has led me to conclude that we cannot achieve massive, fundamental change or that such change cannot come about in a democratic and orderly fashion. The specifics of what might constitute a truly progressive program were spelled out in 1966, when A. Philip Randolph proposed the Freedom Budget. The Budget outlines a plan for social reform that would accomplish the following:

> Provide full employment for all who are willing and able to work, including those who need education or training to make them willing and able; assure decent and adequate wages to all who work; assure a decent standard for those who cannot or should not work; wipe out slums and ghettoes and provide decent homes for all Americans, provide decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities for all Americans, at a cost all can afford; purify our air and water and develop our transportation and natural resources on a scale suitable to our growing needs.

While its scope is massive, such a program should not be labeled utopian. It can be achieved precisely because it is broad enough to deal with the political problems which plagued the Great Society and which, during the Nixon Administration, have been magnified by the Administration's economics of scarcity. The basic thrust of the Freedom Budget is a full employment, full production economy, and a program of fundamental tax reform, all of which the majority of Americans find acceptable. It rejects the assumption that social spending must be accompanied by reductions in defense spending. Nor does it accept the current theory that economic growth is incompatible with a humane and progressive society; it rather seeks to stimulate the economy to produce the homes, schools, anti-pollution devices--whatever is necessary to fulfill the basic needs of society.

Today, many people are despairing as to the possibility of implimenting any sort of liberal social program. I think these people are mistaken. They are misinterpreting the mood of the electorate after the recent election. To perceive of McGovern's defeat as a repudiation of liberalism is, I propose, a misreading of what the voters were saying, which could have disastrous sequences, even provoking a massive move to the political center. Liberalism was not rejected; the failure of the Republicans to improve their position in Congress demonstrated a continued faith in the traditional principles of liberal economic policy. McGovern's assertion that he lost because the voters came to see him as the representative of blacks is incorrect; a more accurate interpretation is that McGovern lost because some felt he was speaking only to the needs of minorities. Although McGovern's tax reform package was the most radical ever proposed by a presidential candidate, the candidate who did the proposing had, as a matter of fact, never addressed himself to economic issues during a Senate career. He simply lacked credibility in this area.

Nevertheless, both before and after the election Americans have expressed a continuing faith in liberal economic reform. Public opinion polls have shown two thirds of the American voters expressing dissatisfaction with Nixon's economic policies. A majority feel he is too closely aligned with business. At the same time, national health insurance, tax reform, and other programs that would require basic changes have evoked strong support.

Finally, I do not consider the proposals entailed in the Freedom Budget as the final expression of liberal social policy. Beyond the Freedom Budget, however, I prefer not to speculate on the direction of sound social policy. I consider such speculation, at a time when we are so far from the basic goals for a decent society, as gratuitous as to theorize over whether we have reached the limits of social change.

February 21, 1973

Clark College Convocation
Paper Prepared
for
Public Policy Symposium
by Bayard Rustin

We are living, some tell us, at a time when revolution can be declared and ended instantaneously. The headline writers have signaled the inauguration of the black revolution, the brown revolution, the youth revolution and the revolution of women. The revolutionary impulse, we are assured, has even found its way to corporate offices, legal societies and the A.M.A.

The events of the past year demonstrate, I believe, that while many revolutions have been declared, few have been carried out. Corporations may publish brochures on social responsibility and appoint a black minister or factory worker to the board of directors. But given the option of retaining a well developed social conscience or advancing the profit margin, profits still win out. Women may have been radicalized in any number of ways, but they don't vote for liberals any more often than do men. Lawyers can still be counted on to oppose no-fault insurance; doctors will still fight National Health Insurance.

There is, however, at least one revolution taking place today of which we should take careful notice. It is not a revolution in the traditional sense, since it does not seek to transform society, upraise the impoverished and provide economic and social justice for working people.

It does not, in other words, attempt to change the basic relationship between ordinary working people and the institutions which shape and dominate their lives. Rather it seeks to reinforce and institutionalize the status quo, not just for the present, but for years to come.

This revolution, I might add, is being planned and implemented by a man of most unrevolutionary political demeanor - Richard Nixon.

The Nixon strategy is a strategy for fundamental change, not in the relationship between the people and institutions, but in the structure of government itself. Its implications go considerably deeper than the dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the moratorium on public housing construction, or the phasing out of a few programs.

What Nixon seeks is the invalidation of the principle that a strong federal government should be the chief instrument of a progressive social policy. All of Nixon's public pronouncements and policy initiatives since the election - his attack on "unresponsive and distant" bureaucracy, his stated alarm over the alleged erosion of the "work ethic" - have pointed in this direction.

The essence of Nixon's grand design is not the harnessing of an unruly bureaucracy, but the discrediting of the concept that government can bring about massive social change and basic reform of the nation's economic institutions. Nor is he overly concerned with the abridgement of individual choice: his goal is to assure for the foreseeable future the dominance of those social forces that have been instrumental in bringing

The Administration refers to its program of dismantling and dismemberment through a series of euphemisms - decentralization, redistribution of government function, "New Federalism."

Those of us, however, who have had anything to do with the civil rights movement know it by another name - states' rights.

In 1960 we had no doubt what the Dixiecrats meant when they solemnly invoked the sanctified concept of states' rights or, as it was sometimes called, local sovereignty. It meant, quite frankly, the denial of progress to black people in the South. No one ever really believed otherwise.

Had we paid obeisance to the idea that states have the inherent right to discriminate against a class of citizens, there would have been no such thing as a nonviolent civil rights movement. There would have been no civil rights bill, no Voting Rights Act, no legislative guarantee of open housing. Blacks would still attend segregated schools in the South; blacks would still be deprived of jobs for which they qualified; blacks would be fortunate to sit in one-tenth of the 1,100 elected offices they currently hold in the South.

Had Franklin Roosevelt, instead of pushing ahead with the New Deal, adhered to the Hoover philosophy of governmental [illegible] there would be no Social Security, no standard devices, might certainly have adopted progressive social legislation (thereby encouraging an in-migration of unskilled and jobless from more backward areas.) But others, I feel certain, would have emulated those states which have adopted Right To Work laws, thinking nothing of depriving thousands of workers of job security, union recognition and a decent standard of living.

This is not to imply that the Administration seeks the reimposition of Jim Crow laws or is intent on returning to the pre-New Deal era. The point is that black people have known broad, far-reaching progress only through the initiative of the federal government and that minorities, workers, and millions of ordinary people have suffered from the fragmentation of government power.

Some might consider what I have said self-evident, and therefore superfluous. Isn't it obvious that social change has only been attained through a strong, progressive federal government? Hasn't the ideal of government as initiator of social change been the motivating force behind much of liberal and radical thought in this century?

This would ordinarily be true. I raise the issue, however, because we are finding the ideal of a strong, central government under increasing criticism, not just from the right, but from the Left. And by the Left I am referring not simply to the irresponsible, nihilistic proponents of the counterculture, but to respected academics, whose writings influence the direction of social policy, and to those liberals who serve within government, and actively help write social programs.

Richard Nixon in fact hardly needs to justify or defend what he is doing; he need only cite those liberal intellectuals who insist that we have attained the "limits of social policy" and who question whether the goal of equality is achievable or, if so, valid.

According to their thesis, the Great Society's most signal accomplishment was to raise the expectations of the poor without fulfilling them. They see the Great Society as a highly publicized failure, and assert that,in the future,government should assume a managerial, or caretaker, role rather than engaging in what they see as dubious and unproductive efforts to remake society.

Whatever its shortcomings, the Great Society was not a failure. It disappointed the expectations of many; some of its programs were poorly conceived; others were never adequately funded. But there were also some significant successes. The federal housing program, which has elicited so much criticism, continues to be the only alternative for low income families who need decent, affordable housing. Federal aid to education programs have played a major role in reducing the gap in the years of schooling between blacks and whites. Black high school graduates now attend college in about the same proportion as do their white classmates, in part because of the initiatives of the federal government.

The weakness of the liberal agenda of the 1960's was that it did not go far enough. Federal efforts to build housing and to stimulate the building industry, for instance, produced a housing supply averaging one-twentieth of the annual need, a situation, as Leon Keyserling has observed, bound to create almost as many problems as it solves.

There were also deficiencies in the direction of some Kennedy and Johnson era programs. Too much effort was placed on the manipulation of peripheral institutions in an effort to correct a "poverty of culture", a concept for which we still lack an adequate definition. Had we directed our attention to providing the poor with, first, an adequate standard of living in the form of a guaranteed annual income and, second, the services which bear most directly on day to day life - medical care, new housing, increased job opportunities - we would have taken a significant step towards fundamental reform. And we would have avoided the embarrassments that accompanied the community action program, a program which has done incalculable harm to the struggle to help the poor.

Another fundamental mistake was to propagate untried and highly questionable schemes for minority advancement in the eagerness to "bring government closer to the people."

For years, we should remember, it was the Right which preached that Big Government is bad government; liberals had struggled to make society more responsive and compassionate through the implementation of programs that local government would not or could not adopt.

Now we found liberals saying many of the same things conservatives of an earlier time had said: the only difference was that the Left cloaked their proposals in the rhetoric of social progress and minority advancement.

The most dramatic and controversial reflection of the liberal loss of faith in centralized government was community control - of schools, zoning, planning, and the like. As a strategy for governmental organization, community control was originally conceived as a means of improving the schools and neighborhoods of minority groups - those who had so often been ignored by City Hall.

Now, however, we discover that community control has been transformed from a program for minority progress to a weapon of white homeowner resistance. A recent article in The New York Times, commenting on the campaigns of New York mayoral hopefuls, put it this way:

> The question of community control, or neighborhood participation in city services such as education, sanitation and police, has undergone a radical transformation in six years.
>
> Originally, the issue was pressed by blacks and Puerto Ricans interested in controlling school boards in their areas and, as such, was opposed by white politicians. Now community control means white middle-class participation in decisions affecting their neighborhoods and, as such, the appeal has become something akin to motherhood among the Democratic candidates.

Community control's weakness is not, however, simply that it is bad politics, however true it is that the experiments we have witnessed have provided new inspiration for the forces of

In a more elemental sense, community control is bad social policy. It asks no concession from the larger society and implies a surrendering of the suburbs to the white middle class. Blacks, of course, may have some measure of control over the ghetto, along with its accompanying manifestations of social disorganization. Lost in all this would be the strategy and will to rebuild the city and integrate our society.

Perhaps the controversies in Forest Hills and Canarsie will provoke liberals into a careful re-examination of the implications of community control. But while some have acknowledged the shortcomings of decentralization, the proposed alternatives sound even more ominous. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, for example, has suggested that the power to levy taxes be extended to local communities, which may sound reasonable until you realize there is hardly anything in the ghetto that can be taxed.

Another lesson of the community control experience is that policy cannot be formulated or implemented on a dual, racially-divided standard. Liberals cannot applaud community control in Harlem and then denounce Forest Hills homeowners as racists. If community control is valid in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, it is valid in any enclave of the middle class or the affluent.

We are also discovering that social policy predicated on race consciousness is a self-defeating policy. It is obvious, of course, that the more clear-cut reflections of separatist dogma have disappeared: even the media has forgotten about the

of a separate black nation

somewhere in the South.

There does exist a tendency to view social problems in terms of race rather than class. A growing number of black professionals, for instance, define the problems of the black poor as somehow separate and distinct from the problems which afflict the rest of our impoverished. Solutions are proposed on the basis of race, rather than broad principles of reform. The implication is that drug addiction, unemployment, illegitimacy and disease could be solved if everyone turned white overnight.

Nor does it make sense for black professional societies to pass resolutions denouncing their profession as racist and oppressive. The reform of an institution comes only because of prodding from within, and not from those who have isolated themselves from the mainstream.

Much the same holds true for efforts to build political power on the basis of blackness. The program that came out of last year's National Black Political Convention has been all but forgotten because its demands were couched in narrow, racial terms. Moreover, despite some proposals that held merit, the convention promoted issues which, while they might appeal to some blacks, were bound to alienate potential liberal allies - the demand, for instance, that blacks be accorded quota representation in Congress in proportion to their presence in the population.

As Nixon's second term gets underway, and we see a clearer picture of the President's philosophy and strategy, we face two challenges.

The first is an immediate task to mobilize whatever forces are at our disposal in order to salvage those progressive social programs that are now threatened by Nixon's policy of dismantling and impoundment. This is a difficult task because it represents nothing more than a holding action, but it is necessary that we not capitulate to the broad cutbacks.

The second task is long range and fundamental. Politically, it means rebuilding a broad liberal coalition. In terms of program and philosophy, it means resisting those policies and ideas which pose a threat to the principles of traditional liberalism, the most serious of which, I believe, is the assault on the concept of centralized government.

This may not sound as inspiring as leading protests or capturing control of a political party. But it is a necessary prerequisite to the return of liberalism to its position of dominance in the political scheme of things.

# Speech By Bayard Rustin to Clark College Sumposium, Spring, 1973

Whenever people discuss revolution, you can be assured that there is no revolutionary situation. Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin never discussed revolution. They did it!

However, there is a revolution that is in fact taking place in this country. That revolution is not a revolution in the traditional sense, since it does not seek to transform society or upraise the impoverished or provide economic and social justice for working class people. It does not, in other words, attempt to change the basic relationship between ordinary people and the institutions that shape their lives. What it does is reinforce and institutionalize the status quo, not just for the present but for years to come.

I am referring to the strategy of that national disaster, Richard Nixon. The Nixon strategy is a strategy for fundamental change, not in the relationship between the people and institutions, but in the structure of government itself. Its implications go far deeper than the dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity or the moratorium on public housing construction or the phasing out of a few programs. It is a far more serious thing that he is attempting to do. What Nixon seeks is the invalidation of the principle that a strong federal government should be the chief instrument for progressive social change. All of Nixon's public pronouncements and policy initiatives since his election -- his attack on "unresponsive and distant" bureaucracy, his stated alarm over the alleged erosion of the "work ethic" -- have pointed in the direction of status quo.

The essence of Nixon's grand design is not the harnessing of an unruly bureaucracy, but the discrediting of the concept that government can bring about massive social change and basic reform of the nation's economic institutions.

I would add that as Nixon plans and implements his "revolution," he is being aided and abetted by the indirect connivance of the liberal community and black New Tribalism. How have black people aided and abetted this? It is very simple: by their advocacy, in a frustrated moment of history, of decentralization and community control. For this is exactly what Nixon has given us. As long as blacks (aided and abetted by college professors and liberals) play this game, they avoid any possibility of a real discussion of national policy. National policy; not ghetto policy! We must divert the attention from the ghetto. Nothing that is creative can happen in the ghetto: the ghetto is by definition incapable of creating anything worthwhile.

Harlem never has had a decent hotel in it. It does not have a decent office building. It does not have a first-class restaurant. But instead of formulating a public policy that deals with real problems, we are mesmerized by a so-called cultural revolution.

The essence of Nixon's design is to utilize every mistake that liberals and blacks have made to serve his own interest. The administration refers to its program of dismantling and dismembering through a series of euphemisms: decentralization, redistribution of government functions, "New Federalism," etc.

Those of us, however, who have had any real experience in the civil rights movement know that what he is talking about is states' rights.

In the 1960's we didn't question what the Dixiecrats were about. They solemnly invoked states rights' and local sovereignty. It meant, quite frankly, the denial of progress for black people and, equally important, keeping white people oppressed while telling them that, in the interest of states' rights, they were better than "niggers." And it worked!

Had we paid obeisance to the idea of States Rights there would still be discrimination, there would have been no non-violent civil rights movement; there would have been no Civil Rights bill or Voter Rights Act; there would have been no legislation for open housing. Everything we won was won because we knew that the federal government itself had to take the initiative.

Had Franklin Roosevelt, instead of pushing ahead with the New Deal, adhered to the Hoover philosophy of governmental *laissez faire*, there would be no Social Security, no standard minimum wage, no uniform job safety standards. Many state and local governments, if left to their own devices, might have adopted some progressive social legislation (thereby encouraging an in-migration of unskilled and jobless from backward areas). But others, I feel certain, would have emulated those states that have adopted the Right-To-Work laws, thinking nothing of depriving thousands of workers of job security, union recognition, medical care.

This is not to imply that Nixon wants to reimpose Jim Crow. He knows he cannot reimpose Jim Crow. He knows better than we, that the problem is not racial but economic. The point is that black people have known broad, far-reaching progress only through the initiative of the federal government and that minorities and workers and millions of ordinary people have suffered whenever the federal government has not moved in our direction.

Some might consider what I have said as self-evident and therefore superficial or superfluous. ~~But~~ Isn't it obvious that social change has only been obtained through a strong, progressive federal government? Hasn't the ideal of government as the initiator of social change been the motivating force behind much of the liberal and radical thought of this century?

You cannot point to a single program for the poor or blacks that has not come from the federal government; nor can you show me a single initiative taken by a city, a country or a state that secured real progress for black people and the poor, whether measured economically or psychologically.

We also have the phenomenon of the white liberal who has tired of the black revolution. We are finding the ideal of a strong, central government under increasing criticism not just from the Right but from the Left. And by the Left I am not referring simply to the irresponsible, nihilistic proponents of the counterculture, but to the respected academics whose writings influence the direction of social policy and to those liberals who serve within the government--black and white--who are playing Nixon's game without knowing it. Richard Nixon, in fact, hardly needs to justify or defend what he is doing; he need only cite those, ~~liberal intellectuals and confused blacks who insist that we have~~ liberal intellectuals and confused blacks who insist that we have attained what Irving Kristol, Daniel Bell and Patrick Moynihan refer to as the "limits of social policy," and who question whether the goal of equality is achievable or, if so, valid. The Great Society's most signal accomplishment, in their view, was to raise the expectations of the poor without fulfilling them. That is a lie. The expectations of the poor can only be raised by progress--not by the absence of progress. Whatever its shortcomings, the Great Society was not a failure. It disappointed the expectations of many, of course, but every social institution must. Some of its programs were poorly conceived. Others of these programs were never really adequately funded.

But there were also some significant successes. The federal housing program, which has elicited so much criticism, continues to be the only alternative for low income families who need decent housing. David Rockefeller will never build a house for a poor man to live in. Not because he isn't compassionate; but simply because it isn't profitabl~~y~~e. You make about two per cent annually building houses for the poor. You think he's going to do that instead of making 12 per cent on another investment. Capitalism is not quite so idealistic.

Federal aid to education programs have made it possible for more blacks to attend college today than we expected by 1977. Black high school graduates now attend college in about the same proportion as do their white classmates because of the initiative of the federal government.

The weakness of the liberal agenda of the Sixties was that it did not go far enough. Federal efforts to build housing and to stimulate the building industry, for example, produced only one-twentieth of the number of houses that we needed. There were also deficiencies in the direction of some of the Kennedy and Johnson programs. Too much effort was place on the manipulation of peripheral institutions in an effort to correct the "culture of poverty." (This is a ridiculous phrase. People are either poor and therefore have little or no culture, or they have enough money to obtain some. As Whitney Young once said: "Rustin, I would prefer to say, 'Ah is rich,' than 'I am poor.'")

We failed because we never provided the poor with an adequate standard of living or gave them the health, housing and education they needed. That's what was wrong; not that there is a limit to social policy. Another fundamental mistake has been to propagate untried and highly questionable schemes for minority advancement "to bring the government closer to the people." Now take black capitalism, for example. If white capitalists, manipulating billions of dollars, tolerate poverty in Appalachia and every city in this country, what are black capitalists going to do manipulating millions. The fact is that black capitalism, even if we were manipulating billions of dollars, could not, any more than white capitalism, make life better for the masses of blacks.

For years, we should remember, it was the Right which preached that big government was bad. Liberals struggled to make society more responsive and more compassionate. Now we have the leadership of the Left making coalition with Southern Democrats and Republicans. This coalition of opposites is the result of economic conservatism and the inability to see that it is the federal government that must initiate change.

The most dramatic and controversial reflection of this loss of faith in centralized government was the defense by the black community and the liberals of community control of schools, zoning, police and the like. First of all, services are based on the community's ability to pay taxes. Under local control, those in Harlem get $350 to spend on schools a year; those in Westchester ~~Chester~~ get $1,600. As a strategy for governmental organization, community control was originally conceived as a means for providing schools and neighborhood responsibility for minorities because they had often been so ignored by City Hall. Now, however, we discover that community control has been transformed from a program for minority progress to a weapon of white homeowner resistance.

An article in the New York Times the other day said the following:

> The question of community control or neighborhood participation in city services such as education, sanitation and police has undergone a radical change. Originally it was pressed by blacks and Puerto Ricans interested in controlling school boards in their areas. Now community control means white middle class participation in decisions affecting their neighborhoods and as such the appeal has become something akin to motherhood.

Community control's weakness is not simply that it is bad politics. In a more elementary sense, community control is a bad social policy. It asks no concessions from the larger society and implies an ultimate surrender of the suburbs to the white middle classes. Blacks, of course, may have some measure of control over the ghetto, along with its accompanying manifestations of total social disorganization. Lost in all of this would be a strategy and the will to rebuild the city or to integrate the soceity. Perhaps the controversies in Forest Hills, in Canarsie, in Newark will provoke liberals and blacks to examine more carefully the implications of community control. For we now see that if you have the right to hold up construction of a building on 125th Street ~~why can~~ the Italians can do ~~do~~ the same thing when LeRoi Jones wants to build ~~into~~ on their turf.

Another example of what we are dealing with is Patrick Moynihan's suggestion that the power to levy taxes be extended to the local community. It sounds absolutely reasonable until you ~~realise and~~ ask yourself: "What is there to tax in the ghetto?" What is the tax base in the ghetto?

We are also discovering that social policy predicated on racial consciousness is a self-defeating policy. Any policy in this country based on race is equally as invalid as any policy based on racism to keep ~~him~~ blacks in ~~his~~ their place. It won't work. There does exist a tendecy to view social problems in terms of race rather than class. A growing number of black professionals, for instance, define the problems of black poor as something separate and distinct from the problems that affect the rest of the impoverished. Yet, ~~If~~ if you made all the people in Appalachia black tomorrow they would lose nothing because they have nothing to begin with.

Solutions are being proposed on the basis of race rather than the broad principle of reform. The implication is that drug addiction, unemployment, illegitimacy and disease could be solved if everybody turned white overnight. Those who are white suffer drug addiction, unemployment, illegitimacy and disease, and the problem is not that they are white. The problem is that government is not dealing with the problems of drug addiction, unemployment, illegitimacy and disease.

Much of the same holds true for efforts to build political power on the basis of blackness. I have not attended these so-called political black unity conferences. Not that I don't admire the people who are there, but because the issue of black unity, is irrelevant.

There are only two bases in politics for unity: 1) Do I agree with what you are trying to achieve? 2) Do I want to achieve it in the way that you want to achieve it?

As Nixon's second term gets under way, we face two challenges:

We face the immediate task of mobilizing forces to salvage the progressive social programs threatened by Nixon. This is not a black thing. There are not enough of us. This can only be done by political coalition with all other minorities, with labor, with students and intellectuals.

We are challenged to develop a long-range, fundamental program. What black people have to be talking about now is full employment, guaranteed income, free education, free medical care, ~~the~~ government housing as a first resort. If you will look down that list, there is nothing black, Afro-American, colored or Negro about those objectives. We can no longer talk about programs exclusively for blacks. Our program must deal with all the poor, and thus be national in scope. I therefore congratulate Clark College for being one of the first to divert the attention of what is a most vigorous and beautiful group of young black people from the politics of frustration and into the discussion of national policy.

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Tuesday, March 14

# COMMUNITY CONTROL
by Bayard Rustin

Community control, in the few short years since it was conceived as a theory of social and racial progress, has become an engrained component of American political dogma. Of its merits most liberals and most conservatives would agree: Liberals view community control as an effective strategy whereby the poor and minorities can affect their common destinies while to those of the right it represents a means of forever laying to rest the liberal theories of social engineering developed and popularized during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Of those who approach society's problems from an ideological standpoint, conservatives have a substantially more realistic understanding of the consequences of community control. More so than liberals, they realize that community control, simply stated, is the right of any community - be it Harlem or Riverdale - to determine housing, land use, education and law enforcement policies unfettered from the control of City Hall, state government, or Washington.

Liberals are not blessed with such clearsightedness. Almost without exception the presidential candidates of the Democratic Party have declared support for community control and almost without exception their programs for schools, housing and other social issues contradict this support.

Eugene McCarthy, for instance, has stated that federal programs should be decentralized "even if that takes a true community control not subject to the veto and endless delays of a distant bureaucracy."

Yet at the same time McCarthy calls for an assault on school segregation which, he states, could entail "overriding or even eliminating present school systems and the creation of entirely new systems designed for the needs of the poor by their own representatives." There are echoes of this approach in McCarthy's housing program, which asks that all Americans be guaranteed decent shelter "even though that requires opening of the suburbs...the Constitution does not contain an exclusive grant of the land around cities to the non-poor and the nonblack."

Here then we have the essence of the contradictions which blur the liberal's image of community control. On the one hand, there is to be decentralization and freedom from bureaucracy; on the other, school district lines are to be redrawn at the direction of the federal government and local zoning and housing regulations thrown out, presumably by a federal agency or court. According to this view, community control is to be the exclusive province of the poor while middle class and affluent neighborhoods are subject to decisions handed down from some "distant" agency in Albany or Washington.

I do not believe that Eugene McCarthy, or the other liberals who profess support for community control would accept such a philosophy. It would rather appear that few liberals really understand what community control carried to its logical conclusion signifies as a strategy for social change.

Stripped of the rhetoric which so often camouflages its true significance, community control is revealed as a concept of social organization incompatible with a political program committed to social and racial justice. It is a concept that flows not from the wellspring of liberal theory but from our heritage of conservatism, the spiritual descendant of states' rights, so often invoked to sanctify the denial to blacks of their basic rights of citizenship. The acceptance by the federal government or the courts of the South's arguments in behalf of states' rights would have precluded any substantive Negro advancement for years to come. It is likewise with community control. If community control becomes imbedded as a principle around which public policy is formulated we shall soon discover that the thrust of progress, made at the cost of no little suffering and sacrifice during the civil rights era, will be blunted or blocked altogether.

It must be conceded that there are some responsible black leaders who see community control as one means of managing those institutions through which the larger society has historically exploited the ghetto and its inhabitants.

This is largely attributable to community control having been conceived and developed by liberals and advanced as a means of giving black people some measure of control over their destinies.

But community control, we are coming to realize, is a doctrine which can as easily be applied to thwart the legitimate aspirations of blacks as it can be applied to encourage their progress. In Forest Hills right now the most vociferous and outspoken opponents of the controversial scatter site project justify what, for some, is an effort to insulate a neighborhood against the encroachment of minorities and the poor, on the grounds that they have the right to control their community.

Those who support community control because, they contend, it gives to minorities a measure of self-government, - a "piece of the action," - see only half the picture. For inherent to the concept is a surrendering to white control of the suburbs. Blacks, in other words, can control the ghetto, with its drug addiction, soaring crime rate, high unemployment and deplorable housing. Whites can control the suburbs, where job opportunities are expanding, the air is unpolluted, housing is decent and schools provide a superior education. Separatism, no matter what form it takes or how slickly it is packaged, has always worked to the detriment of the black man.

Environmentalists understand well the destructive ecological consequences of government fragmentation. They know that state and municipal officials are too vulnerable to the pressures of special interests - loggers, strip miners, utilities, the billboard lobby - to be entrusted with land use decisions. Even with its shortcomings the federal government is the only institution with the strength and expertise to develop and implement a program to salvage the environment.

It is time we began to think of our cities as part of our environment, a crucial part, since the lives of millions of people are inextricably tied to their future. We must understand that a community planning board or zoning agency is no less susceptible to the pressures of special interests than a West Virginia community would be to a strip mining firm.

It has become fashionable for those of the left to question the capability of the federal government to initiate social progress. Their criticism to the contrary notwithstanding, there is scarcely a major reform in our social and economic relations which has not been initiated by Congress and the President.

Right now there are serious socio-economic problems - housing, medical care and unemployment are only three - which, because of their magnitude, cannot be effectively dealt with by state governments or localities. Only the federal government has the resources, the planning facilities, and the broad legislative powers to successfully cope with these ills. This does not mean that local communities should not be delegated advisory roles in the formulation and administration of public policy. Indeed they should have this power. But the nature of the problems, and the political difficulties in implementing their solutions, preclude the complete local autonomy which community control's most ardent proponents are calling for.

We must also look to the federal government to develop and implement programs and strategies for the peaceful racial integration of our society. One of the most important challenges facing us today is to make the integration of public schools and the suburbs acceptable, or even desirable, to communities. Here again, only the federal government has the financial resources to provide compensatory programs to a community struggling to cope with school desegregation, or to design a public housing complex that will enhance its surrounding neighborhood.

The struggle for racial integration has been a much more complex and painful process than anyone in the civil rights movement foresaw. What progress we have made - and this progress is not insignificant - is in a large measure due to the legislative, administrative, judicial and enforcement initiatives of the federal government, initiatives often opposed by states and communities. If we abandon the liberal ideal of peaceful social change through government action, and revert back to community control, local autonomy, states' rights or whatever, we will do incalculable damage to the movement to create a society free of the stigma of racial inequality.

# Community Control

## ITS MEANING AND IMPLICATIONS: A GROWING ISSUE FOR THE NATION

by BAYARD RUSTIN

ALL OVER THE WORLD, WHERE people are in a lower economic or social status, and where they feel that others are not recognizing something they have which is unique, and where for them the democratic process seems to have ground to a halt, there is an emergence of a tribalistic instinct. The Walloons are not happy to be a part of Belgium. The French Canadians want out of Canada. The Scots are telling the British, "You can't make it in Great Britain," and so are the Welsh. You see the same problem in many parts of India, and in Biafra, too—a group that feels it cannot make it within the structure.

My feelings is that further Balkanization is not the answer to the problems of any of these people. Nor is the idea of opting out and attempting to gain community control any more sensible here in the United States. If people are talking about participation according to their political weight, according to their moral weight, according to the democratic processes, then I am for community participation. But the grave danger I see in all this is that people are substituting an internal emotional satisfaction for a clear social and political analysis of the way problems are, in fact, to be solved.

The New York City school problem is a good illustration of this. The mayor of New York and the governor of New York State, by their equivocation and their failure, helped to set group against group. The mayor cut one-tenth of the school budget. Not a whisper came from anybody—because everybody was caught up in an emotional kick about who was going to control the ghettos, which, first, are uncontrollable, and, second, aren't where the problem is going to be solved.

### Great Hopes—Then Great Despair

This struggle is not new. We are going through a syndrome that the Negro has gone through at least four times dramatically. It is a very simple syndrome. There have been great periods of hopes, followed by a dashing of hopes, followed by all kinds of internalization. We are now back at the point where many Negroes essentially are denouncing white people who tell them, "You must lift yourself by your bootstraps," but who, in fact, are proposing that very thing in a new guise themselves.

Given a period of great hope followed by a period of despair, the Negro community has always concluded, "The problem cannot be solved out there in the real world. So let us think up some gimmicks for solving it inside." This internalization sometimes means what you call yourself, how you wear your hair, what you eat, whether you wear a dashiki, whether you wear shoes or sandals—all of which may be very interesting, but none of which addresses itself to the question of how you deal with the real problems that have led to this frustration.

The abolitionist movement first arose because of economic reasons in the South. Cotton wasn't really paying off, and the abolitionist movement for the freedom of blacks began, not in Boston but in North Carolina. The free Negroes of the country were elated about that. They thought that soon there would be no more slavery—and as long as there was slavery no Negro was really free. What happened? Along came the cotton gin, and the abolitionist was destroyed in the South. The hope of the free Negroes was gone. So they internalized their problem in the form of, "Let's get out of here—we can't make it here." And thus, Sierra Leone and Liberia came into existence.

### Harsher Problems: Deeper Internalization

The next period that this happened was the great hope that Negroes had in the Civil War—in which they fought and after which they thought they would get forty acres and a mule. Those hopes were dashed by the election of 1876 and the withdrawal of the Union army a year later. What did they do then? They followed Booker T. Washington in an internalization of the problem. "Forget the world out there and voting. Forget the world out there and social equality. Look to yourselves, control yourselves, be good, save your money, and you can make it."

The third time this occurred was after World War I. Negroes had great hope then. Even though Mr. Wilson walked into Washington and segregated everything he could put his hands on, they were still convinced. They still said, "We, nevertheless, are fighting so that when we come home something good will happen." What did happen? Their hopes were dashed. The Ku Klux Klan moved into the North. There was the highest rate of lynching. The Palmer raids created an atmosphere of tension that is not conducive to social change. There was high unemployment. People were run off the farms, and Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and the like began:

In this most serious period came the most serious internalization of the problem. "The problem cannot really be solved in the real world. Democracy will not work—that white democracy. What we've got to do is have our own." And then arose Marcus Garvey, organizing more people than the NAACP has ever organized in any two-year period, and the argument now is that they will go back to Africa.

My major point is this: to the degree that community participation comes after addressing one's self to the way the real world operates, I am for it. But there can be no control, and to the degree that there is control over nothing, to that same degree are we in serious trouble.

During the confrontation about schools in New York, the Urban Coalition put a fancy little ad in the papers. It said, "We are for community control—because in Scarsdale, where they have community control, the children are learning, but in Harlem they are not learning." The fundamental reason why children are learning in Scarsdale is that there they are spending $1800 a year per child. The fundamental reason why they are not learning in the ghettos is that in New York they are spending $600 per child—and, with Mr. Lindsay's cut, now it comes closer to $550.

### Change Must Come From Total Society

Nothing that happens in the ghetto can basically affect the social and economic organization of this country. But if the ghetto is to be improved, it will only be through something that happens out there. The first great contribution to the economic rise of Negroes did not come from A. Philip Randolph's setting up the Pullman porters, good as that was; it came from the formation of the CIO, which brought millions of black workers out of the proletariat and into the working classes. And whatever happens that is real must happen out there in the total society.

If what black people face is the need for housing, schools, jobs, mental care, etc., you can decentralize the ghetto, you can talk about community control, you can talk about anything—but if there is not a broad political movement outside that can go to Congress to get the necessary money, any degree of control is bound to be useless. While I'm happy to see black people debate further democratization and happy to hear them talk about having some voice in the decisions that affect them, what's happening is that all that fighting and debating is raging without any basis! Over what? For what? Never has there been a greater splintering in the Negro community, and over—first of all—the wrong things.

We need first to have a political movement that can get from Congress the billions of dollars needed for these things. And then, secondarily, there should be discussion of to what extent the people can have a say. If black people are ever given total control over aspects of their communities, why wouldn't similar total control be given to white reactionaries in Queens and Boston and all over the country, over their own bailiwicks, which are so much larger and in which they could go on to do in the name of community control all the things that Southerners did to us for years under the name of community congrol?

The Southern school system is a good example. They simply gave the Negroes money and told them, "Now it's your school system. Go do what you will with it." I can remember my grandmother, in Maryland, where they had no windows in the schools, no floors either, giving teas and parties to try to raise money to get floors and windows in the schools where one of her daughters taught. The Negro community was in complete control of those Maryland schools. But what were they?

### Basic Requirement: "A Coalition of Forces"

I think the real problem we face is that, while we will be for some democratization, and for all people, regardless of their color, having some say over what happens to their communities, it is an impossibility to talk about control.

I remember once being in a debate with Stokeley Carmichael. He was working in Mississippi, and he thought they could get complete control of three counties where Negroes were the predominant voters. Well, maybe they could get enough Negroes to vote to appear to have control over those counties. But those counties, like the ghetto, are poor, and there could be some degree of community participation, but there could be no real community control. For the first thing they would have to do to get roads would be to go to the white governor, and to Congress to get the money for roads. With the tax base they've got, they'd have to go to the same political forces to get enough money for schools. What would appear to be control, would in fact not be in their own hands.

While I am for further expanding of the democratic processes, nothing good is going to happen in the United States unless a coalition of forces—black and white, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—gets together to make it happen, whether we're talking about what affects the ghetto or what affects the nation. Because the ghetto cannot, in fact, be improved without a national commitment, a national changing of priorities.

# POVERTY

# GUNS, BREAD, AND BUTTER

*Must a really effective attack on poverty wait until the end of the war in Vietnam? Definitely not, says this longtime peace and civil rights leader—the struggles against war and poverty must go forward together.*

### By Bayard Rustin

Public organizations in the United States tend, by and large, to be monistic in their interests—that is, they tend to function on behalf of specific causes. However, for some the task of concentrating attention on their special interests is more difficult than it is for others. For instance, it may not be too difficult for the A.M.A. to concern itself exclusively with problems affecting the medical profession. And the Cancer Society may find it relatively easy to confine itself to activities touching upon the treatment and cure of cancer. But particularly for politically-oriented organizations, the problem is somewhat different. On the one hand, they recognize their obligation to focus upon their stated objective, and on the other, they are forced to deal with the fact that marginal issues impinge upon and affect the attainment of their own objectives. Thus we find political parties taking an interest in different facets of the national life, sometimes even accommodating diametrically opposed views. We find liberal and civil rights organizations keeping attuned to and in touch with the diverse political, economic and ideological sounds of the society. And we find the peace movement engaging at times in dialogue over what ought or ought not to be its singular area of interest.

Since for most of my life I have been engaged in peace and civil rights activities, I know something about these problems and conflicts. In my years with the War Resisters League, there were frequent discussions about the amount of time I was spending with the civil rights movement. It was not so much a debate over my personal right to participate in civil rights activities, but rather over my own view that non-violence was not simply a philosophical stance for the peace movement, but was indeed a fundamental way of life. The implication of this view, therefore, was that wherever there was a possibility of violence, the War Resisters League had some obligation to participate and work against that violence. I am happy to say that many of my colleagues were inclined to agree with me, but there were also many who remained convinced that non-violence was the exclusive strategy of the peace movement.

The question, overall, is a very difficult one, one that becomes even more meaningful in the context of a broad and engaged conscience in our time: How can we continue to pay tender and exclusive attention to shoring up our own special furrow when the rest of the field is eroding all around us?

It is somewhere in this context that we must examine the problem of what is the responsibility of the civil rights movement to the peace movement, or whether the civil rights movement, per se, has any official responsibility in the peace movement at all.

### Organizational Monism

We cannot begin to do this without taking note of the expectations that a membership has of its organization, and of the responsibility that an organization has toward its membership. That is to say, if an organization is monistic, and canvasses for membership on that basis, then that monism becomes the terms under which members give their support. The members are putting their money down for something, and they have a clear idea of what they should get in return. For instance, the membership of the War Resisters League supports its leadership in terms of its declared aims and expects the leadership to conduct itself accordingly. Members would be startled if the League began putting out literature on the national economy or on problems of the labor movement. This, clearly, is not what they bargained for. And the same would be true if the civil rights movement started putting out literature and campaigning on behalf of the peace movement. The membership supported the civil rights movement for a certain reason, but that reason does not include an alliance with the peace movement.

When all is said and done, we are all citizens of a world in crisis. The universe of human suffering is everybody's universe. Moreover, it may well be that the solution of one problem has implications for the solution of another. This being so, there is a role for citizens to play in the solution of different problems that converge and impinge upon their personal situation. All of which means that if there is not a part for the civil rights movement to play in the peace struggle, there is certainly a part for Negroes to play. And they can best play that part, it seems to me, by joining peace groups all around the country.

What's more, I'm convinced that many Negroes do take a deep and genuine interest in the problems of war and peace, and are trying to find some ground on which they can make a contribution. As I travel across the country, speaking before religious, liberal, civil rights, trade union and campus groups, I am invariably asked by a large number of Negroes what it is they can do for peace. On such occasions, I always advise them to become members of peace organizations. When young Negro boys come up to me and say they are conscientiously opposed to war, I advise them to contact the War Resisters League, the Central Coordinating Committee for Conscientious Objectors, or the American Friends Service Committee.

Of course, in saying all this, I am aware, and we should all be aware, that there is not going to be a tremendous onrush of Negroes into the peace movement. The immediate problems of Negroes' lives in America are

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*Bayard Rustin is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, former executive director of the War Resisters League, and a member of the board of directors of Turn Toward Peace.*

so vast as to allow them very little time or energy to focus on a large scale upon international crises. Let's face it, what is still crucial in the thinking and experience of Negroes in our society is that even in some of the most liberal cities they have a hard time finding a job, living in a decent neighborhood, sending their children to quality integrated schools or even getting a taxi. We have also got to realize that politically Negroes have carried a great national burden for the past 10 years. Almost all of the progressive developments during this period have been the result of Negroes marching in the streets, demonstrating for equal treatment under the law. Negroes helped end McCarthyism on U.S. campuses because the freedom struggle attracted and awakened the best moral instincts of our college youth. An American ecumenical movement came into being primarily because the religious conscience had to respond to the struggle for human rights in our country. Therefore, one must be careful, while examining the extent of Negro involvement in causes beyond civil rights, not to demand that they ought, with equal ardor, to be catalysts in the struggle for social and human rights at home and the quest for peace abroad.

### A Moral Dilemma

The peace movement finds itself in a peculiar position. On the one hand, it would like to protect the integrity of its activities and objectives, and on the other, it is somewhat unhappy over the fact that the civil rights movement does not openly ally itself with peace efforts. The answer to the latter problem, as I've suggested, is for Negroes to ally themselves individually with the peace struggle without committing the civil rights movement. And if this is true, then members of the peace movement have an obligation to ally themselves with certain objectives of the civil rights struggle without committing their organizations to any official involvement.

There is one other problem, with relation to war, that Negroes find difficult to resolve. That problem is that traditionally Negroes have made some of their more significant strides in American society during periods of military crisis. During World War I, hundreds of thousands of Negroes migrated out of the oppressed conditions of the South to find jobs in the North. During World War II, tremendous employment opportunities opened up for them in Detroit and other large industrial centers. And even during this horrible Vietnam War, many Negro young men who would have no alternative but to stand on street corners in Mississippi, Alabama or New York are convinced that by joining the armed forces, they can learn trades, earn a salary, and be in a position to enter the job market on their return.

All this means that thousands of Negroes in order to rehabilitate themselves are forced to take a stand beyond morality and exploit the opportunities presented to them by their country's military involvement. I myself can afford the luxury of drawing those moral lines, but it is more difficult to suggest to people who are hungry, jobless or living in slums that they should turn their backs on opportunities that they think promise them a measure of economic betterment. And if this attitude on the part of thousands of Negroes horrifies the peace movement, then perhaps the peace movement might well conclude that it must give a large part of its energy to the struggle to secure the social and eonomic uplift of the Negro community. Needless to say that is not what peace workers conclude, and this fact reveals the problem. I am not saying that they must, but if they object to what Negroes are forced to do in this situation, then they should follow the clear implication of their objection.

All of which leads me to say a word about "The Freedom Budget for All Americans." Whether there is a war on or not, the Freedom Budget is a necessary and essential demand, something we should all be working for. It is a plan to eradicate poverty (thereby freeing people to exercise their moral conscience at less cost to their existence), and the first comprehensive program to emerge from civil rights, labor, religious and liberal groups. But since I am writing for *War/Peace Report,* I want to discuss it in relation to the war, and direct a few remarks to those in the peace movement who think that, at best, the Freedom Budget is diversionary and irrelevant, and to those who think that, at worst, it is a war budget. To the former, I want to say:

First, the most effective method of directing economic priorities away from the war in Vietnam is to mobilize people around the needs of the poor and thus around the priorities of the Freedom Budget. It is my feeling that the slogan to get out of the war has fewer possibilities for political organization than has the determination to mount a counter offensive against poverty.

Secondly, we must realize that though it is economically possible to

## *The Demands of 'The Freedom Budget'*

**The Freedom Budget is a proposal prepared by the A. Philip Randolph Institute that spells out a specific and scheduled course of action to abolish poverty within the United States by 1975.**

**Contending that the present resources in this affluent nation make poverty neither an economic nor a technological problem but a moral question, the advocates of the Freedom Budget assert that it is neither morally defensible nor economically necessary to hitch "the aspirations and long denied needs of the poor to the outcome of the Vietnam War."**

**The specific priorities of the Freedom Budget are as follows:**

- **Achieve full employment**
- **Assure adequate income for those employed**
- **Guarantee an adequate minimum level of income to all those who cannot or should not be employed**
- **Wipe out slum ghettos and provide decent housing for all**
- **Provide modern medical care, training and education for all who want it**
- **Expand public services by purifying air and water, and improving public transportation and natural resource development.**

**If the federal government will take the lead in restoring and maintaining full employment through an increase in total spending to create more jobs, according to the Freedom Budget, the country's annual gross national product will grow by $400 billion by 1975. Over the next decade this increase, which the Freedom Budget calls the "economic growth dividend," would total $2,400 billion—and it is from this vast sum that it expects to find the resources to carry out its proposals.**

have guns and butter too, it is psychologically and politically difficult. Therefore, it is important for us to recognize that at some point the war in Vietnam will be over, and that unless the concepts expressed in the Freedom Budget are accepted, the funds presently being used to pursue the Vietnam War will be diverted to other war-related projects or to sending rocket ships to the moon rather than to the alleviation of poverty. Further, the Freedom Budget is the only document that takes Republicans and no-spenders to task, by insisting that it is economically possible for this country to eliminate poverty, whatever may be the extent of its international commitments. The question the Freedom Budget highlights is not one of economics but of priorities and will. It is more basically a question of who will pay for the war, for as A. Philip Randolph and I have constantly maintained, it would be tragic if the poor were made to pay for it instead of the rich.

Now a word to those who think it is a war budget, and particularly to those who are in agreement with the positions taken by Seymour Melman:

Melman has charged in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Spock, Norman Thomas and Irving Howe that the Freedom Budget supports the current spending on national defense and space technology, and that its estimates for housing, community development, education, etc., are too low. The last part of the charge can be handled parenthetically. The Freedom Budget only discusses several outlays in each area. It does not include spending by cities, states, local governments and private corporations. Melman's estimate for housing and community development in New York City, for example, is higher than the expenditure called for in the Freedom Budget, but this is so only because his estimate includes outlays by the city and the federal government. The proposal as outlined in the Freedom Budget is only a skeleton. It calls on local and regional groups to put flesh on the bones.

### Emphasis on Butter

More importantly, I must point out that the Freedom Budget does not make independent determinations on the spending for national defense, space technology, etc., but only quotes figures that reflect the views of experts. On page eight of the Freedom Budget it states: "The proposals for national defense, space technology and all international do not represent independent determinations in the Freedom Budget, but merely reflect the composite judgment of informed experts. . . . All of the other proposals are based upon determinations within the Freedom Budget as to what part of our economic growth dividend should be devoted to priorities which depend upon the Federal Budget."

Finally, it seems to me that it would be unfortunate if advocates of peace should go to Washington demanding a choice between guns and butter and the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition should reply, "Well, O.K., it's going to be guns." One can see the peace advocates drifting back home, shrugging their shoulders, and telling everybody including Negroes that there is nothing to be done, and advising them, therefore, to sit back and wait. I wish all people were peace loving, but it would be equally unfortunate if the peace movement continued to demand that one be a certified "dove" before one could be permitted to play a serious and constructive part in the eradication of poverty.

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## Lorenz, Ardrey and Ethological Anthropology

# AM I A MAN OR A MOUSE—OR BOTH?

***Is man's aggressiveness instinctive or acquired? Two recent and widely-noted books suggest this trait is instinctive, as is the case with many animals, but this reviewer calls that thesis "scientific humbug."***

### By Kenneth E. Boulding

Two recent books by Konrad Lorenz and Robert Ardrey have aroused a great deal of discussion and have raised at least by implication some important questions. Lorenz is a very distinguished Austrian ethologist who has made a life-long work out of studying animal behavior. His earlier book, *King Solomon's Ring*, is a classic in the field. I am not professionally equipped to assess his scientific contributions, but to judge from some of the scientific reviews, Lorenz is a pioneer in the field of the study of animal behavior, that is, ethology, but like many pioneers he is now regarded as somewhat old-fashioned by the rising generation striding forward into the field. But whatever may be the scientific merits of Lorenz, the literary merits are unquestionable. He writes with great vigor and charm and opens up new and exciting worlds to the reader. The animal world is never the same again after one has read Lorenz; he opens one's eyes to its richness and complexity.

*Kenneth E. Boulding is president-elect of the American Economic Association and professor of economics at the University of Michigan, where he has been associated with the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution. He has published more than a dozen books and numerous articles on a wide range of topics, notably, economics, peace research and international systems.*

Ardrey is not a scientist but a playwright and a moralist, though it would be legitimate to describe him as a popularizer of science. He has both read and listened widely. Nevertheless, he almost literally has an axe to grind and enters the courtroom of the mind, as it were, with a brief. His style, while it is readable and has a superficial charm, often seems to me to weaken itself by straining for effect, and does not have the effortless grace of Lorenz. His works, furthermore, betray a life-long love affair with himself which gets rather tiresome, and he can be irritating enough to make one want to throw the book across the room. However, he has something to say, and his brief at least deserves to be examined carefully and judged in the light of further evidence.

notes

Dear friend,

I have put down on paper some thoughts that might be useful to you. I have tried to emphasize what I think is in the interest of the black community, the business community, and the nation as a whole.

1) The business community has made an enormous contribution to the expansion of our nation's productive capacity, and it is to no small degree a tribute to the quality of our business leadership that we are the most affluent society in the world.

Yet we are also a society torn by social divisions. We are an urban civilization that is witnessing the gradual disintegration of its cities. Millions of our people stand outside of the productive process, and must resort to welfare in order to survive. Many even turn to crime. The creative capacity of these unproductive millions is stifled. And once stifled, a quality that is potentially of great value to our society becomes transformed into frustration, bitterness, and violence.

The business community has a choice. It can either do whatever is necessary to bring these people into the productive process, or it and the rest of the nation can continue to pay the price of neglect and injustice. The choice should be clear not only on a moral basis--it is right to wipe out povery--but also from the point of view of self-interest. It is in the interest of the business community and the nation as a whole that the poor be enabled to contribute to our social and economic well-being rather than remain a drain ou our national resources and a standing threat to the social order.

It is better that they contribute to the Gross National Product by producing goods and services, increase their purchasing power, and thereby stimulate further production than that they be a resented--and resentful-burden in the society.

If business is to commit itself to the right and sensible thing to do, it has three responsibilities. It must do all that is within its power to make the private sector respond to the urgent needs of employment, education, housing, and health care, and where the private sector is incapable of fully meeting these needs, it must help the government become the instrument that completes the task. This second responsibility gets us into a realm that for too long now has been neglected and short-changed by the business community, This has been unfortunate since the public sector is likely to be the major vehicle whereby the problems that plague America will be eliminated. Finally, in both the private and the public sectors of the economy, we must once and for all accept the principle of social planning for the public well-being. It is simply unnecessary as well as suicidal that the most creative and affluent society in the world must stand by helplessly as our cities decay and our environment deteriorates. We can act, and must act, not randomly but rationally and with intelligence, guided by the principle that social considerations must be brought to bear upon decisions which have a social impact.

2) The necessity for blacks to renounce racial separatism has never been clearer than it is today. I speak not only of the oppressive conditions within the ghetto, the second-class lives

that blacks must endure behind the wall of separatism, but also of the political senselessness of separatism. Today blacks are in an unprecedented position. The rapid and enormous expansion in the political power of blacks has created a situation in which no major office holder in this nation can afford to ignore the black vote. That is why even Strom Thurmond now finds it necessary to appoint a black assistant, and Southern governors have pledged themselves to the principle of racial justice. The civil rights movement and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 have produced what I would call the browning of America, the emergence of Negroes as a major political force in the United States which anyone seeking high public office must accommodate to.

If there is a message to whites in the browning of America, there is an equally compelling message to blacks. If we are to reap the full benefits of our new influence, we must not isolate ourselves in a separatist corner of the political process. We must reject the idea that we can "go it alone," and instead strive to enhance our influence within the established institutions of American politics. Those who urge otherwise are acting against the best interests of the black community, and I have little doubt that given the stakes involved, they will be roundly repudiated.

## Crisis in the Nation

# Poverty and Civil Rights

## ON CIVIL RIGHTS

### Mr. Bayard Rustin

IT is, of course, a tremendous honor for me to come to address what I consider to be one of the most progressive unions in the nation.

There have been many times in the past when the trade union movement has been to me very disappointing, but I have always been able to face that disappointment because of a number of progressive trade unions which have never said no to any request which the civil rights movement has made of them.

The difference that this makes in the long, long struggle for democracy in this nation is more rewarding than it is at all possible for me to tell you at this moment.

**Essence of the Problem**

I have not come here to plead the cause of the American Negro. I have not come here to beg. I have come here to put, if I can, sympathetically if I can, without recrimination, the essence of the problem as I see it before you; because it is upon people like yourselves who are dealing daily with working men that this problem is ultimately to be solved.

Because if the workers of this country cannot gird their loins to deal with the problem I do not believe it can be dealt with; for the inhumanity of the problem, the tragedy of the problem, the need, the human need of the problem cannot be understood if it is not understood by men who have fought.

I want to go back to the founding of this country, because there has never been a moment in America's history that the white people have not been in serious and deep trouble over an unanswered question. That question has been, from 1776 until today, what do we do with the Negro.

It has emasculated our social concept because we have not been able to answer that question. We have

(Continued on Page 2)

*Bayard Rustin is a leading strategist in the civil rights movement and was deputy director of the March on Washington.*

# ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(Continued from Page 1)

made national error after national error and attempted to fool ourselves.

As a child in school I was taught that the American Declaration of Independence was a great and noble document. It is a good document but one could not describe that as noble which got us into a moral trap from the beginning; for the founding fathers were talking about all men being created equal, but they meant white men only.

We then set up a Constitution and I was taught that the American Constitution was a noble document; but, my friends, as we look back to that moment, how can we consider that noble where people are in deep trouble, where they make a fraction, three-fifths out of every Negro; not a man — three-fifths of a man — and then count those three-fifths in order that white men shall be represented in the legislature?

**Bayard Rustin**

A little later in our history Kansas wants to join the Union, but the question about Negro has not been answered. The nation is in trouble. There is great fighting in which not Negroes are killed, but white people, because the question has not been answered.

### The Unanswered Question

And then we permit two economic systems to develop in this country which ultimately has to war, one upon the other. And the reason there were two economic systems is that that one which developed in the South was built on slavery; the one which was built in the North was built on free labor.

Therefore, we lost more American men, white men, in the most senseless war between brothers in this country; but that war sprang from the fact that one of these economic systems was built on slavery.

Now, a little later, after the war and after we had hoped that Lincoln

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# ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(Continued from Page 2)

was right—that we would bind up our wounds and make a new nation — the most vicious thing that ever happened in American history took place over the question, "What about the Negro?"

In 1876 one man is elected president of the United States, but, because he would not promise to keep the Negro in a new slavery, they stole the election from him and gave it to another man.

You have World War I in which every available man is needed to defend the nation, but Negroes who were willing to defend the nation have to fight for the right to die; and the boys in the NAACP spent a year in Washington before Negroes could lose their blood to defend the nation.

### In Deepest Trouble

I tell you these things, my friends, because it is not the Negro who is in deepest trouble, it is the nation. It is the nation because that same system, the same political system, has produced for all of us a monstrous condition.

Now, if there is any white person here who believes in medicare for people over 65, is he aware that he cannot get that medicare for his mother until the civil rights revolution is won?

If there is anyone here who is in a poor school district where the federal government should be giving millions of dollars to help children live in and understand an industrial, mechanized, automated society; is that same man aware that so long as the Dixiecrats control the Senate (which is to say they control it because Negroes cannot vote), these men will not give to white grandmothers the social insurance they ought to have?

They will not give federal aid to school children of Mississippi and Alabama, white children first of all, who need better education.

As a laboring man, are you aware that, when Dr. Martin Luther King was brought up on false charges, he got it from a 1922 law which was especially put on the books to destroy labor unions. That is where he got it.

Those are the men in our Senate who are anti-Catholic, and anti-Jewish, anti-labor, anti-Negro, and who are opposed to all social insurances for whites; but their power derives from the economic and social position of the American Negro.

By definition and by mathematics, more white people are in trouble until this problem is solved than Negroes, because there are simply more of

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## ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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them.

The civil rights revolution, therefore, is not merely for the uplift of the American Negro because the American Negro cannot be uplifted unless the entire society is uplifted. He cannot find work when there is not work. Therefore, there must be work for all or he will not get it.

### Contradiction of Rich and Poor

Therefore, the civil rights revolution is a revolt against the contradiction of this society — that we should be the richest nation on earth but 50-million poor.

Listening to Bayard Rustin.

This is the only country in the so-called western world where in New York and Chicago and Detroit people are now being born into families three generations on relief. This could not happen in England, nor France, nor Switzerland, nor Scandinavia, nor Germany, but it happens here.

Now, all minorities have had to put up the struggle for freedom that the Negro is now putting up, and for making America a better place.

The Irish were in ghettos, the Italians were in ghettos, the Poles were in ghettos and, therefore, people who are Irish, Polish, Jewish and other minorities often say to me, "Mr. Rustin, we pulled ourselves up by our bootstraps, why are the Negroes making such a fuss?"

Well, there are two good reasons for this.

### No Avenue of 'Escape'

First of all, none of these other minorities were ever in a closed ghetto—never. By virtue of the fact that they looked like everybody else they could either change their name or they could have physical features changed or by virtue of being white they could escape.

A Negro is obvious. That is the first reason. That keeps things closed, but the other factor is that most of the other minorities developed in a period of expanding economy, or were able, as things got tough, to move to the West, either in stagecoaches or trains or on foot, to free land and new opportunities.

The Negro people are attempting to come into the total American citizenship in a period of automation, of a declining economy, and this makes a profound difference.

I salute the trade union movement, for it was the trade union movement, and its development while it was broadening, that helped many of these minority groups come into their own; but we are not increasing trade union membership today.

The use of machines means that the Negro is facing not only discrimination and segregation, but machines; and in parts of Mississippi, my friends — geese — for they have even brought in geese to weed cotton. And this is good business because you can then sell the geese and you can hold back the goose livers and send them to France and they come back here in something called paté de fois gras.

### New Forces

Now, I would like also to point out to you, friends, that these new forces, which make it difficult for the Negro to rise at this moment, simultaneously are affecting unions. There are twice as many young Negroes on the street now because we were late comers. We didn't have skills, and the machine has crippled us; but the machine is also crippling the trade union movement.

I would like to point out that there are new forms of unemployment. There is poverty, and there are many, many people who are in an underclass who have gotten used to being poor in a society which teaches them by billions of dollars in advertising each year, that they should have everything they need.

Now, the integration of progressive forces is needed. That is to say the labor unions, the churches, the minority groups, the intellectuals and the poor.

Not the Negroes alone, nor labor alone, nor the poor alone, but these groups, together, must find a political program around which they can wrap themselves to deal with the contradictions in this society, and the rights of minorities including the Negro.

This is necessary if we merely look for a moment at a couple of interesting items.

In your resolution you call for the unseating of the Mississippi Democratic Party delegation. This is not a move on the part of black people to do something to white people.

The reason why it is important that in Atlantic City we ask that the Mis-

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## Civil Rights Resolution

(Continued from Page 5)

What is becoming increasingly apparent, therefore, is that the Civil Rights movement is leading a fight not merely for Negro rights, but for the kind of revision of our entire structure which will mean a better society for all people. The War on Poverty must include a War on Racism, and the struggle for Civil Rights inevitably includes a struggle against poverty.

### Labor's Responsibility

While paying periodic lip service to the principle of Civil Rights, the main body of the labor movement, with notable exceptions in the case of some unions and federated bodies, has not only failed to assume a position of leadership in the swelling wave of demand for change but has been totally absent from the fray in the areas of most difficult struggle and has merely observed from the sidelines demontrations and activities of the Civil Rights movement.

Now therefore be it resolved, that:

1. There can be no appeasement or compromise in our dealings with the irresponsible group of Dixiecrat Senators and their Northern allies engaged in a filibuster against the Civil Rights Bill.

As we approach a summer of national crisis in which rising tensions carry dangers of very serious consequence, the early passage of strong statutory protections of civil rights is a minimum necessity.

Even the passage of these laws will be merely a beginning step forward, since the Negro people are fully aware of the wide gap between the promise contained in the words of the law and the reality of effective implementation and enforcement.

2. We call upon the President and the Department of Justice to face up to the realities of the use of clubs and teargas, firehoses, cattle prods and police dogs, beatings, and killings to suppress demands for constitutional rights.

As the ruling cliques in Mississippi openly and defiantly proclaim their intention to continue to deny to Negro citizens equal protection of the laws and due process, and announce the acquisition of arsenals of weapons and even tanks to suppress the freedom schools and voter registration drives planned by the COFO organizations for this summer, we want the President to prepare to use federal troops, if necessary, and we urge the Attorney General to institute prosecutions and injunction suits to enforce the Constitution of the United States.

### Take the Lead

3. We call our local unions and our members to take the lead in their communities:

a) In the drive for open occupancy legislation, to eliminate barriers of segregation in housing.

b) In the drive for revision of school policies to promote integration and to assure the highest quality education for all children.

c) To deluge their Senators with demands for an end to the filibuster by a vote for cloture, and prompt enactment of the Civil Rights Bill without crippling compromises.

d) To demand of their state's delegates to the Democratic and Republican party conventions that they vote to deny seats to the Mississippi delegations illegally selected by a voting procedure which denies votes to over 200,000 Negro citizens of voting age in that state; and that, instead, the Conventions recognize the credentials of the delegates who will be elected in a truly democratic voting procedure to be conducted by the COFO Organizations, in which all eligible voters will be permitted to vote.

e) To encourage active personal participation in civil rights demonstrations wherever they occur, so that no opportunity may be lost to express the urgent demand of America's enlightened citizenry that racism be stamped out in this country.

4. We recognize that because today's need for action faces the obstacles of 100 years of entrenched evil, only a combination of all possible sources of power in a sustained, unyielding deep-cutting drive for change can accomplish the tremendous task ahead.

At the heart of such a drive is the direct action program of the civil rights organizations. Every organization involved in that program: NAACP, Urban League, CORE, SNCC, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and many others, merits the largest measure of support that it is in our power to give.

Such support must include the personal participation of our members and leaders wherever possible. It must include the financial support available through our Fund for Democracy, and we direct our national officers to enlarge the Fund and to make assistance to the Fund by our local unions a matter of urgent and high priority national policy.

5. The AFL-CIO must find practical and significant ways of giving to the Negro people and to the nation as a whole, tangible and unmistakable evidence of labor's deep dedication to the cause of civil rights and of labor's recognition of the critical urgency for action now.

This requires effective support of civil rights organizations and activities. It requires vigorous repudiation of those local union leaders who have lent their support to figures like Governor Wallace of Alabama.

### Repudiate Racism

It requires immediate and forthright repudiation of the racist implications and a refusal on the part of organized workers anywhere to work with groups of Puerto Rican and Negro workers, and active efforts to promote the employment of minority groups in occupations from which they have been barred.

It requires vigorous action against any labor organization which practices discrimination whether by written constitution or by subtle practice.

The best interests of all of labor are identified with the objectives of the Civil rights movement. The AFL-CIO must act as a vigorous participant and not as a mildly sympathetic bystander.

6. With our own International Union it is essential that we want again to reaffirm our commitment to the goals of Civil Rights for all people; that we examine the functioning of our International procedures; that we reinvigorate our local union Civil Right Committees, and that we exercise increased effort in the enforcement of our policy of no discrimination in hiring, in plant practices, and in the operation of our local unions.

7. To assist in the implementation of the principles and policies herein established, we urge upon the International Union, District Councils, Local Unions, and all of our members the maximum possible use of all means of communications with appropriate local, state, and federal officials as each new development occurs or is threatened, and that copies of this resolution be sent to these officials at once.

**END**

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## Economic Policy

(Continued from Page 7)

ment of full employment and optimum growth for the economy as a whole.

No simple cure-all, or one-shot gimmick can bring economic growth and sustained full employment to America and yet it is crucial that we get America back to work and at the same time raise our nation's living standards.

The Employment Act of 1946 committed the federal government to utilize all of its great resources to the objective of maximum production and employment.

Therefore be it resolved that the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers urges enactment of all the enabling legislation necessary to fulfill this commitment.

**END**

# SPIT, STRING, and SCOTCHTAPE

[illegible]

by Bayard Rustin

One of the things that A Freedom Budget for All Americans makes clear is that the problems we face cannot be handled with the spit, string, and scotchtape approach which, time and time again, we have heard discussed throughout the Nation. The problems of housing, jobs, urban decay, education, are all so entwined that any effort to deal with housing that is not part of a master plan which also deals with education and jobs, or any effort to deal with jobs that is not part of a master plan to deal with housing and education, will be unsound and will not work.

Let me give an illustration. The Federal Government says that it is interested in dealing with the problem of employment, but its approach is incorrect from the beginning. If one looks at the War on Poverty today, one sees that it is not structured to deal with the problem of work and the reconstruction of the family of the poor in the way that this problem is traditionally dealt with in America.

Traditionally--whether we are talking about Jews or Italians or Irish--the effort has always been to avoid putting the burden on the individual family, and focusing upon social reconstruction to make the head of the family economically independent.

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**Mr. Rustin is Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, which developed A Freedom Budget for All Americans, a plan of action to liquidate poverty in the United States.**

Therefore, I would describe the War on Poverty as another spit-and-scotchtape effort precisely because it is calculated to ignore the heads of Puerto Rican and Negro families, and to go about doing piddling little things for youth, many of which things would not have to be done for youth if heads of families were made economically independent.

Or, let us take all this talk about reconstructing the cities. The amount of money so far given by the Federal Government to reconstruct cities--and they call the program by such a variety of names that I can never keep up with which one of the government agencies is now supporting what--the total amount of money is less than that which was required to plan and build the Pan American Building over Grand Central Station in New York. Obviously, this also is a spit-and-scotchtape approach.

Moreover, any efforts to deal with these problems--which again, are not part of a master plan of social reconstruction--are bound not only to fail but also to have raised aspirations so high as to create intense frustration and disorders. Clearly, therefore, one of the fundamental causes of the summer discontent has been that the government has, by using such words as "Great Society" and "War on Poverty," revolutionized the aspirations of people while, day after day, the facts of their

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lives have remained precisely the same. For instance, with all the billions of dollars supposedly being spent, Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant look the same today as they did last year.

I reiterate, therefore, that one of the reasons for this is because we have not approached the problem in the thoroughgoing manner that is required. To do this, we are going to have to reestablish our priorities. We are going to have to institute social planning, as all intelligent European countries do, without being, in any sense, communistic. We are going to have to reorder first things first.

In this connection, I should like to say a few things about what, in fact, is in A Freedom Budget for All Americans. The document, first of all, says that all those who are willing and able to work should be put to work.

Private enterprise--and let's stop fooling ourselves--is neither going to train nor to put to work the hard-core poor. Private enterprise is interested in return on its dollar. It is not interested in putting the untrained to work, because private enterprise will not need in the future the skills of the vast majority of that hard core.

Secondly, all those who are not willing and able to work must be provided with a guaranteed income, consistent with life in the affluent American society.

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In this regard, as a corollary, there must be decent and adequate wages, because young, hard-core poor Negroes, are living in an affluent society, where they are told by television that they're nobody if they don't have a car, and if they do not have all of the nasty things which are useless. There are conditions under which they will work, and these are four in number.

First, that the job is full-time and not summer foolishness to stop riots. Any young Negro who is given a summer job merely to stop riots is getting less than he deserves, and the society is immoral to dare to offer him any such job. It must be full-time work.

Second, the wages must be adequate. Young Negroes are not going to work for $40, $50, $60, or $70 a week. There must be upgrading in these jobs, and if there is not the possibility of upgrading, young Negroes will prefer to live by their wits in the streets, at which they can make more than $80 a week. There must be a sense of dignity.

Third, we must insure a decent living standard for all of those who cannot work (which in other terms means a guaranteed income for those too young, too old, or too crippled to work).

Fourth, the Freedom Budget calls for the wiping out of slums.

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I want to make it quite clear what we mean by the wiping out of slums. Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant cannot be rehabilitated by either private business or government, by simply patching up a lot of old building and constructing amongst old decrepit buildings a lot of so-called new housing, which in a year or two will be decrepit too.

## Density Is the Problem

The problem with the ghetto and its culture is the density of population. If we are not permitted to move one-third of the people out of these areas, the areas will continue to deteriorate. So I hope we will not fall for the notion that private enterprise is going to have any appreciable effect on providing housing for the poor.

Some time ago, in talking with David Rockefeller, it was made clear to me that the private sector of this economy will not provide housing for the hard-core poor, and for a very simple reason--there is not sufficient money in it for them.

Next, we need to provide decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities for all Americans at a cost they can afford, which means that the ghetto poor will be educated only when the government not only pays for their tuition and for their books and for their board in universities, but also pays them a stipend for, in fact, going to school.

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Then, we need to purify our air and our water, and to put the poor to work doing this.

## What the Freedom Budget Recommends

The Freedom Budget calls for putting to work all those who are able and willing to work. They can be employed in doing socially needed things; performing services for the rich and the poor; building roads and new subway systems; and building schools and hospitals. For let us not fool ourselves. You cannot take one-tenth of the population, including Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and through private enterprise and through piddling projects train them. People are trained in a socially mobile situation, where government takes the responsibility.

Here is an example. During World War II, no one argued about who was going to work. The Federal Government put up factories to build airplanes in North Carolina and in California. They did not say, "This woman is too old; this girl is too young; this man is too black; this one is too Puerto Rican; this one is something else." The government simply said, "This is the factory. This is a tool; this is a saw; this is a hammer; this is a chisel; this is a drill." Those people went into those factories and in a socially created situation. There was no talk of Head Start and no talk of training. Within three months they created a miracle: these blacks, Puerto Ricans, aged, and crippled built planes which flew.

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Unless we are going to approach the present problem in that manner, we are in for serious difficulties in which this society is going to be torn to bits, and deservedly torn to bits.

Finally, we need to create a social security system to meet the needs of every one in an affluent society. And this means getting rid, once and for all, in all of its filthy aspects, of the whole notion of welfare in this society.

If we do not do that, and if we do not have a master plan for doing it, as this Freedom Budget calls for, then we are in trouble.

The Freedom Budget calls for the expenditure of $185 billion in the next 10 years. If we are not prepared to spend that, if we are not prepared to have social planning, if we are not prepared to change our priorities, these spit and scotchtape projects can only lead to more hope and thus frustration, and thus to the rending of the fabric of this society.

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# "SOME CIVIL RIGHTS ASPECTS"

MR. BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen; there is a sense in which I dislike the word "disadvantaged," because it implies there is more to the problem than mere poverty. I prefer to use the term, "the poor," because I think it has a universal aspect which is inclusive, where the term "disadvantaged" calls up a kind of history which it is important for us to remember may not be particularly significant concerning the conclusions which we reach. Having said that I shall now go into some of that history.

I think that if we are going to talk about the poor it is important to see the real role that the Civil Rights movement has played for the poor and for the nation. When I was a young man I was taught, as most Americans are, to believe that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were noble documents. I want to make it quite clear that I think for the 18th Century they were undoubtedly enlightened documents. But they were not noble documents, for the Declaration of Independence, proclaiming that all men are equal, and that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights--which I do not need to repeat--was a document which was directing itself to white men as being equal, because the very men who wrote it were slaveholders, including Jefferson. Now, if this were true, then obviously the Constitution of the United States, which under law imbedded this notion of white superiority into all of our institutions, was even more ignoble. When at Philadelphia Benjamin Franklin stood and declared the Negro a fraction instead of a whole man, it was as if one were in South Africa today. Not only was the Negro not a man, he became three-fifths of a man in order that White people who held slaves could have an inordinate amount of representation in the House of Representatives. Now, because of the Franklin compromise, which attempted to hold together two dissimilar economic systems, the thread of disunity over the ability to call black men men, set the stage for two nations attempting to live together as one. This could never be, as any Jew would know. Because unlike Christianity, which has been centrally concerned with the salvation of the individual, the Hebrew Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos and others, made it clear to the daughters and the sons of Jerusalem that if there were not social righteousness, righteousness toward the individual and group, then society would in fact fall apart. And that's precisely what happened as a result of the wrong which was done in 1776 in the Declaration of Independence, and the institutionalizing of that wrong in the American Constitution in 1789; it was inevitable that sometime in the 1860's there would be the most vicious civil war that had been known to man up until that time. Because there was not righteousness in the situation, and righteousness is, as the Hebrew Prophets told us, that concrete which holds the bricks of society together. It was there and therefore the house came tumbling down. It could not stand. It was divided against itself, in Lincoln's term.

Now, why have I gone through this history? To malign our political ancestors? Not at all. In another context I could tell of their nobility. But to make it clear to you that at this precise moment the purpose of the American Civil Rights movement and the black and white people, including Jews, who had died in Mississippi, the sixty churches that were bombed in Mississippi, the four children in Birmingham, the fire hoses, all of this, in Dr. Martin King's terms, is to save the soul of America. I should like to translate and put in more everyday terms what he means. It is that the American Negro and his white allies are now for the first time attempting to put content into the Declaration of Independence, and to make it work, to reinterpret from Jefferson and others, the nature of the American Constitution, and to make democracy work here for all men regardless of color, race and creed. And when the history of the Civil Rights movement is written it will not tell, if it is an objective history, how noble the Negroes were and how much they gained for themselves by going into the streets. It will in fact say that now for the first time the movement of the Negro people made the American people recognize the very nature of their political and social roots; made them see that they were not built on righteousness, and in effect use these institutions which were inconsistent and which were hypocritical, and proclaim them as the basis for bringing freedom for all.

Secondly, the Civil Rights movement contribution is that it has forced this nation to see what truly is revolutionary. My friends, the American Negro used the term revolutionary not because they are thinking in the political terms of the 19th Century revolutionaries: 19th Century revolutionaries thought in terms of seizing power. No Negro thinks of seizing power. The 19th Century revolutionary said, We have a philosophy of government and economics which we want to replace the dying order. The old revolutionary said, We will use any means to take power. The Negroes have said, We will use only non-violence. Therefore, in three respects they do not in any sense have as their revolutionary grandfathers Marx, Engels, et cetera. ~~Therefore~~, What then is revolutionary?

First, the thing that is revolutionary is, the Negro has lost ~~got~~ his fear and no longer looks upon himself as being an inferior, and ~~says that he would have~~ wants all the rights that others have ~~now~~. He wants his part of the cake. But still there is a sense in which this is not only psychologically revolutionary--but it is other things. When the Negro stood up as a man and asked for his rights, it ~~is~~ was at ~~this~~ that point, ~~that~~ in social, economic and political terms, we ~~are~~ were faced with a revolution, and the necessity for ~~one~~ a quiet, persistent, basic change in ~~that~~ our social, political, economic and psychological way of thinking. And for ~~the~~ a very simple reason: ~~that so complicated is~~ our society ~~in the year 1965~~ is so complicated that for the Negro to be able to get decent housing, decent jobs, and a decent education, ~~we are forced to think very differently; and~~ we ~~are forced to~~ must change a number of our institutions~~, in order that we can be accommodated too~~. And that is what really is revolutionary.

As long as the American Negro was concerned merely with public accommodation no fundamental and basic changes needed to be made. And therefore the period from December 1955 through the March on Washington in 1963, was the simplest and easiest period. Because it was a period where ~~it was simple for~~ the Negro could, by mere demonstrations, ~~to~~

face the integration ~~discover that he could get public accommodations in~~ of restaurants, ~~in~~ travel, libraries, et cetera. But following the March on Washington, when the American Negro asked for decent housing now, schools now, and jobs now, this society was faced with ~~the~~ demands ~~proposition~~ that they could not answer ~~give them to him~~ without some very profound change. Now, if the Negro ~~American~~ revolution has ~~done this~~ raised these basic questions, it has done a second good thing. For I say to you, my friends, there is no way for a Negro to get decent housing as a Negro, or decent schooling as a Negro, or jobs as a Negro ~~as Negroes~~. Negroes can move forward in this revolution only--and not until--this society wills that we shall have no slums for black or white; that we shall have decent and modern education for all regardless of color, race or creed; until this society decides it is going to provide jobs for all men who want to work.

Now, I would point out to you a third contribution of the Civil Rights movement, and that is that it has already moved the best elements of this society into action at a number of points. I submit that there would be no war on proverty now in the United States if Negroes were not in motion. Although Negroes represent less than one-third of the poor: the white poor are not in motion. It is not insignificant that it was on the night of the March on Washington that President Kennedy promised the Negro leaders that there would be a war on poverty. I believe that the great debate on the nature of the American school system, that is the 19th Century one which does provide men in the 20th Century for the 20th Century, is a result not of the movement of white people, except as they are part of the Civil Rights movement, but represents a response of this nation to school boycotts and the insistence of Negroes for quality integrated schools. I believe that we would not have the limited degree of assistance medically for the aged if it were not for the Negro movement in motion. I believe that we would have no ecumenical movement in this country today, because the only thing Jews, Catholics and Protestants have been able to work together about is civil rights. ~~get involved in in the ecumenical movement, is what now are we prepared to do to improve the lives of the American Negro~~. It is my hope that they will now together, as an ecumenical movement, move on to more profound and deeper issues.

Now, my friends, if what I am saying is true, then we must see something of the mood of the Negro at this moment. As Negroes look back to 1955 they discover that their hopes have been dashed. As they look back to 1954 they discover that their hopes have been dashed. As they look to the Civil Rights Act back in 1964 their hopes have been dashed. As they look back to the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 their hopes have been dashed. For as all of this legislation has come upon the books, as the President has made increasingly great speeches in defense of Negro rights, as the Surpeme Court decisions have come out one after another, the reality of the situation has become more desperate. Since 1954 there is almost twice as many Negroes unemployed as there were in 1964. There are many more Negroes in segregated classes and segregated schools than there were in 1954. There are many more Negroes living in slums than there were in 1954. Now, one needs to be objective, and I want to say to you that these conditions are not all the result of segregation and discrimination. But that is very difficult to explain to the non-analytical mass who can only judge by the victories which they see. Now, this is important my friends, because if any of you are going to want to work with the poor, you are going to discover the poor do not necessarily want to work with you. They say, If these conditions are infinitely worse than they were in 1954, then there is something radically wrong with Martin Luther King, with Roy Wilkins, with all the Negro leaders. We've gone through all these sacrifices following these fellows and conditions have gotten worse. And it is very ordinary to hear Negroes in bars, and poolrooms and on the corner denouncing all the Negro leaders. But they do not stop there. They say, If things have got this worse, all these white people who pretend to be our friends--the damned Jews, the damned Protestants, the damned Catholics, all of them--if things have got this worse, then they are in the movement to hold us back. They are not in the movement to help us, because they are white and they are powerful and they could help us. And thus we have emerging in the Negro community not only a profound criticism and dislike of the Negro leaders, but a profound dislike and distrust of whites who want to help. And one of the chief reasons for this is that those who stand on street corners cannot analyze that at the very moment when at last the churches and synagogues and cathedrals have become active, when at last millions of white people do in fact believe and want to do something about the problem, it is at this very moment that the technological revolution raises its head. It is at this moment when the vast majority of Americans are saying, Surely, come in, that the technological revolution says, Stay out, we have no need for that muscle power which you have to sell and which by and large the masses of Negroes have only muscle power to sell, period we ~~do~~ not ~~want it and we cannot buy it~~.

This is one of the chief reasons--and there are many other reasons that one ~~coul~~d [illegible] criticize the Moynihan report. ~~And~~ I am not one of those who says that Moynihan is a racist. I know him; he is not. I am not one of those who wants to argue too profoundly with some of his figures. Anyone who gathers that many figures together is bound to interpret them the way he wants. If someone else did it, my friends, one could find fault. But the reason the Negroes reject the Moynihan report is because it ~~says to them, We want~~ seems merely to to call attention to ~~your~~ their defects. While Mr. Moynihan goes ~~quit~~e out of his way to point out that ~~this was~~ there are not the fault of the Negro but the fault of slavery. But the mood of the Negro is not to discuss illegitimacy; certainly not to discuss the problem in terms of constitutional or personal ~~I may or I might or I ought to be~~ responsibility. ~~But because~~ ~~He~~ Moynihan is convinced as I am convinced that if you do not have stable family life you cannot possibly have political freedom, you cannot possibly have social freedom until and unless you have economic freedom. ~~that~~ But then to urge that anything be done to improve the Negro family while the society makes it impossible for the heads of ~~the~~ Negro families and the young people in them to find work, is to my mind quite ridiculous. ~~The major problem is~~ We must understand that the man's role in the family ~~responsibility~~ will change as ~~they have~~ he has an economic basis on which to build a family. In the City of New York alone relief is distributed so that the Negro male who attempts to stay home and take care of his family is penalized. The easiest way for the Negro male to see that his family in New York is ~~given as much as they can get~~ supported as well as possible is to run away from it. I know hundreds of Negro ~~males~~ men who deserted their families precisely because the family can get a better economic deal if they are not around. ~~Or,~~ And I know hundreds of Negro boys who cannot work. They are unemployable because they have never lived in a home where they have seen a man get up and go to work; where they have never developed ~~any~~ work habits; where there is no respect for maleness, because women bring in all the money.

And as I say, at the very moment when more White people are saying, Come in, join in with us in this experiment of democracy, the market place says, We do not want you, we cannot use you. Therefore, in working with the Negro poor, you are going to have to remember what one of the Prophets remembered. He spoke to them, they were touched in their hearts, but they gnashed on him with their teeth. That is the ambivalence. That is the fear. You will discover ~~that~~ a all over this country you ~~are going to face a very~~ tremendous political problem; wh~~ere i~~n

~~cities now you are going to have~~ Negroes are going to running Negroes for political office whether those Negroes are any good or not~~, for political office,~~ simply because they are black. You are going to find many Negroes now who will say to you, "Will you kindly leave the meeting. We really don't want White people here. We've got to do this for ourselves." This is a profound disease, but it is a disease which grows out of the frustration--and I would hope that in no sense would you permit this to ~~interfere~~ stop you, but that you will ~~to~~ use grave intelligence and stay in there fighting.

Now, it is in the light of this analysis, my friends, that we can see that the war on poverty, which I believe we should all support, ~~because it is something.~~ but which ~~But it~~ is, unfortunately, neither a war nor a great battle. It is a little skirmish up an alley with a few people with BB rifles attempting to control elephants. There is not a city in this nation which can put its poor to work. There is not a city in this nation which is capable of providing the money for educating the people who live in it. Is it not ironic that at the time that this nation was excited about the President of the United States investing a little over a billion dollars in the school systems of the nation, that Mr. Donovan of New York City, was in Washington asking for five billion over the next four years for

New York City schools alone. There is not a city in this nation which can tear down its slums. And therfore, rather than talking about a little bit here and a piece there, which ~~further~~ disrupts as well as ~~helping~~ helps, we need to come out for a broad political and economic program for the solution of the problem to the poor. And let me give you two simple examples: this summer HARYOU-ACT put five-thousand young Negroes at work at salaries very low and inadequate. But those five-thousand youths, many of them, because they did come from the Negro poor, brought more money into the family than the mothers or fathers~~, --whichever the case may be--~~could ~~in fact manipulate~~ at the end ~~of the week. And therefore a group of Negro women came to me asking me to help them set up a committee because this money coming in came in in dribbles to the Negro family in a way which further disrupted the family. Because~~ And on Friday and Saturday nights when mothers would turn to their daughters and sons and say, I do not want you to go out again this weekend; you were out until two last night, the children would turn to the mothers and say, "Who the hell are you to tell me what to do? I'm bringing in more money than you are."

The mothers, ~~therefore,~~ came to me want ed the money turned over to the heads of the families and not to the children. Now, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to discuss ~~thr~~ow in some of the things which I think we need to think about. First of all, we need to build a coalition and to keep it strong. We would not have got the Civil Rights Bill of 19~~5~~64 or the Voter Rights Bill of 1965 had it not been for the three religious groups--Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish--the trade union movement, the students, the intellectuals, and the minority groups standing together, fighting together. Now, we need to keep that same group of forces together to obtain ~~arouse~~ certain political objectives. And nothing short of some of the following ideas is going to touch the problem meaningfully.

I believe that we need and must fight for a $2 minimum wage bill. I believe we have got to fight against Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Bill. I believe that we must work for a shorter work week~~, with no overtime~~. I believe we must work for rent subsidies. I believe we must work for guaranteed annual wage and ~~with~~ work with dignity. But work with dignity is possible for the poor only if we have ~~the next thing which is~~ public works and ~~with~~ training. But I believe a public works program ~~with training~~ must not be looked upon as they were in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt period, but with a great emphasis on public work which expands the services of people to people. I believe that we must have a complete reorganization of our systems of welfare--federal and state. And I believe that it is absolutely essential that this economic program gets the support of the religious groups, for, my friends, to be piddling around in our communities with spit and string and Scotch tape, hoping to do a little thing here and a little thing there, without some of the fundamental notions in this economic program which we must sell to this nation, all we will be doing is creating more frustration by leading people to believe that good things, which are necessary to do, are equal to solutions to their problems. My criticism of ~~Orensky is, to~~ Saul Alinsky talk about involvement of Negroes so that you set them down and really say, Now, what would you like to do to help yourself?--"This is a rather ridiculous concept that some people have of the poor being involved. I am all for the poor being involved, but ~~I~~ am not ~~involving the poor~~ on ~~the~~ a basis which misleads them. All right, now, Do you want to fix up rat holes, or do you want to go to the Real Estate Board ~~Court~~ and complain, or do you want to go to City Hall and say your rent should be reduced? I am for all of us, but only if in addition to these good things which are now possible to do, one spells out completely for the poor, the nature of the political and social action, and the political and social program which ~~is~~ are necessary for the real solution of the problem. Now, having put these things broadly, I would like to come back now to some suggestions I have for the temples and synagogues.

Leadership of the major American religions is undoubtedly committed to Civil Rights. But the synagogues and temples face an American problem. It is the problem which the leadership of the labor movement faces, and the problem which the Civil Rights movement faces. ~~But~~ Often ~~because~~ the people ~~at the top think, and~~ are trying to do the right thing, and later ~~they~~ ~~often~~ discover that their followers are not following them. Therefore, I believe that the rank and file religious people in this country do not in fact share the concern of their rabbis, priests and ministers. And that this is in part the ~~fact that~~ fault of the rabbis, priests and ministers who have not yet found the way to make these people care enough. And I do not belive they will ever care enough--anymore than a Negro will care enough. Even a black man cannot care enough unless we find some way to get him involved. The first and missionary function of every religion in America is to convert its own congregation to a deep understanding of and identification with the Negro revolution through involvement. Secondly, churches and synagogues in America, even those committed to

Civil Rights, are largely institutions themselves of de facto segregation. I am not asking rabbis overnight to convert Negroes into being Jews. I doubt that few would do that. My friend Sammy Davis, Jr., being an exception. But there have already been important experiments in which suburban and inter-city churches exchange members, have visits, set up joint activities outside but with their related memberships--I hold these to be experiments which should be broadened. Even where they do not have an essential effect upon the problem in terms of politics, they do have a psychological effect and will help to build the kind of political coalition which I think is necessary. The religious people of America should by their own example of voluntary actions begin to ~~blow down~~ destroy these walls of segregation.

Third, it is a fact that religious institutions invest billions of dollars annually. But very few of these investments are carefully made in terms of examining the portfolios of the investments to discover whether or not some of these funds are invested in institutions which in fact brutalize the poor. Religious groups invest billions of dollars annually in huge building programs--new schools, churches, recreation centers, and in repair and restoration of institutions. I would hope that no church, no synagogue, would ever be rebuilt, or a recreational center, or any other building be attempted without the use of the poor and the minority groups in the construction of those institutions. I am here to tell you that the buildings trade unions can be taught on these matters, and nobody could win more simply and easily than religious institutions. Now, voluntary non-profit institutions, including churches, often end up paying poverty wages. ~~Now~~, G gentlemen, when I was working with Leon Davis in attempting to organize the hospital workers into local 1199, nowhere did I get such resistance as I got from the religious groups, catholic, protestant, and jewish, against the right of these men to organize into unions and to get a decent wage. In fact the catholic, jewish and protestant churches went to Albany to try to defeat any possibility of these men. And all you have here is the poor being asked to subsidize charitable institutions. And how is God's name can the poor afford to subsidize charitable hospitals and other institutions? Churches ought to stand firmly for the right of men to organize and to make a decent wage, for by relieving the poor in general from subsidizing the middle class and rich in non-profit jobs, the churches will be helping to bring the black and white in poverty into a state where they can be responsible.

It is the official public policy of the United States Government to call for maximum feasible participation of the poor in the war against poverty. However, it is clear that a good many local governments regard this principle as an encroachment upon their prerogatives. The voluntary section of American society, and religious groups in particular, must defend the right of the black and white poor to participate fully in the war against proverty, ~~but~~ and intelligently. This can be done in a number of ways. For example, in church membership, in an anti-poverty non-profit corporation; by church encouragement of their members in poor parishes to assist neighborhood leadership in community action programs. But, my friends, a warning:

If there is no city in this country which can deal with making its schools quality, or tearing down its slums and rebuilding them, or putting people back to work, we ought not to fool the poor in these little local communities into believing that is the only place they ought to be involved, ~~so~~ on the local level. ~~Because~~ A national program of social planning is required, and their involvement in the local communities without ~~both~~ a national plan~~, and one in which they are involved, is als~~o a hoax. There are various provisions under federal, local and state law whereby non-profit institutions can participate in a whole range of programs--housing, neighborhood youth centers, work study, et cetera.

All of these are important if we are also working at the more sophisticated level. In the war against poverty ~~one~~ of the most exciting participants ~~has~~ have been the non-professional worker from a poor neighborhood. Poor people played a considerable role in the Operation Headstart. In this way they set examples. The black and white poor also have essential qualities as teachers' aides, social aides, and research assistants. We believe that this area of the program should be intensified, opened up, and we are certain that the churches can do a good deal here.

Finally, let me say, my friends, that the existing Civil Rights groups cannot solve the problem of Civil Rights alone. Nevertheless, our society does hold the Civil Rights groups accountable for the strategy, tactics and degree of order that pervails in America while we pursue justice. Therefore, we should urge all religious groups to support morally and financially those established relevant groups that have this great burden to bear. This is my way of saying you should contribute in Civil Rights organizations.

When Dr. Martin Luther King and I were in Watts, we had an experience I hoped never to have, an experience in which hundreds of young Negro boys and girls were justifying rioting and arson. But I am sure if I had been their age I too would have been justifying rioting and arson. Because one little fellow took out a match box to explain to me what I had mistaken to be a written piece of paper. He kept talking about "the manifesto." So I said, "Son, could I see a copy of your manifesto?"

Oh, they laughed to high heaven. "He wants to see a copy of our manifesto. Okay, show him the manifesto, Bill."

He took out a box of matches, he pulled off one, he lit it, he held in Dr. King's and my face, and he said, "That's our manifesto, baby; burn, baby, burn."

The most significant thing about Watts was this: these poor people who happened to be black had urged the police to treat them decently, and the police were not even coming to talk to them. They had then gone to the Mayor and urged the Mayor to come in for conferences with them. And the mayor did not come. They had asked for War on Poverty money. It was not sent in. They went to the governor and said,"Would you come in and have a conference with us. Our situation is desperate." But the governor would not come.

This young man looked at me seriously out of his existential ~~experiential~~ experience, and held up a match, and said, "We won , because the fire and the looting brought the police in to talk to us, the fire and the looting brought the mayor, the fire and the looting brought the governor, the fire and the looting brought in so many people;" and he looked at me and said, "Baby if you go out in that street you will trip over the social workers and the psychologists these fools have sent in here."

What I am pointing out, my friends, is that the failure to deal fundamentally, the failure to deal in a revolutionary manner, the failure to deal honestly with the problems of the poor, will teach the poor only one thing, and that is that rioting, arson and burning is a legitimate form of social change. And therefore we are a part of any matches that are dropped, because we have not made this society face realistically to the problem. We are at fault again because we are sitting quietly permitting the President of the United States, under the pressure of Mr. Stennis and other reactionaries in this country, to rip the budget of the United States to pieces, putting more and more money into Viet Nam and less and less into dealing with the real problems of this nation. I am not here to discuss Viet Nam and will lay it aside politically. What I am here to say is, that the responsibility of carrying on the war in Viet Nam ought to be spread evenly and not made or laid on the backs of the poor to whom we turn and say, We cannot now deal with your problems because we must carry on the war in Viet Nam. I believe that whatever is necessary, tripling the taxes five times if necessary, must be done in order to see that regardless of what we feel we must do in Viet Nam, or that some feel must be done, if that must be carried on, this war against poverty must also honestly be carried on. For I am here to tell you that sooner or later the people of Viet Nam, and nobody else, will determine what their political nature is to be, and we had better keep our eye on the real problem of disunity, the real problem of social dislocation and disaffection which is rearing its head here. And ~~we must not~~ permit under any circumstances, and we propagand~~ize for~~, we must fight for the President's budget for, we must fight the reactionaries to see that not a single penny is taken away from the war on poverty, that billions more is contributed to it.

## DISCUSSION ON MR. RUSTIN'S ADDRESS

RABBI HALPERN: Mr. Rustin, in our efforts to help civil rights groups, I hope you understand there is a great deal of confusion in the minds of people who really want to be helpful, as to which civil rights groups we should support. Because there are so many civil rights groups that are contending--should I use that word--and we would like to help, that we would like to be guided by your opinion as to who to help, because some are more and some are less worthy.

MR. RUSTIN: Well, that's a difficult question for me to answer, being a part of the movement and not wanting to hurt anybody's feelings by my answer. I shall, nevertheless, try to be honest.

I believe that all of the civil rights groups that are in existence, can in fact exist and raise their budgets, because they are essential. In doing a~~n~~ review of the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* some weeks ago in the Herald-Tribune, I concluded by saying that although Malcolm X and I were in total disagreement, I could not obscure the fact that he made a great contribution. And his contribution was that he was so bloody extreme, that he made SNCC and CORE respectable.

It is also true that each of ~~them~~ the organizations has a well-defined role. The Urban League's fundamental role, ~~when you get down to it~~ is to help the educated N~~egro~~ Negroes to get to jobs, ~~the~~ (and to the trained ~~Negro~~, find a place in this society.

Martin Luther King's work is fundamentally in the South, ~~where no one else has a national role~~ influencing ~~national policy~~ and expanding from there to national policy.

The NAACP has spent fifty years ~~getting~~ working in the courts and for the basic legislation on which everything else ~~happens~~ is based.

SNCC is made up of our youngest, most noble, sometimes very confused, but delightful young people who are what I call the shock troops, who go on the barricades with their chests bared. They are essential.

CORE I think is in serious trouble at the moment, but I believe it should be supported because it ought to be able to work its way out into a new area particularly in northern ghettos, and it cannot do that if it is financially overburdened. So all are important.

Now, in terms of who do you give to, this is a matter of temperament. I think one ought not to feel an obligation that he has to give to anybody, nor to justify it. One ought to say, "I feel that this emphasis is one which I feel is important. I give to this one. I support it." With no apologies, and on the basis that other people with another temperament will support another one.

RABBI GREENBERG: You made the point that at the time the white people are saying to the Negroes, "Come in," the technological revolution is saying, "Stay out."

I was wondering how the things which you say we must fight for, are going to overcome this basic problem: the $2.00 minimum wage, the fight against 14-B, shorter work days with no overtime, rent subsidies. Certainly all these things are desirable and needed, but how will this attack the major problem which is the technological revolution which says to the Negro, "Stop," because all he has is muscle, and we don't need muscle?

MR. RUSTIN: I made two points. First of all, let me say there are three types of poor. There are those who are employed, but who are still poor. There are the unemployables, some of the young men I was talking about. And there are the unemployed. I think if you look at that list carefully, I addressed myself to a few things for each of them.

For those who are willing and able but cannot find work, I said we needed public works with training.

Secondly, I said I think the whole area of human services to humans needs to be opened up. Now, there is someone here who has written a book on that whole area, and I presume you ought to question him about that more fully when he speaks, because he certainly has done a better job than I can do, and I don't want to take all of his examples now. But I think that is the area.

I also spoke of a guaranteed annual income with work with dignity. And I think one of those areas is this area--the area of human services to humans. I will give you just one illustration, because I thought of this before I saw it in any book. That is that a society ought to know that the potential minds of its young people is its greatest asset, ought not to balk at paying not only for books and tuition, but paying for any youngster to stay in school as long as he is applying himself, and that we all ought to pay for it.

The tragedy is that it may in fact have been some Mississippi Negro who never got beyond the third grade, who, if he had, might by now have found an answer for cancer. I do not know. Or some hill-billy white boy from Appalachia, if he had only been able to go to school, might have found an answer for cancer.

But even if we are not going to turn out, you know, any Einsteins, we ought to be prepared to pay. And this, I think, is another means of really finding what work is in our society. And I think to study is the most profound and important form of work. Now, don't misunderstand me. If I had $5 million to take to Harlem tomorrow to try to keep young people in school the money alone would not do it. My argument is that without money you can't do any of the other things. It is not that I am saying money alone solves any of our problems.

RABBI SCHAFFLER: Some months ago, I believe it was Mrs. Glazer, wrote a very perceptive article in Commentary Magazine on the effect or perhaps on the impact or possible or potential impact that the Negro revolution might have upon the ethnic group and the ethnic structure that has been built up, or the religious structures that have been built up.

For example, the effect of the Negro revolution upon all the social and economic gains that the Jewish community has built up. For example, I know that in New York City we are now dealing with the effect of the Negro revolution upon the public school system, and if that problem is answered then the public school system would have very consequential impact upon the whole network of the whole religious structure upon which the Jewish community is built up.

Perhaps you would agree to address a few words on this, if you are familiar with the article.

MR. RUSTIN: Well, I am not familiar with the article, but I myself attempted earlier to say that I think that the Negro revolution has already affected many things in this society, and that before it is over it is going to affect the entire society. And for a very simple reason. That if you have at the very bottom of the society a group of people, when they move psychologically or politically or in any other way, everything else in that society has to move.

I think that not only is it going to have an effect upon all of our school systems, it is going to have an effect upon the nature of Congress, where Negroes have the right to vote. We are not any longer going to have reactionary Congressmen which we have from the South. Not that Negroes are any better, but that they will vote in their interests, which is to send progressive men in who can get the things they want.

The whole seniority system is going to be affected. I think the movement of Negroes has had a tremendous effect upon reapportionment in our society, and God knows if we can get real reapportionment, that is going to have a tremendous effect upon the poor, because they are in the cities, and it is going to give them a greater voice by sending men into the legislatures who have their interests at heart, rather than New York State essentially being run by apple pickers from upstate New York.

I think it is true to say that when you get one-tenth of the population, regardless of its color, race or creed, in movement, and when the things they ask for require fundamental change, then everything in the society has to be churned up. And I don't know that the religious schools in this country are any more aware of the fact that automation exists, that we are in a technological revolution, than do the public schools. I don't think private religious schools are any more prepared to turn down a product to live intelligently in the twentieth century, than are the public schools. Therefore, if the schools are touched, the religious schools will be touched.

RABBI LUBLINER: Recently, as part of the studies of intergroup relations, we have heard about some anti-Semitism and misunderstanding in the Negro community, between the Negro community and the Jewish community, and so on. Is there anything that we can do on our part to alleviate such conditions, or to project our own feelings in any way?

RABBI KOGAN: Rabbi Lubliner asks about the tensions or antipathies between the Negro community and the Jewish community that he has read about, and what can be done to alleviate these tensions.

MR. RUSTIN: Let me say a few things on this, and I am not going to try to answer your question, because I don't want to.

When you have Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant, what you have essentially is a prison. Psychologically even the people who wouldn't move out if you paid them to, still consider that they are in prison. Because freedom is not where you are, but the right to be wherever, as they say in Harlem, the hell you want to be.

Now, therefore, in my lectures to some of the police groups across the country, I have tried to get the police to understand that they are zoo keepers; they are jailers--because the society does not create justice within this confined area, but the policeman comes in and says, "Behave yourself."

For an example, I have seen policemen arrest boys for shooting craps, unaware that there are hundreds of boys in Harlem who make their living shooting crap. There are hundreds of men who make a living and cannot support their families in any other way, than running the numbers racket. There are hundreds of women ~~who thrive an~~d to whom prostitution is a way of life.

Now, as religious people I can never say that that is all they can do, and therefore it is justified. But as a social observer I can see that if the society does not provide jobs for them, if they are told, "You have nothing but muscle power and we can't buy it," they think they are justified in living by their wits. Now, therefore, when the policeman comes and hits him on the shoulder and says, "Uh huh, you have three women on the street who you are using for prostitution and taking half their money," he is not merely being arrested as a criminal in his own mind; he is saying to the cop, "You are taking away from me the only form of livelihood I can conceive."

So that even if the police were angelic, if every one of them were an Isaiah, he would still be hated because for them he is a zoo keeper.

Now, then, you have an upsurge on the part of the Negro community that one of the areas in which we have not now been responsible, is in the accumulation of capital and the setting up of business. Jackie Robinson founds Freedom National Bank, and so you cannot get into that bank during office hours--I am going to take my money out of it; not that I have much. I am required to spend a half-hour on line because the Negroes pour into that place, because this is a sign, this funny little silly symbol, but not so silly, that we are finally arriving, economically, that we are supporting our own institutions.

Even if every white man selling goods on 125th Street were an angel, he would be resented now, because he is white. Therefore, since there are nothing but Jewish merchants on 125th Street, who are white, they are disliked because they are white, and they are no more disliked because they are Jewish.

But then it gets much more complicated than that: if I want to go to Macy's and buy a television for 130 bucks, Macy's will sell me that television set for 130 bucks. I have to pay for it in eight months, and therefore I get it for 130 bucks.

But the guy on 125th Street who accommodates the Negroes by giving them three years to pay for it, has to charge them $150, business being what it is. Plus the fact that great numbers of people in these areas are irresponsible and run off before you can find them. So he charges $160, to make up for what he knows he is going to lose. Plus, it is an area where people steal tremendously because they are poor, but a place where nobody can get insurance. No Negro can. When I lived in Harlem with five pieces of Gothic art in my apartment which were priceless, I could get no insurance. So the guy, knowing that he can't get insurance, charges $175.

Now, these people do not thereby go and analyze what I have been analyzing. They say, "I saw the same television in Macy's for $130, that that Jew charged me $175 for." Do you follow me?

RABBI LUBLINER: Yes.

MR. RUSTIN: My friends, all I can say about anti-Semitism in the Negro Ghetto is this: it is the Ghetto which creates for everybody a horrible ugliness. So long as it exists it will exude nothing but ugliness. That is all the more reason that we should try to get rid of the Ghetto.

Furthermore, you must understand that there are Negro businessmen in Harlem who have worse reputations than a number of the Jewish businessmen. The difference is, that they say, "That black so-and-so is just like a Jew. He is worse than a Jew. He treats us worse." But he is black in a period where blackness has taken on something which can only be made true to Jews if I said to you, "What did Jewishness become in the face of Hitler?" More, more intense. Much more meaningfull.

Now, in this revolution blackness has the quality that Jewishness had for many people who didn't have it before. Now, I am not equating for a minute that the two things are alike. I am just saying that there are periods when one's self-ness becomes important, and very often the ignorant people misunderstand it.

Let me say in conclusion: two summers ago when Mr. Frank Schiffman who owns the Apollo Theatre, and who, incidentally, gives more money for Negro causes than any Negro in Harlem, was faced with picketing of his theatre with, "Jews get out", on the basis that he had rented downstairs to a steak shop.

Now, this place was going to charge $1.19 like all these steak shops charge. A Negro down the street had a steak shop, and he was charging $1.39. And again, it is understandable. He could not buy in bulk. He was up against a chain. Obviously, the chain can sell for $1.19, they sell millions of them; he sold maybe thirty a day. So Negro people were walking the streets.

I came by that morning and saw this, "Jew get out." I immediately called Mr. Ray Phillip Randolph and I said, "Look, Mr. Randolph, we've got to have a meeting of Harlem leaders immediately."

Mr. Randolph called in the Black Nationalists, Malcolm X, and all of the Negro leaders in Harlem and said: "By noon I want that picket line dissolved and those signs taken down." By a quarter to twelve the picket line was dissolved and the signs were taken down.

I maintain that when Mr. Randolph, though he has great prestige, can do that in an hour, there is not really a deep-bedded anti-Semitism in Harlem. What you will discover is that the Negro is to be described by one word and one word alone, in everything he does, and that is ambivalence. "Those white people don't want us. Therefore, we don't want them. But what we really want is integration. Those Damn Jews, they mistreat us, but you know, we have discovered that most of the guys we know who don't have very much talent are working for Jews. Isn't it nice that those Jews take us in, downtown?"

It's two-sided about everything. "Martin Luther King with his damned non-violence. Why doesn't he stop it. Boy, did you see Martin Luther King just won a battle in Mississippi?" It is this kind of thing. Don't get too excited about it. I don't think it is deep-seated at all. (Prolonged applause)

RABBI KOGAN: Mr. Rustin, I think you are getting the feeling of the group and how they are reacting to you. There is no ambivalence on their part, and there can't be any on my part, because while you are here to give information and to inspire, and all our people here are part of this whole conference to get the information, and to be inspired and to get direction for actions, my job here is to call a halt all of a sudden, and to give them an opportunity for a brief recess.

# Democracy Versus Disruption

by Bayard Rustin

In a recent article on the Op-Ed Page of the Times, Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward called upon the poor to organize massive "disturbances" to "force political leaders to respond" to their plight. They ~~offer~~ offered this approach as an alternative to involvement in electoral politics which, they maintained, has been demonstrably ineffective in stemming the continued "destruction of the black lower class" in recent years.

It is conceivable that this point of view may appeal to some people today, ironically because of the success Blacks have had in electoral politics. It is widely acknowledged that the Black vote was an important, perhaps decisive, factor in the election of Jimmy Carter. Yet so far, his Administration has been a disappointment to Blacks. On the major issues affecting the well-being of the Black poor -- particularly employment, welfare, and the cities --President Carter's policies have left much to be desired. Few would argue that the current Administration is not an improvement over the last one, but this has not prevented some Blacks from becoming disillusioned with electoral politics.

Such disillusionment, to the extent that it exists, is also related to the success of the civil rights movement in the early Sixties which created great hopes for rapid and uninterrupted progress. But while the Black middle class has made significant progress, the Black lower class has not. Some progress was made during the period of rapid economic growth which ended in 1968. Since then the economy has been through two recessions, one of them the most severe since the Great Depression, on top of which there has been a steady loss of manufacturing jobs to low-wage economies abroad. The plight of the Black poor has also been aggravated by certain structural problems in our economy, specifically the unusually high number of young people entering the labor force at the present time and the steady flow of manufacturing jobs away from the cities where so many poor Blacks are trapped to the outlying metropolitan districts and to the South and the Southwest.

The entry of Blacks into the political mainstream thus came at a time when a number of complex developments made progress very difficult to achiev Still, it is reasonable to maintain that the effect of these trends on the Black poor would not have been as damaging had, for example, Humphrey and not Nixon won the election of 1968. This suggests, of course, that we need more -- not less -- involvement in electoral politics by those who favor Black progress. ~~(many of whom, I might add, sat out the crucial 1968 election)~~ I would also add that President Carter's policies have been modified in a positive way under pressure from the Black and labor groups that helped elect him. This, too, is an arguement in favor of electoral politics.

Granted that the democratic process takes time, but would massive disturbances of the kind advocated by Piven and Cloward speed things up? I fear they would have precisely the opposite effect. Disruptions might lead to some token concessions by a handful of weak-hearted and opportunistic officials. But they will also produce a backlash against the poor and dangerously polarize the society along racial lines. Blacks and the poor will be isolated from needed allies, and constructive efforts to solve problems will flounder as the country concentrates its attention on the re-establishment of social order.

The protest strategy of the civil rights movement had nothing in common with a policy of disruption to force change, as advocated by Piven and Cloward. The protest strategy was designed to dramatize the injustice and the unconstitutionality of the system of legalized racism that existed in the South. Its goal was to arouse the conscience of the nation against the denial of democracy to Southern Blacks. ~~in the South.~~ Once the democratic process was opened up in this way, it followed that the next step for Blacks was to participate in this process at all levels. What Piven and Cloward are saying, however, is that the victory of the civil rights movement in removing the obstacles to democratic participation was illusory since democracy doesn't work. The only thing that does work is a policy of force by which a minority, by threatening or actually creating disruption, compels society to submit to its will.

I have already explained why, on tactical grounds, such a policy will not work. But my objections to it are more than tactical. It is anti-democratic for any group to try to force change by, in effect, holding a gun at the head of others. All great social movements of the past have rejected this approach, relying instead on the strength of their numbers and the justice of their cause to achieve democratic ends through democratic means. This was certainly true of the civil rights movement. What Piven and Cloward are attempting to revive is not the protest movement of the early Sixties but the effort cut short in the late Sixties to create an alliance of the New Left intelligentsia and the urban underclass.

~~George Orwell~~ I am reminded of George Orwell's comment that democracy would be endangered by "an army of unemployed led by millionaries quoting the Sermon on the Mount." So far the poor, having a stake in their own advancement, have refused to ~~be~~ act as proxies in someone else's revolution. It is a good thing for our democracy that they have chosen this course.

John LaFarge Institute
106 West 56th Street
New York, New York  10019

# Conference on Race Relations and Equal Rights

## Addendum to Revised Study Paper for May 9th Session

## Introduction

Television viewers were shocked some weeks ago to see Negroes attending a conference of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty demonstrate against Sargent Shriver. To most Americans, I'm sure, this was another demonstration of Negro irrationality, ingratitude and lack of self-discipline.

I opposed and tried to curb that demonstration because it allowed a handful of people to obscure the fundamental criticisms most conference participants had of the Anti-Poverty program. In Indianola, Mississippi, for example, the Police Chief is head on the anti-poverty board; in Selma, Alabama Jim Clark controls much of the funds and for the most part, the concept of maximum feasible participation has not been implemented.

I recall the incident because it brought to the fore once again the questions white people often raise about Negroes, for instance: "Why don't Negroes respect law and order;" "Why don't they straighten up their families and stop asking for handouts;" "Why don't they pull themselves up by their bootstraps as we did?"

I don't want to belittle these questions for even religious people are deeply confused about some of them. Men-of-good will cannot sit by, however, and allow programs that were good intentioned to flounder nor should they accept unsubstantiated or unthought-out statements about law and order, the breakdown of the Negro family, and self-help.

I am going to address myself to those questions in the following pages, but first there are two theses that I believe we can all accept. First, the Negro family can be reconstructed only when the Negro male is permitted to be the economic and psychological head of the family.

And second, that racism is a blasphemy against the fundamental oneness and unity which the world and all of its people derive from their Creator. And that racists are in a very precise sense of the term, blasphemers who set themselves up as gods over their fellow men and who worship not a human nature created in the divine image, but the accidents of skin color, of nation of ethnic background. These people would annul that great and enormous truth which is so central to the Judeo-Christian tradition, that God is not the talisman of a tribe, a sort of good-luck charm for one's warriors as against the warriors of some other god; but that God is indeed one.

The racists for all their scriptural quoting would belittle God, for they turn human beings into non-souls and thus seek to diminish the divine work.

## I. Law and Order

Anatole France once wrote that it is illegal for rich men and poor men alike to sleep under bridges or to steal a piece of bread. At the heart of this wise witticism, there is an understanding of the way in which all the noble words - equality, justice, freedom - have definitions which vary according to one's misery or prosperity. And this sad truth holds most profoundly in the racial ghettos of America where millions of black citizens live out poverty stricken' lives. In these man-made jungles there are many who cannot comprehend the very meaning of a phrase like "law and order" for it does not correspond to anything that has ever happened in their lives. Such people are not stupid. Far from it. They are being ruthlessly logical in generalizing from their own experiences, for they have seldom seen the least shred of empirical evidence that there is such a thing as "law and order."

But then, there are those who say that when I talk in this way I somehow "excuse" the violence and nihilism which sometimes errupts in the Negro slum. And that, of course, is not the case at all. It would take a fool or a sadist to celebrate the involuntary, spastic violence of the ghetto or to say that it was a means toward any good. The real issue is: Who is to blame? Is it the Negro man or woman who was born into a miserable, vermin-infested apartment, sent to an overcrowded, inadequate school, not really taught to read, write, or count, and actually educated for all practical purposes in the street? Is this the autonomous, morally choosing individual whom we shall not excuse for his free choice of violence?

My question should answer itself. But more than that, this line of inquiry should indicate the profound limits on the moralisti advocacy of respect for law and order. The disorder, the alienation the violence of the ghetto is, to a considerable degree, a social consequence which is imposed upon people. It is thus a waste of time to give beautiful sermons filled with words which may make some sense in suburbia, but which the daily reality of slum life has rendered meaningless. Moreover, the root of the violence is in the economic order of the ghetto. The policeman who arrests a young man for selling marijuana, numbers, or women, is not only preventing crime, but is, in fact stopping that young man from earning a living.

The greatest lesson that one could teach would be to create a decent, integrated environment in which man's potential for brotherhood, reason and cooperation is a deduction from first-hand experience rather than an incomprehensible pronouncement which is broadcast into chaos by philosophers who live in ordered comfort. For, as Western philosophy has understood as far back as Aristotle, the hungry man, the freezing man, the sick man, does not have time or inclination to speculate upon the higher things. He is consumed by his immediate misery and that is the only reality he knows. And so for millions of people living in ghettos, a discussion of law and order is misleading. For where there is justice and just law, order can exist; where this is injustice and an unjust administration of law, disorder is inevitable.

## II. Economic Insecurity and the Negro Family

Two decades ago Jim Crow was illegalized in inter-state transportation in the Irene Morgan case; the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public education was handed down almost twelve years ago; the Montgomery bus protest was won eleven years ago; the sit-in movement swept through the lunchrooms and bus stations of the South five years ago; the dogs were unleashed in Birmingham three years ago; and it is a year since Selma. And during all this time, while thousands and tens of thousands suffered and faced death -- and while some died -- the economic and social position of the Negro relative to that of the white has declined. When general unemployment was high, the Negro rate was double the white; when progress in reducing joblessness was made, as in the last two years, the Negro gains were half those of the white. At the same time, New York, where liberal pieties on the race issue are required of all serious candidates for office, maintains ghetto schools which actually work a deterioration on the intellectual ability of a growing number of black students each year.

This situation becomes all the more pathological when one looks at the job prospects of the young, systematically un-educated Negro from the black ghetto. In the next five years, according to the President's Manpower Report of last year, Negroes, who are approximately 10% of the population, will be almost 20% of the new entrants to the labor force. In part, of course, this figure simply reflects the ability of the whites to prolong education (and in their case, more effective education: Scarsdale spends twice as much per capita on education for its children as Harlem). But beyond that, what is going to happen to these hundreds of thousands of young Negroes?

One grim possibility is discernible in the recent government reports of progress in reducing unemployment. The over-all jobless level has fallen to around 4.2%; the Negro rate, at well over 8% is, per usual, double; but, and this is an explosive fact, the Negro teenage percentages have hardly declined at all and remain in the neighborhood of 25%! In other words, at that very moment when the New Economics were successfully rescuing whites and some Negroes from unemployment (the Negroes returning to work were laid-off workers, usually with skills), Negro youth were continuing to inhabit a world where work was as hard to find as in the Depression of the 1930's.

However, it should be emphasized that even the positive figures are overly-optimistic. A number of economists have convincingly argued that Washington's unemployment statistics do not take account of those driven out of the labor market (there have been estimates as high as a million and a half) and do not compute the cumulative effect of part time unemployment and various other forms of underemployment. As a result, Leon Keyserling has concluded the "true" unemployment rate, even with the much vaunted progress we have recently made, is around 8% and all the numbers for Negroes would show a substantial increase. Beyond this, as the testimony which Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP presented on behalf of the civil rights leadership last year shows, working Negroes are, to an unusually high degree, concentrated in "poverty jobs": domestic, the janitorial occupations in the service trades, laundry workers, etc. These are people who often labor a full two thousand hours a year and who are, nevertheless, bitterly poor. They are in jobs not covered by Federal legislation at all, or in those which pay the official, legal and impoverishing minimum of $2,600 a year, or $500 under the poverty line for a man with a wife and two children.

But then perhaps Watts can be taken as a summary, and utterly persuasive statement of my themes. The Los Angeles ghetto was, and is, a way station on the terrible above ground railway which this economy runs for Negroes. Literally tens of thousands of black men are forced to migrate from the South. They come North to "freedom" where they are packed together in slums and sent out to compete on the labor market with the black generation which arrived a decade or two ago (Jeremy Larner has estimated that over half of the adult population of Harlem is made up of migrants who were not born there!) And they also must contend, of course, with white competition. In Watts, then, one found jobless rates, according to the official figures -- of nearly 40%. And since the flaming outburst of last summer, many agencies, public and private, have gone into Watts to talk to Negroes there about work. The one thing thay have not provided is jobs.

In one form or another, the reality which I have been describin is now common knowledge in the Movement and in the Federal Governmen What, then, are we going to do about it? -- besides writing sociological descriptions of it.

The debate over the "Moynihan Report" focuses on one approach. The report, as is generally known by now, had Daniel Patrick Moyniha then Assistant Secretary of Labor, as one of its principal authors.

Let me make it clear at the outset that I feel it is unfair to charge Moynihan with being a racist, open or covert, and that, as a matter of fact, he was trying in his Report to insist on the social and economic dimension of the race issue. In his showing that prolonged unemployment tended to disintegrate white family structure and to place particularly difficult psychological burdens on the male. The Negro family, Moynihan continued, has lived in a depression-like atmosphere ever since the thirties and the result has been a predictable breakdown. Now this point has been made previously by Negro scholars -- the late Franklin Frazier comes to mind in particular -- and it has also emerged from studies of the heritage of American slavery.

However, the Moynihan data was presented in a form guaranteed to promote confusion. An intra-office memo on one aspect of a problem, it was taken by many, both friends and foes, as a comprehensive statement. Thus, even though the Report make it clear that Negro family stability had always increased when Negro economic opportunity was on the rise, there were those who claimed that Moynihan had demonstrated that the real problem was a Negro deficiency in reality. Don't talk about "hand-outs", these sermonizers and moralists said whenever anyone spoke of the job generating programs which could provide a basis for Negro family stability. And they concluded: just have Negroes put their own house in order! Thus chaotic aspects of Negro life which are the direct consequence of the economic and social discrimination practiced by white America were turned into bogus evidence of some kind of Negro inferiority.

And the truncated form of the Moynihan Report also meant that it concentrated almost solely upon what is negative in Negro life. There was no examination of the degree to which the "abnormality" of some of the ghetto mores when seen from the point of view of a secure white middle class represents a desperate, but intelligent, attempt on the point of a jobless Negro to adapt to a social pathology. There was no assessment of the extraordinary accomplishment of the civil rights movement in summoning so many to sacrifice and to idealism despite these indignities.

In 1962, Abram Kardiner, M.D., and Lionel Ovesey published a study of the personality of the American Negro. The section in their book, The Mark of Oppression, that deals with the breakdown of the Negro family is a scientific and compassionate description. I quote it at length because it explains a great deal about the interrelationship between personality and economics.

> "Let us begin arbitrarily somewhere in the cycle, with the father who abandons his wife and offspring. On the face of it, this is very easy to explain by merely saying that the father has no sense of responsibility, and since this is a very reprehensible trait, the Negro male bears the brunt of the accusation. Moreover, since

this is generally considered a character trait of the Negro -- presumably of racial origin -- that seems to settle the matter. Our researches in personality do not bear out this trite conclusion.

More often than not, the father who abandons his children was himself the product of a broken home. Which means that he never had the patient care of a father to whom he, as a child, could look for protection and take as an ideal. On the contrary, he was generally in the custody of some foster parent who treated him cruelly; he commonly had violent sibling rivalry with step-siblings and usually got the worst of it. His mother, if she cared for him, had to work and was generally irritable and demanded immediate obedience. He never received tender and affectionate care. The end result of these factors is that he grew up to think little of himself, to expect nothing but frustrations from his mother and siblings; he trusted no one and his capacity for cooperative affectivity was severely damaged in the whole process. In addition to all this, he did not grow up with a very exalted ideal of masculinity, which he heard repeatedly disparaged by his female relatives who, to be sure, were the mainstays of his life.

Here another factor enters to make a contribution to the damage. His mother image is not an affectionate and loving one; it is harsh and demanding; the woman is one toward whom he seems foredoomed to take a submissive attitude, contrary to the commonly accepted ideal. This spoils his sexual attitude. He may or may not emerge with some gross sexual disturbance, like impotence. But he surely comes out of it with a disturbed, unconfident, untrusting attitude. If he marries, he knows the woman has much better economic chances than he has. Then, his position in the home is already jeopardized by his preparation for submissiveness to her -- in our male-oriented society.

With this as a preparation, he enters marriage, usually impulsively. Neither he nor his spouse have any great tolerance for mutual incompatibilities. Now come the vicissitudes of employment. If he finds work, it is hardly ever permanent, nor does it last for long periods. Or he must go to another city in search of work. He tries, and in many instances tries very hard, to live up to his obligations. But he cannot do so and he fails continuously. It is at this point that the dissatisfied wife takes a hand at berating and browbeating -- and often invites him to leave -- or he leaves at the end of a long saga of frustrated efforts.

The antagonism in the broken home is mostly due to the incapacity of both mates for continuous relatedness...Not infrequently, the deserter gets a job in another city, gets caught up in serious debts, and begs and borrows -- in addition to working hard -- to pay them back. These harassed men often go on sprees, for a bit of self-indulgence, or spend out of proportion for their clothes, to bolster their fallen morale. The deserter is not generally a vindictive or self-righteous figure. He is generally a very defeated person, who now tries to drown his sorrows in drink or in a not very abandoned hedonism with women, to whom he can discharge his obligations with money -- which means more indebtedness, etc., etc...

Let us consider the instance of the male who does not desert the family, but stays on and lets his wife take up the slack. She works to supply the main support of the family while his sporadic earnings help occasionally. He is now definitely subordinate to his wife. Some of the histories indicate that under these conditions the man is submissive and unassertive, or his is overassertive and domineering over his children.

The abandoned wife usually tries marriage a second time. Meanwhile, she leads a harassed existence between work and caring for her young. Generally, she tries to do this herself. Her mother, if alive, is frequently helpful. Failing this, a sister or a brother takes the child, where he is not wanted and he is exposed to bitter rivalries with other children. The second marriage is commonly undertaken in the hope of relieving her economic distress. Often she succeeds the second time. Should this fail, she is then completely disillusioned and hopes for little from marriage. Her lot, from this point on, is hopeless and incessant toil. Most of the time she is not able to give her children either satisfactions or love. There are, of course, may exceptions.

The effects of this general situation on the children is catastrophic -- in comparison with what

> happens in the middle-class white or Negro home...
>
> The male child, whose parental ideals have thus been injured, takes to the streets. Here, he has his own world, his group morality, loyalties, and animosities. It is action and adventure. Here is a chance for elevating self-esteem, of performing exploits that give pride, and of letting off steam on the hostile world or on those delegated to represent it...There is a great deal more that the boy gets from the streets that he cannot get at home; he gets praise, admiration, pride in achievement, cooperation and competition, hero-worship, confidence. It does not matter to him, nor does he know, that he has bought these satisfactions at the cost of engaging in activities that are anti-social."

If we read the preceeding description carefully, we see that there is a common reality-factor in that cycle: the economic position of the Negro male. We could attempt to psychoanalyze poor Negroes, to improve their self-image and self-esteem, but all that effort would be futile in the face of the economic realities.

That is why A. Philip Randolph has proposed a "Freedom Budget," a multi-billion dollar social investment to destroy the racial ghettos of America, to decently house the black and white poor and to create full and fair-employment in the process. His approach is fundamental if we are serious about reconstructing the Negro family and allowing the Negro male to be the head of the household.

## III. Immigrants and Self-Help

Misconceptions about Negro family life are often compounded by admonitions to Negroes to help themselves "like we did" (the "we" are the Poles, Jews, Irish, Italians, etc.).

Michael Harrington pointed out in a recent issue of Dissent, the old immigrant groups came to America when an expanding blue-collar economy had work for grade school drop-outs and men who could not even speak English, while the Negro has come to the city as an internal alien in a time of automation, a time when the number of available jobs is decreasing. (Oscar Handlin points our in his book, Race, Nationality, and American Life, that without the immigrant labor supply the development of the cotton goods industry to its present status in New York and other North Atlantic states could not have taken place.)

Saying this does not mean that Negro self-organization is irrelevant. Far from it. It is only when the black ghetto of the North, which has yet to be organized massively by any civil rights group, comes to conscious political life that the full impact of the Negro revolution will be felt. But, first of all, the economic and social setting in which such organization becomes possible and even probable has to be created. Just as the semi-skilled factory workers did not create the CIO at the bottom of the Depression in 1932, but only when times were getting better a few years later, so do the black masses require some tangible signs of hope and success before they are going to move.

For that matter, the white immigrant groups from Europe, which are so often held up as images of the "self-help" process, benefited from massive government intervention. The great advance made by the first and second generation workers took place, of course, in the 1930's, and the most important new institutions which they created were precisely the industrial unions. But this did not happen in a vacuum. There was a Wagner Act which, if it did not immediately guarantee collective bargaining rights, put the moral and psychological authority of the government on the side of the labor movement ("Mr. Roosevelt wants you to join", John L. Lewis said in those days). And there were the various programs -- the climate of economic hope. Some Negroes participated in this progress; most were excluded because racism had kept them out of the factories where the decisive events occurred.

In short, the CIO had to organize itself but it did so under circumstances of Federal intervention which made the momentous task easier to perform. Negroes have to organize themselves. And the Freedom Budget, which is their New Deal thirty years late, will not simply provide full and fair employment and lay the basis for the destruction of the physical environment of poverty. Like the Wagner Act and the social investments of the New Deal, it should also evoke a new psychology, a new militance and sense of dignity, among millions of Negroes who will see something more concrete and specific than a promise of eventual freedom.

But, secondly, when I talk of the self-organization which the Freedom Budget should make possible, I am not talking about "self-help" in the neighborhood improvement sense. In Dark Ghetto, Kenneth Clark tells of how one New York block got together to clean up the street. In the doing, Clark rightly remarks, these Negroes gave tacit assent to the charge that it was their fault that the street was dirty, thus accepting one more of the white man's stereotypes about the Negro (he is guilty of non-cleanliness!). And secondly, the energy was misdirected, Clark concludes. It should have been directed to City Hall as a demand that the city clean up the streets of Harlem the same way it cleans up the streets of the white middle class.

From the time of the American Revolution until the rise of the NAACP in the first decade of this century, Negroes followed the advice of the self-helpers. When Negroes were thrown out of the Methodist Church in the 18th century, they established the African Methodist Episcopal Church. When they were not allowed to attend white universities they set up Wilberforce University in Ohio. When insurence companies would not insure Negroes, fraternal organizations and social clubs took on the task. The history of the Negro people in the United States is a history of attempting to build separate self-help organizations. At the end of World War II, the Urban League and the National Council of Negro Women formed "Hold Your Job Committees". The committees conducted educational campaigns in the factories and the Negro community to urge Negroes not give employers the excuse for discharging them after the war.

More recently, Black Nationalists and Muslims have believed that if Negroes would only follow the Protestant ethic and "Buy Black" (while a number of confused whites have said, "Be frugal"), they could end their economic dependence. But the fact of the matter is that millions of Negroes are not going to change the conditions of their life by becoming shopkeepers, or by cleaning up their block, but by winning full and fair employment for black men as well as white.

Negroes, I am saying, should be individually virtuous -- and so should whites. But the Negro Movement's future does not lie along the line of making over millions of black personalities, one by one. The European immigrants, and their children, ceased being rude peasants, not because they got religion or psychology, but because they got economic opportunity and hope. The Negro movement must now struggle against economic injustices which are more deeply rooted in the management and structure of our technology than anything the immigrants ever faced. And it can win this perilous fight only by way of militant political organization and through national programs.

May, 1966 Bayard Rustin
New York

# RACE RIOTS, 1960s

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

19 May 1965

News Release: for release Friday A.M. 21 May 1965

# RUSTIN URGES WAGNER ACT TO AVOID LONG HOT SUMMER

In a telegram to Mayor Wagner on Wednesday Bayard Rustin, Director of the newly formed A. Philip Randolph Institute, urged Mayor Wagner to immediately set up a municipal job program for youth to avoid another long hot summer.

Rustin accused the Mayor of not having implemented the proposals drawn up by Negro and Puerto Rican leaders last summer and placed before the Mayor by Dr. Martin Luther King and himself in three days of discussion at Gracie Mansion during last summer's disorders.

Rustin said that in addition to the job program the Mayor must now take other steps, including the appointment of a Puerto Rican to the school board and the establishment of a genuine civilian Police Review Board independent of the city administration.

Rustin urged that the Mayor call Negro and Puerto Rican leaders together to report to them a concrete economic and social plan to deal with the ghetto frustration.

He told the Mayor that failure to do so would place the responsibility for future rioting squarely upon City Hall and not on the minority leaders who for months have urged him to act.

"Social peace cannot exist in a vacuum," Rustin stated, "it is a by-product of justice obtained."

Copy of Mr. Rustin's telegram to Mayor Wagner
sent 6:00 P.M., 19 May 1965. For release A.M. 21 May 1965

Hon. Robert F. Wagner
City Hall
New York, N. Y.

You will recall that almost a year ago Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and I placed before you the demands that had been drawn up by New York's Negro leaders, and outlined a specific program designed to deal with the fundamental problems underlying the violence then raging in the ghettos of New York.

Paramount among those problems we stated were police brutality and economic hardship, particularly as manifest in the unemployment of Negro and Puerto Rican youth.

The proposals we laid before you have not been implemented. Yet before us stretches a summer of even greater youth unemployment and simmering discontent provoked by continuing examples of reported police brutality and discrimination, as in the Whitmore and Sideratos cases.

Having failed to move to eliminate the causes of social discord, you and your administration cannot escape major responsibility should last summer's tragedy be repeated.

The choice before you is clear; either you creatively meet the causes of discontent in spring, or negatively face another long hot summer.

The prompt establishment of a genuine civilian Police Review Board independent of the city administration, the creation of a municipal job program for youth, and the appointment of a qualified Puerto Rican to the school board are three among many steps that must now be taken.

Many of us who went into the streets last summer to help establish peace know that nothing short of a bold social and economic program can counteract the frustration in the city's ghettos. For social peace cannot exist in a vacuum; it is a by-product of justice obtained.

I therefore call upon you to meet with the representatives of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities to present now your concrete proposals for implementing the programs that Negro and Puerto Rican leaders urged upon you since last summer --- the same proposals that Dr. King and I emphasized in three days of discussion with you and your aides.

I repeat: better to have a well planned spring than risk a long, hot summer once again.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

January 10, 1966

Mr. Harvey Schapiro
*New York Times Magazine*
229 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. -- 10026

Dear Mr. Schapiro,

Enclosed is my article. I'm sure you understand that because of my political responsibilities, it is essential that I approve final page proofs, including captions and headlines.

It is difficult for me to get to the office during the strike and I have some out-of-town appointments; therefore, it would be best if you contacted Rachelle Horowitz, AN 4 4953.when the proofs are ready or if you want to discuss any part of the article. She will know where to contact me or has the authority to approve changes in my absense.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/rjp
enc.

# INTRODUCTION

The firey "Manifesto" of the Watts rioters was both a warning and an appeal to white America from the masses of Negroes confined in the ghettos across the land. The violent confrontation on the streets of Watts tells much about the state of race and class relationships in America today. Los Angeles Police Chief William Parker inadvertantly "told it like it was" when he said, "we're on the top and their on the bottom." The reply of Negroes on the streets was no longer "We shall overcome" but "burn, baby, burn".

At a street corner meeting in Watts an unemployed youth of about twenty said to me "we won!" I asked him, "how could you have won? Homes have been destroyed, Negroes are lying dead in the streets, the stores from which you buy food and clothes are destroyed and people are bringing you relief."

"I want to be treated like a man," he replied, "and we won because we made thw whole world pay attention to us. The Police Chief never came here before; the Mayor always stayed up town, we made them come."

## The Los Angeles Rio I

The Los Angeles riots in August of 1965, took six days to run their course. After it was over, 34 persons were dead, the wounded and hurt numbered 1,032. More than 3,952 people had been arrested. On August 24, 1965, Governor Edward P. Brown, created a Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, chaired by former CIA chief John A. McCone. In December, the Commission issued its report entitled, Violence in the City -- An End or a Beginning?. The report called for the creation of 50,000 new jobs and tremendous expenditures to prevent more riots.

The McCone Report, (the Commission's study has been called), like the Moynehan report, is a bold, new departure in government documents. Going beyond mere statistics to discuss somewhat sympathetically the real the real problems confronting the Negro community (unemployment, inadequate schools, dilapidated housing), they seem at first glance to be leading toward constructinve programs. Unfortunately, both reports are ambivalent and shi away from meaningful programatic suggestions. While calling for 50,000 new jobs, the McCone Report neglects to present a program for creating or obtaining the jobs and supports the existing but inadequate programs. (The Moynehan Report similarly detailed the relationship of unemployment to the breakdown of the Negro family, while giving greater weight to the socio-psychological results of slavery, thereby, creating the impression that family instability is now being passed through the genes.) Both reports manage to contain just the right amount of new departures, combined with somewhat sophisticated, nearly-racist, shiboleths, The results is that each report has become a weapon for opposing forces.

Civil rights leaders can agree on the need for jobs and the necessity for economically reconstructing the Negro family. While conservatives can point out the Negro penchant for lawlessness; the civil rights movement's distruction of law and order, and the high rates of crime and illigitimacy in the Negro community. The results of these counterposing ideas is, unfortunately, a debate about statistics and interpretations rather than program.

It is interesting to note that neither report is concerned about, nor mentions segregation. Both tacitly assume that the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 destroyed the last vestiges of that system. The

McCone Report goes into great detail on the question of adequate housing and unemployment, yet, the integration of a given institution is never once proposed.

I will concentrate on some of the errors and misconceptions of the McCone Report because, while the Moynehan Report has set the tone for abstract national debate, the MCCone Report may very well concretely influence the administrations and their behavior toward the Negro community. Moreover, the McCone report has been much less widely distributed and has been criticized by conservative and liberal alike, without a thorough analysis.

## II

The report begins with a chapter called, "The Crisis -- An Overview," and it is in this chapter that the most glaring, false and erroneous conclusions are committed and reached.. Later the report contridicts some of the early conclusions but never retracts them.

After a brief discussion of the looting and beatings that went on in Watts during the six days in August, the report says, "The rioters seem to have been caught up in an insensate rage of destruction." Insensate may have been an appropriate word to describe the youth of Harlem during the third day of the 1964 riots. But, really, had little to do with the Negroes of Watts.

For many years Negroes have turned the violence inflicted upon them by society inward. Watts really marked the first rebellion of Negroes against Negro masochism. The riots were a warning that Negroes would no longer quietly submit to the deprivation of slum life.

The rioters, with an uncanny subconcious logic, knew what they were doing and were in control of themselves. One Negro women told me that the people of Watts "had been ignored, but now the white power structure was going to have to pay attention to them. They wanted more than anything to be recognized, to be heeded.

At a meeting that Dr. King and I attended a young man got up and said, "Dr. King, we're happy you've come, but your not what we really want to hear. You go tell the Governor and the Mayor to come down here and hear our grievences and tell the goddamned Chief of Police we want to talk to him and tell him what's been happening down here."

The riot itself proceeded an almost perfect path to City Hall. (The map, conveniently published by the McCone Report demonstrates this.)

Most of the people involved in stealing were taking things the economics of this society would normally prevent them from owning. And a great number of touching stories can be told about this. There was a husband and wife, both over sixty, who carried a sofa about 8 blocks to their home. They go so tired with carrying the enormous weight that the simply stopped in the middle of the street and sat down on the couch until they could carry it further.

Langston Hughes recorded the story of another women dragging a sofa through the streets. She always stopped at the corner and waited until the light changed to green.

A large number of people were arrested trying to match up furniture. One of them was a women who had gone out with her children to get a kitchen set. When she got home she added up and discovered that they needed another chair in order to feed the whole family around the table. They went back to get the additional chair, all were arrested.

There was an amusing, tragically amusing, side to the manner in which people, who were not used to theft, nor conditioned to the strategy of it, got caught up in the mood of the riots. Finally, the greatist number of arrests were for looting -- not for arson or shooting.

A riot, in a certain sense doesn't have a head, but it does roll on with its own inexorable logic. Violence was not, however, indiscriminate in Watts. Where Negro store keepers put up signs saying "I am a poor working Negro trying to make a business" they were not touched. Where a sign said, "Blood Brother" the mob passed it by. It even spared a few shite busineses that allowed credit, or time purchases. But where white merchants were known for high prices and hostility, their stores were looted and destroyed.

That the direction the rioters took was not completely anti-social is demonstrated by their treatment of the liquor stores. All liquor stores were broken into and burned, but I was told by a number of reliable sources that many more bottles of liquor were destroyed than were stolen to be drunk-

The McCone Report, although neglecting to follow the logic of its facts agrees: "The rioters concentrated on food markets, liquor stores, clothing stores, department stores and pawn shops." And continues,"We note with interest that no residences were deliberately burned, that damage to schools, libraries, publickbuildings were minimal and that certain types of business establishments, notably service stations and automobile showrooms were for the most part unharmed."

The report also notes, "there is no evidence that the rioters made any attempt to steal narcotics from pharmacies in the riot area even though some pharmacies were looted and burned." This is hardly the behavior of an "insensate" mob bent with rage, but is the action of an oppressed and deprived people shut off from the economic benefits of this society! Incidently, National Guardsmen were not assaulted or jeered at as were the white policemen (but more of that later).

III

The McCone Report further distorts the causes of riots generally. In reviewing the history of rioting beginning 19 1964, it indicates a lack of understanding of the complexities and problems facing the Negro Community. Here are fundamental causes of riots in 1964 as seen by the committee. "Not enough jobs to go around, and within this scarcity not enough by a wide margin of a character which-the untrained Negro could fill." "Not enough schooling to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged Negro child whose environment from infancy onward places him under a serious handicap." The last is telling: "a resentment, even hatred of the police as a symbol of authority." The trend of the report is to place the burden on the Negro.

We are told in the next paragraph that, "Many [Negroes] moved to the city in the last generation and are totally unprepared to meet th conditions of city life." There is not one word about the city's ability to provide jobs or homes for these immigrants.. In fact, there is not a word about the situation that caused Negroes to migrate to the cities from rural areas.

After briefly and                    discribing the plight of Negroes in other cities the report gets down to Los Angeles and reiterates the same mistakes. L. A. Negro areas, "are not urban gems, neither are they slums

slums," the Negro population has exploded, etc. The committee does concede that the transportation system is the least adequate of any major city.

The L. A. slums may be beautiful compared to the New York slums (and indeed, Harlem would be an improvement for most of India's masses) but they are slums. The houses are delapidated and owned by absentee lanlords. The rest of the city is growing, [illegible] beautiful, while the disadvantaged areas are deteriorating.

The committee doesn't fully explain the meaning of an inadequate transportation system to an isolated Negro population. It is inconvenient, or even, in fact, more expensive. But, that the transportation system hems people intthe ghetto. It means that a domestic who must spend $1.50 and take 1 1/2 to 2 hours to get to a job that pays six or seven dollars a day. It cuts down the possibility of job hunting.

The report, most importantly, ignore the political atmosphere of Los Angeles. On the passage of Propositinn 14, for example, the report says, "In addition, many Negroes here felt and were encouraged to feel that they had been affronted by the passage of Proposition 14" [emphasis mine, BR]. Affronted indeed! A major city in the United states repeals a no discrimination housing order and Negroes are to regard this in the same way they might regard the failure of a friend to say "pardon Me". To many Negroes in Los Angeles it seemed that the rest of the country was moving forward, passing civil rights laws, improving conditions for Negroes, while Los Angeles was moving backward.

Along with the transportation system and Proposition 14, the report lists two other "aggravating events in the twelve months prior to the riot." And I quote them so that the one grasp the insidious type of wording used once again. Note particularly, number 2.

(1) "Publicity given to the glowing promise of the Federal poverty program was paralleled by reports of controversy and bickering over the mechenism to handle the program here in Los Angeles and when the projects did arrive, they did not live up to their press notices."

(2) "Throughout the nation unpunished violence and disobedience to law were widely reported and almost daily there were exhortations here and elsewhere to take the most extreme and illegal remedies to right a wide variety of wrongs real and supposed."

It seems to me that it would be more correct to point out that throughout the nation, Negroes have been exhoted to demonstrate non violently with dignity, and to assure theiryconstitutional rights. And, in fact, very few other groups in our society have sent as many people to jail and have been so throughly punised for trying to pphold the law of the land.

There is a deeper importance however, in Negroes viewing what was happening throughout the rest of the nation.

In 1948, Negro and white unemployment were roughly equal. In the 50s and early 60s Negro unemployment was consistently double that of white, and Negro teenage unemployment has often been at rates as desastrous as those which prevailed for the entire depression of the late 1930s. It is happily true that Negro unemployment has, as a result of the nations improved economic performance in the 1960s declined from the level of 12.6% which it reached in 1958 (and 12.5% in 1961). Today nonwhite joblessness in the United States at roughly 8.3% but, and this is of great significance, the proportion of Negro unemployment compared to white has remained constant despite the progress it is twice as serious. So, if in 1958, 12.6% of Negroes were unemployed and 611% of the whites, in 1965 the corresponding figures and 813% and 412%. Or, still a ratio of 2 to 1 against the Negro. In other words there is continuing discrimination even when gains are made. But these statistics conceal an even more dangerous trend. The persistance of Negro youth unemployment. In 1961, 24.7% of those Negroes between 14 and 19 years of age were out of work and it is estaimated that in 1965 this incredible rate will only decline to 23.2%. This is an expression of the fact that Negro job progress has been largely a result of calling men with previous experience back to work. What official figures give us no reason to be optimistic about the huge number of young and often unskilled, uneducated Negroes who will be entering the labor market in the next period. For, in the next year Negroes, who are 11% of the population will be 20% of the new entsants into the labor force. Approximately half of the proportionate number of young Negroes will be without the equivalent of a high school education. And they will be competing in an economy in which the demand for skill and training is increasing dramatically.

It is, thus, possible that there will be a deterioration of the Negroew social and ecmnomic position at the very moment when the civil rights movement is achieving great political victories. As a result, the new "freedom" becomes a bitter thing indeed, and economic servitude would become as effective and instmument af discrimination as any recist law. I would suggest, therefore, that it was declining job opportunities and growing teenage unemployment that make make Negrjoes restive, and not civil rights demonstrations or exhortation to lawlessness.

## IV

In yet another section of the report entitled, "Dull, Devastating Spiral of Failure" the burden is once againt placed on the Negro: his homelife destroyed incentive, he doesn't have experience with words and ideas, and is unready and unprepared in school. Consequently, even the most dedicated teachers can't teach him in overcrowded class rooms.

"Unprepared and unready", the report goes on , "he slipped into the ranks of the unemployed." [emphasis mine, BR]. (

I think it is important to really understand the, "Dull, Devestating Spiral of Failure." In 1940, Edward Wight Bakke described the effects of unemployment on family structure. Bakke demonstrated a model tragedy: The jobless father is no longer a provider, credit runs out, the women is forced into the labor force. Then, if relief becomes a necessity the women is even more the focal point. The father is dependent, the children bewildered, the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered. Bakke's research was a discription of the plight of white unemployed. Thus, the fact that Negro scholars like the late Franklin Frazier and Dr. Kenneth Clark and other investigators have described this pattern as a typical one among Negroe poor does not mean it has anything to do with some "Inherent" Negro trait. It is a relationship between family life and joblessness whilc holds and has held for both black and white. If Negroes suffer more from the problems today it is not because they are Negro but because they are so disproportionately part of the unemployed, the underemployed and the ill-paid.

What has happened in America is that the post-Emancipation labor market denied many Negroes the opportunity to become economic fathers -- just as the laws of slavery had denied the Negro the juridical right to marraige and children, and the possession of property. (Under slavery a Negro could not even own a dog.)

The answer to this problem is not to give the impoverished masses of the black ghettoes sermons about middle class virtues it is to jobs and decent integrated housing and schools.

V

I shall turn to the report's view of the Los Angeles Police. Many pages are devoted to the functioning of the police, and the authors are rightfully concerned with what really sparked the incident, the enforcement procedures used and the attitudes of the police. I do not want to discuss or argue about the details here. My dispute is with the conclusions of the report.

First there isn't even the slightist admission that the police might have used excess force. Invariably during a riot police bring in too much power to contain the outburst; the attitude of the rioters is hardened; the [illegible] then come out, followed by the people who want to politically minipulate the riot. And Los Angeles was no different.

34 persons were killed during the riots. (3 of them were working for city and state government.) At the hearings held on 32 deaths, 26 were ruled justifiable homicide, 3 ruled homicide and one accidental. Yet, a commission report which has been given hundreds of thousands of dollars and can document the time Mayor Yorty called Chief Parker and at what time the National Guard was summoned and various other statistics does not give definitions of what was considered justifiable

homicide. How many policemen and how many Negroes were involved.

A more interesting statistic is that out of 1,032 reported injuries, 90 were police officers, 36 firemen, ten National Guardsmen, 23 from government agencies. The overwhelming majority, therefore, were the Negroes themselves. And one would have hoped that the McCone Report would have broken down those statistics so that we know how many police were seriously injured and how many incurred minor injuries.

We heard from Chief Parker for many days during the Los Angeles riots that the rioters were the "criminal element." But, let me site these statistics from the report: There were 3,438 adults arrested. Of those adults, 1,232 had never been arrested before and 1,164 had a minor criminal record (convicted with a sentence of 90 days of less))

In the Negro community this is an absolutely phenomenal record. Most Negroes at one time or another have been picked up and been placed in jail either on a disorderly conduct charge or some charge that for the most part was unfounded.

I have been arrested several times in Harlem on charges that had no basis in fact: Once for trying to stop a police officer from arresting the wrong man; the second time for asking anoofficer who was throwing several young men into a paddy wagon, what they had done. Both times I was charged with interfearing with an arrest and spent the night in jail. By the time I reached the courtroom the judge recognized me and dismissed the charges. Most Negroes are not fortunate enough to be recognized by judges.

There were 514 juveniles arrested. 257 had never been arrested before. The report never acknowledges that this was a riot not of thiefs and looters but of consumers. Most seriously, Chief Parker is absolved from the charge of discrimination. Let me quote once again from the report.

"Chief Parker's statements to us and to collateral evidence, such as his fairness to Negro officers, are inconsistant with his having such an attitude [deep hatred of Negroes].d Despite the depth of feeling against Chief Parker expressed to us by so many witnesses, he is recognized even by many of his vocal critics as a capable Chief who directs an efficient police force and serves well this entire community."

In fact the police are consistantly applauded for their handling of the incident before and after the riot and their general functioning in Los Angeles.

I am not going to raise the usual arguments that police are brutal and that police mistreat Negroes. Every Negro knows this. There is scarcely any black man, women or child in the land that at some point or other has been anything but mistreated by a policeman. A young man in Watts said, "the riots will continue because I, as a Negro am immediately considered a criminal by the police and, if I have pretty woman with me she is a tramp even if she is my wife or mother." But what really is important to understand is this: Even if every policeman in every Ghetto behaved like an angel and was training in the most modern and progressive police academies, (very few of which can be found,) the problem would still exist. First of all, because the ghetto is a place where Negroes do not want to be. They are fighting to get out and when someone tells you in those terrible circumstances, particularly someone who carries a gun and billy club, to ha to behave yourself, he becomes a zoo keeper. It is not an accident that Parker called the rioters, "these monkeys". In the ghetto the policeman is demanding essentially that you accept and tolerate conditions that are abhorrent to you. He is brutalizing you by asking you to accept what you cannot, and ought not to accept.

But let me turn to Chief Parker and the Los Angeles Police Department. Dr. Martin Luther King, after a 2 3/4 hour meeting, in r responding to the naivete of Chief Parker and others, said, "what we find is a blind and intransigent ignorence of the social forces which are at work here. To treat the situation as though it were the result of a criminal element is to lead the community into potential holocaust." It was Chief Parker who became,"insensate" when his department used excessive force and volence in the situation. And his description of the Negro rioters as "monkeys" could only highten disregard for law and order.

There was much less resistance as to the National Guard, that that included many Negro troups than to the Los Angeles Police who are made up mainly of white Southerners.

Although Dr. King and I have talked with many public officials who lack understanding of the problems of the Negro community, we were nonplussed during our discussions with Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker. They both denied any prejudice existed in Los Angeles and when I asked them why did citizens vote 3 to 1 for Proposition 14 which repealed the states Fair Housing Act they said, "That's no indication of prejudice. That's personal choice."

When I asked Chief Parker why he used the kind of language he did when refering to the Negroes during the riot he implied that this was the only language Negroes understood.

While Mayor Yorty was insensitive to the problems in the Negro community, Chief Parker is a greater menace. He doesn't recognize that he has prejudice, and he is both naieve and a zealot about law and order. These are two qualities which together produce a kind of fanaticism that is dangerous.

Parker appeared last may 30th on the Manion Forum conducted by Clarence Manion, a Birch Society council member, according to a Group Research Report, and spoke on the need for supporting the police.

Drew Pearson quotes him at a meeting as having said, "it is my considered opinion that America today is in reality more than half pagan." Parker went on to say, "we have moved our form of government to a socialist form of government." This attitude was compounded by the amount of right wing Birch influence in and on the Los Angeles police department. I can't determine the exact influence and numbers but the following incident is an example which may give some idea. About a month before the riots a most scurilous leaflet describing Dr. King as a liar and a Communist was put up on the Los Angeles police station bulletin board. There it remained until the concerted efforts of the combined Negro organizations had it removed.

It is strange that that is not listed as one of the "aggravating factors" by the McCone Report. The Mayor and Chief of Police by their statements, particularly their denunciation of the Negro leaders, and their refusal to meet with them early ennough, put Negro leaders in an untenable position. One of the most revealing aspects is that the rioters felt that the only way they could effect the Mayor and the Police Chief was through violence.

The commission rejects also the concept of an independent police review board and instead suggests that the post of Inspector General be established under the authority of the Chief of Police. It also suggests that speakers be sent to various Negro schools in inform Negro youth that the police are their friends. This is another indication of the public relations approach of the report.

The problems between Negroes and the police cannot ever be counted as public relations problems. It is not a lack of contact or understanding but, in fact, too much of the wrong kind of contact that creates the problem. It also should be recognised that when Negroes were deprived of work and must therefore sell numbers, women, or dope to earn a living, must gamble and work in the pool rooms, and then the policeman upholds law by arresting them, he is, in fact, cutting off the Negroes livelihood.

A clever criminal in the Negro ghetto might have been a clever businessman had he been born with a different skin color. But, so long as the problems of unemployment, bad housing, and inadequate schooling remain, and as long as Negroes are treated unjustly, no exhortation for law and order can be a solution.

In my opinion, the presence of an independent police review board would strenghthen respect for the police. For if Negroes knew that their grievences could be handled through independently established channels there would be less frustration and less feelings of futility which result in violence. The report basis its opposition to an Independent Police Review Board on the fact that the '64 riots took place in some cities with already established review boards. The riots in those cities (Rochester and Philadelphia) never reached the intensity of the Harlem and Watts riots, however.

## VI

## VI

Let us now turn to some other aspects of the report. First, the field of education, where the most blatently ignored question of integration occurs and a complete lack of sense of priority is demonstrated.

The chapter entitled "Education -- our Fundamental Resource" begins with a measure of class size in Negro and white areas (Negroe areas, by the way, are referred to as "disadvantaged areas") To begin with, the classes in Negro schools, i.e. "disadvantaged schools", are slightly smaller. Then the commission blithely goes on to repeat that teachers with more experience teach in the non-disadvantaged areas, then followed is a discussion about double sessions (where there is tremendous overcrowding in the "disadvantaged schools). On the other hand, the buildings in the disadvantaged areas are in better repair. Whereas, there are cafeterias in the advantaged schools but no cafeterias in the disadvantaged schools. The disadvantaged schools, it is finally admitted, don't have libraries; are limited in special subjects and counseling services, and curriculars Despite those admissions, even in this sort of lopsided order, more space is devoted to environmental factors.

Once again, the commission returns to the Negro home and placing the burden where it does not really belong. The report does make tw major recommendations. One is that elementary and Junior high schools in the "disadvantaged areas" which have achievement levels substantially below the city average should be designated Emergency Schools. In each of these schools an emergency literacy program would be established consisting in a drastic reduction of class size to a maximum of 22 students and supported personal added.

The second recomendation is that a permanent preschool program should be established throughout the school year to provide education beginning at age 3. Efforts would be focused on the development of language skills essential to prepare children to read and write.

W. T. Rasset, executive secretary of the Los Angeles, American Federation of Labor, rightfully criticises the report for its failure to deal with education and planning for youth and adults not now in school. And I must add the report does not propose a plan to decrease school segregation.

While most of us now agree that we must have quality integrated schools, we cannot, as the report suggests have the quality without integration. The stated goal of the McCone Commission is first improve the quality of the Negro schools and thus, "increase the tendency to desegregation."

### -VII-

The area of housing is treated as inadequately as the other areas. While calling for the liberalization of credit and FHA insured loans in "disadvantaged areas", the implementation of rehabilitation programs, urban renewal and even suggests the creation of a "wide area data bank", it consistently ignors the repeal of Proposition 14 or the creation of a new fair-housing code. The Commission supports the creation of a Commission on Human Relations, but does not present any proposals that would give it the power to carry out any programs that go beyond collecting information and public relations.

### -VIII-

The section that demonstrates the most ignorance, lack of imagination, and conservatism is the section on employment. The report does call for fifty thousand new jobs. But, the suggestions as to how to get those jobs are, at best, vague and, at worst, destrubtive.

Just a few words on the suggestions for youth and retraining. The report suggests that the existing government projects, which were, by the way, woefully inadequate, begin a series of "attitudinal training" programs to help youth develop the necessary motivation. This is just another example of the commission's continued reliance on public relations rather than on fundamental change.) The fact of the matter is that youth cannot change their attitudes until they see that they can get jobs. People in our society do not change by themselves but change because the institutions which mold their opinions permit them to change their attitudes.

Similarly, Negro youth, who see about them unemployment, their fathers not going to work, and poverty programs being manipulated on behalf of politicians, no on behalf of the poor, will not change their attitudes. I want to site a concrete example here. I am on the committee which administers the Apprenticeship Training Program of the Workers Defense League. For many years the League had heard that these were not enough Negro applicants to fill various apprenticeship training opportunities. The League also heard from vocational school counselors that, although they tried to teach Negro youth English and mathematics, they absolutely could not pay attention and became drop-outs. The League began its apprenticeship program two years ago now has more than 500 applicants on file and maintains contact with them. The men have shown a sincere dedication.

When Local 28 of the Sheetmetal Workers announced last fall that a new test for admittance into their apprenticeship program was being given on a certain date. The League contacted those youth on its list who had indicated an interest in sheet metal work. The young men came to the office, filled out a ten page application form, filed a ten dollar fee, returned to the Local 28 office and then came to Harlem, in many cases from Brooklyn and Queens, to be tutored five nights a week in advance of the test. Most of the young men showed up to 15 sessions within a three week period. Eleven of those young men scored in the top thirty-three of the test, fourteen in the top 65. They then went for interviews. Having achieved these high scores they dressed well for the interviews and behaved themselves with admirable poise and confidence. The WDL doesn't attribute its success to any miraculous program, but knows that when young people are told that at the end of a given period there will be work for them, then attitudes are markedly different then when, for example, they are sent off to a work camp.

Secondly, the report contains the following line. "Compensation should not be necessary for those trainees who are receiving welfare support." Earlier in the report the Commissioner pointed out that welfare services had a tendency to destroy family life giving more money to a women who lived alone. And yet the report has the audacity to ask that such a system be continued while young men are working and being trained. One can rightfully ask how a young boy can be proud of his work if he is not made to feel that it is meaningful and necessary. Rather, the McCone report would have us say, "There, there, young man, we're going to keep you off the streets -- just putter around doing this meaningless work. Thirdly, a young man who collects welfare checks can also hustle on street corners and thereby increase his earning capacity. In short it doesn't pay to work on a welfare salary, which is pitifully low. A man must be paid for his work and not be treated as a charity case.

It was demonstrated over and over again in the riots that hhe people in Watts had tremendous pride and dignity. And, in fact, during the distribution of food, they refused to take food that was thrown on the floor or distributed in a condescending, lady-bountiful manner.

Let me cite the conclusions of the McCone report on unemployment. Bare in mind that these are conclusions that are supposed to create fifty thousand new jobs.

1. "There should immediately be developed in the affected area a job training and placement center through the combined dfforts of Negroes, employers, lhbosrunions and government." That wealdyrmeally mean the setting up a new division, abeit voluntary, of the unemployment insurance offices. "Federal and state governments should seek to insure thesugh development of new facilities, and additional means of communication that advantage is taken of government and private training programs and employment opportunities in our disadvantaged communities." New types of information centers, or even questionaires can hardly profide 50,000 new jobs. They may well provide jobs for social workers and vocational counselors, very few of whom are unemployed Negro youth. And, 3, "Legislation shoild be inacted requiring employers with more than 250 employees and all labor unions to report annually to the state Fair Employment Practices Commission, the racial composition of the work force and membership."

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An FEP commission that merely collects information and propaganda is powerless. And one might rightfully ask why an employer must have 250 employees before he can be asked whether or not he discriminates.

I, ofcouzrse, belive that there is much that labor an business, voluntarily and with subsidies, can do to help in the unemployment situation. But I believe that themain burden must fall on government.

There are in Watts and throughout the United States, generally unemployable Black and white poor. Among them the children, the aging, and the permanently handicapped. No measure of full employment of of economic growth can put an end to their misery. They must be provided with a decent level of life as defined by American socity.

It is outrageous that the McCone Report can blatantly admit that there are dependant children programs which promote separation and divorce because of rules against able bodied males being part of the recipient family and does not suggest that these rules be changed.

The human care of human beings should be a major area of job growth. Los Angeles officials could immediately put women and unemployed youth to work as school attendants, counselors, practical nurses and sanitation workers, The federal government and state of California must aid the people of Watts by beginning a massive public works program. In short the proposal made by A. Philip Randolph for a $100 freedom budget must be implemented.

To some my proposals may seem sweeping and even incredible. The truly incredible fact is that America allowed Watts to happen, and that a Commission empowered to study the situation should come up with answers that involve voluntary actions by business and labor, new public relations campaigns for municipal agencies and information gathering for housing, fair employment and welfare departments.

We must not teach impoverished Negroes that the only way they can get thehear of America is to rise up in violence.

**Bayard Rustin**

# Why don't Negroes . . .

**have more respect for law and order? . . . straighten up their family life and stop asking for handouts? . . . do something to help themselves, the way other minorities have? These questions, lurking in the minds of many white men, are answered honestly and frankly by one of the most prominent leaders of the civil rights movement**

Television viewers were shocked some weeks ago to see Negroes attending a conference of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty demonstrate against Sargent Shriver. To most Americans, I'm sure, this was another demonstration of Negro irrationality, ingratitude and lack of self-discipline.

I opposed and tried to curb that demonstration because it allowed a handful of people to obscure the fundamental criticisms most conference participants had of the antipoverty program. In Indianola, Miss., for example, the chief of police is head of the antipoverty board; in Selma, Ala., Jim Clark controls much of the funds, and for the most part the concept of maximum feasible participation has not been implemented.

I recall the incident because it brought to the fore once again the questions white people often raise about Negroes. For instance: "Why don't Negroes respect law and order?" "Why don't they straighten up their families and stop asking for handouts?" "Why don't they pull themselves up by their bootstraps as we did?"

I don't want to belittle these questions, for even religious people are deeply confused about some of them. Men of good will cannot sit by, however, and allow programs that were well-intentioned to flounder, nor should they accept unsubstantiated or unthought-out statements about law and order, the breakdown of the Negro family and self-help.

I am going to address myself to those questions in the following pages, but before I do so, I want to say that there are two theses I believe we can all accept. The first is that the Negro family can be reconstructed only when the Negro male is permitted to be the economic and psychological head of the family. The second, that racism is a blasphemy against the fundamental oneness and unity that the world and all its people derive from their Creator; that racists are, in a very precise sense of the term, blasphemers who set themselves up as gods over their fellow men and worship not a human nature created in the divine image, but the accidents of skin color, of nation, of ethnic background. These people would annul that great and enormous truth which is so central to the Judeo-Christian tradition: that God is not the talisman of a tribe, a sort of good-luck charm for one's warriors as against the warriors of some other god, but that God is indeed one.

The racists, for all their Scriptural quoting, would belittle God, for they turn human beings into non-souls and thus seek to diminish the divine work.

## Who is to blame for ghetto violence?

Anatole France once wrote that it is illegal for rich men and poor men alike to sleep under bridges or to steal a piece of bread. At the heart of this wise witticism, there is an understanding of the way in which all the noble words—equality, justice, freedom—have definitions that vary according to one's misery or prosperity. And this sad truth holds most profoundly in the racial ghettos of America, where millions of black citizens live out poverty-stricken lives. In these man-made jungles, there are many who cannot comprehend the very meaning of a phrase like "law and order," for it does not correspond to anything that has ever happened in their lives. Such people are not stupid; far from it. They are being ruthlessly logical in generalizing from their own experiences, for they have seldom seen the least shred of empirical evidence that there is such a thing as "law and order."

But then, there are those who say that when I talk in this way I somehow "excuse" the violence and nihilism that sometimes erupt in the Negro slum. And that, of course, is not the case at all. It would take a fool or a sadist to celebrate the involuntary, spastic violence of the ghetto or to say that it was a means toward any good. The real issue is: Who is to blame? Is it the Negro man or woman who was born into a miserable, vermin-infested apartment, sent to an overcrowded, inadequate school, not really taught to read, write or count, and actually educated, for all practical purposes, in the street? Is this the autonomous, morally choosing individual whom we shall not excuse for his free choice of violence?

My question should answer itself. But more than that, this line of inquiry should indicate the profound limits on the moralistic advocacy of respect for law and order. The disorder, the alienation, the violence of the ghetto are, to a considerable degree, social consequences that are imposed upon people. It is thus a waste of time to give beautiful sermons filled with words that may make some sense in suburbia, but that the daily reality of slum life has rendered meaningless. Moreover, the root of the violence is in the economic order of the ghetto. The policeman who arrests a young man for selling marijuana, numbers or women is not only preventing crime; he is in fact stopping that young man from earning a living.

The greatest lesson one could teach would be to create a decent, integrated environment in which man's potential for brotherhood, reason and co-operation was a deduction from firsthand experience, rather than an incomprehensible pronouncement broadcast into chaos by philosophers who live in ordered comfort. For, as Western philosophy has understood as far back as Aristotle, the hungry man, the freezing man, the sick man, does not have time or inclination to speculate upon the higher things. He is consumed by his immediate misery, which is the only reality he knows. And so for millions of people living in ghettos, a discussion of law and order is misleading. For where there is justice and just law, order can exist; where there is injustice and an unjust administration of law, disorder is inevitable.

## What are a Negro's job prospects?

Two decades ago, in the Irene Morgan case, Jim Crow was illegalized in interstate transportation. The Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation was handed down almost twelve years ago. The Montgomery bus protest was won eleven years ago. The sit-in movement swept through the lunchrooms and bus stations of the South five years ago. The dogs were unleashed in Birmingham three years ago. It is a year since Selma. And during all this time, while thousands and tens of thousands suffered and faced death—and while some died—the economic and social position of the Negro relative to that of the white has declined. When general unemployment was high, the Negro rate was double the white; when progress in reducing joblessness was made, as in the last two years, the Negro gains were half those of the white. At the same time, New York (where liberal pieties on the race issue are required of all serious candidates for office) maintains ghetto schools that actually work a deterioration on the intellectual ability of a growing number of black students each year.

This situation becomes all the more pathological when one looks at the job prospects of the young, systematically un-educated Negro from the black ghetto. In the next five years, according to the President's Manpower Report of last year, Negroes, who are approximately 10 per cent of the population, will be almost 20 per cent of the new entrants to the labor force. In part, of course, this figure simply reflects the ability of the whites to prolong education (and in their case, more effective education: Scarsdale spends twice as much per capita on education for its children as Harlem). But beyond that, what is going to happen to these hundreds of thousands of young Negroes?

One grim possibility is discernible in the recent government reports of progress in reducing unemployment. The over-all jobless level has fallen to around 4.2 per cent; the Negro rate, at well over 8 per cent, is as usual double. But—and this is an explosive fact—the Negro teen-age percentages have hardly declined at all, and remain in the neighborhood of 25 per cent. In other words, at the very moment when the New Economics was successfully rescuing whites and some Negroes from unemployment (the Negroes returning to work were laid-off workers, usually with skills), Negro youth was continuing to inhabit a world where work was as hard to find as in the Depression of the 1930's.

It should be emphasized, however, that even the positive figures are overly optimistic. A number of economists have convincingly argued that Washington's unemployment statistics do not take into account those driven out of the labor market (there have been estimates as high as a million and a half) and do not compute the cumulative effect of part-time unemployment and various other forms of under-employment. As a result, Leon Keyserling has concluded that the "true" unemployment rate, even with the much vaunted progress we have recently made, is around 8 per cent and all the numbers for Negroes would show a substantial increase. Beyond this, as the testimony that Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP presented on behalf of the civil rights leadership last year shows, working Negroes are, to an unusually high degree, concentrated in "poverty jobs": domestic work, the janitorial occupations in the service trades, laundry work, etc. These are people who often labor a full two thousand hours a year and who are, nevertheless, bitterly poor. They are in jobs not covered by Federal legislation at all, or in those that pay the official, legal and impoverishing minimum of $2,600 a year, or $500 under the poverty line for a man with a wife and two children.

But, then, perhaps Watts can be taken as a summary—and utterly persuasive statement—of my themes. The Los Angeles ghetto was, and is, a way station on the terrible above-ground railway that this economy runs for Negroes. Literally tens of thousands of black men are forced to migrate from the South. They come North to "freedom," where they are packed together in slums and sent out to compete on the labor market with the black generation that arrived a decade or two ago (Jeremy Larner has estimated that over half the adult population of Harlem is made up of migrants who were not born there). And they also must contend, of course, with white competition. In Watts, then, one found jobless rates—according to the official figures—of nearly 40 per cent. And since the flaming outburst of last summer, many agencies, public and private, have gone into Watts to talk to Negroes there about work. The one thing they have not provided is jobs.

In one form or another, the reality I have described is now common knowledge in the civil rights movement and in the Federal government. What, then, are we going to do about it—besides writing sociological descriptions of it?

The debate over the "Moynihan Report" focuses on one approach. As is generally known by now, one of the principal authors of the report was Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Let me make it clear at the outset that I feel it is unfair to charge Moynihan with being a racist, open or covert, and that, as a matter of fact, he was trying in his report to insist on the social and economic dimension of the race issue—for example, in his showing that prolonged unemployment tended to disintegrate the white family structure and to place particularly difficult psychological burdens on the male. The Negro family, Moynihan shows, has lived in a depression-like atmosphere ever since the 1930's, and the result has been a predictable breakdown. Now, this point has been made previously by Negro scholars—the late Franklin Frazier comes to mind in particular—and it has also emerged from studies of the heritage of American slavery.

But the Moynihan data were presented in a form guaranteed to promote confusion. An intra-office memo on one aspect of a problem, it was taken by many, both friends and foes, as a comprehensive statement. Thus, even though the report made it clear that Negro family stability had always increased when Negro economic opportunity was on the rise, there were those who claimed that Moynihan had demonstrated that the real problem was a Negro deficiency in facing reality. Don't talk about "handouts," these sermonizers and moralists said whenever anyone spoke of the job of generating programs that could provide a basis for Negro family stability. And they concluded: just have Negroes put their own house in order! Thus chaotic aspects of Negro life that are the direct consequence of the economic and social discrimination practiced by white America were turned into bogus evidence of some kind of Negro inferiority.

And the truncated form of the Moynihan Report also meant that it concentrated almost solely upon what is negative in Negro life. There was no examination of the degree to which the "abnormality" of some of the ghetto mores, when seen from the point of view of a secure white middle class, represents a desperate, but intelligent, attempt on the part of a jobless Negro to adapt to a social pathology. There was no assessment of the extraordinary accomplishment of the civil rights movement in summoning so many to sacrifice and to idealism despite these indignities.

## Breakdown of the Negro family

In 1962, Abram Kardiner, M. D., and Lionel Ovesey published their study of the personality of the American Negro, *The Mark of Oppression*. The section in their book that deals with the breakdown of the Negro family is a scientific and compassionate description; it explains a great deal about the interrelationship between personality and economics.

When a Negro male abandons his wife and children, the authors point out, he is blamed for having no sense of responsibility—something generally considered a character trait of Negroes. Research has shown, however, that such a man himself is more often than not the product of a broken home. He had no father to set him a pattern of stability and protection, and his overburdened mother was irritable and demanded strict obedience. He was thrown into competition with his mother's other children. Hearing men disparaged by his female relatives, and without affectionate attention from anyone, his self-esteem was lowered. The submissive attitude he thus developed toward women limited his ability to enter into a satisfactory marital relationship. When he married, he knew that his wife had much better chances economically than he did. Moreover, neither he nor his wife had much tolerance for each other's faults. Even if he found work, it was hardly ever permanent. Often he tried hard to fulfill his obligations, but he failed continuously. Thereupon his wife began berating and browbeating him. Finally, either she invited him to leave, or he himself abandoned his family.

When a husband moves out, the authors continue, he is generally a defeated man. He drifts from job to job, Often he seeks escape in drink, or satisfaction through expensive clothes or through pleasure with women. Even if he stays married, the husband remains subordinate to his wife. Though he is submissive toward her, he may become domineering over the children. An abandoned wife, on the other hand, usually marries—and often successfully—a second time. If that marriage fails, her lot from then on is one of ceaseless toil. Usually she cannot give her child either attention or love. Often a sister or brother has to take care of the child, who is thus exposed to bitter rivalries with other children. The male child of a broken marriage takes to the streets. Here he elevates his self-esteem through exploits with other boys, obtaining rewards he cannot get at home. Without his knowing it, many of his satisfactions are bought through anti-social acts.

If we study this description of the breakdown of the American Negro family, we find that there is a common reality-factor in that cycle: the economic position of the Negro male. We could attempt to psychoanalyze poor Negroes, to improve their self-image and self-esteem, but in the face of the economic realities, all our effort would be futile.

That is why A. Philip Randolph has

proposed a "Freedom Budget," a multibillion-dollar social investment to destroy the racial ghettos of America, house the black and white poor decently and create full and fair employment in the process. His approach is fundamental if we are serious about reconstructing the Negro family and allowing the Negro male to be the head of the household.

## 'Help yourself, like we did'

Misconceptions about Negro family life are often compounded by admonitions to Negroes to help themselves "like we did" (the "we" are the Poles, Jews, Irish, Italians, etc.).

Michael Harrington pointed out, in a recent issue of *Dissent*, that the old immigrant groups came to America when an expanding blue-collar economy had work for grade school dropouts and men who could not even speak English, while the Negro has come to the city as an internal alien in a time of automation, a time when the number of available jobs is decreasing. (Oscar Handlin points out in his book *Race, Nationality and American Life* that without the immigrant labor supply, the development of the cotton goods industry to its present status in New York and other North Atlantic States could not have taken place.)

Saying this does not mean that Negro self-organization is irrelevant. Far from it. It is only when the black ghetto of the North, which has yet to be organized massively by *any* civil rights group, comes to conscious political life that the full impact of the Negro revolution will be felt. But first of all, the economic and social setting in which such organization becomes possible and even probable has to be created. Just as the semi-skilled factory workers did not create the CIO at the bottom of the Depression in 1932, but only when times were getting better a few years later, so the black masses require some tangible signs of hope and success before they are going to move.

For that matter, the white immigrant groups from Europe, which are so often held up as images of the "self-help" process, benefited from massive government intervention. The great advance made by the first and second generation workers took place, of course, in the 1930's, and the most important new institutions they created were precisely the industrial unions. But this did not happen in a vacuum. There was the Wagner Act, which, if it did not immediately guarantee collective bargaining rights, put the moral and psychological authority of the government on the side of the labor movement ("Mr. Roosevelt wants you to join," John L. Lewis said in those days). And there were the various programs—the climate of economic hope. Some Negroes participated in this progress; most were excluded because racism had kept them out of the factories, where the decisive events occurred.

In short, the CIO had to organize itself, but it did so under circumstances of Federal intervention that made the momentous task easier to perform. Negroes have to organize themselves. And the Freedom Budget, which is their New Deal 30 years late, will not simply provide full and fair employment and lay the basis for the destruction of the physical environment of poverty. Like the Wagner Act and the social investments of the New Deal, it should also evoke a new psychology, a new militancy and sense of dignity, among millions of Negroes, who will see something more concrete and specific than a promise of eventual freedom.

But secondly, when I talk of the self-organization that the Freedom Budget should make possible, I am not talking about "self-help" in the neighborhood improvement sense. In *Dark Ghetto*, Kenneth Clark tells of how one New York block got together to clean up the street. In the doing, Clark rightly remarks, these Negroes gave tacit assent to the charge that it was their *fault* that the street was dirty, thus accepting one more of the white man's stereotypes about the Negro (i.e., he is guilty of non-cleanliness). What is more, the energy was misdirected. It should have been directed to City Hall as a demand that the city clean up the streets of Harlem the same way it cleans up the streets of the white middle class.

From the time of the American Revolution until the rise of the NAACP in the first decade of this century, Negroes have followed the advice of the self-helpers. When Negroes were thrown out of the Methodist Church in the 18th century, they established the African Methodist Episcopal Church. When they were not allowed to attend white universities, they set up Wilberforce University in Ohio. When insurance companies would not insure Negroes, fraternal organizations and social clubs took on the task. The history of the Negro people in the United States is a history of attempting to build separate self-help organizations. At the end of World War II, the Urban League and the National Council of Negro Women formed "Hold Your Job Committees." The committees conducted educational campaigns in the factories and the Negro community to urge Negroes not to give employers any excuse for discharging them after the war.

More recently, Black Nationalists and Muslims have believed that if Negroes would only follow the Protestant ethic and "Buy Black" (while a number of confused whites have said: "Be frugal"), they could end their economic dependence. But the fact is that if millions of Negroes are to change the conditions of their life, it will be not by becoming shopkeepers or by cleaning up their block, but by winning full and fair employment for black men as well as white.

Negroes, I am saying, should be individually virtuous—and so should whites. But the Negro movement's future does not lie along the line of making over millions of black personalities, one by one. The European immigrants and their children ceased being rude peasants not because they got religion or psychology, but because they got economic opportunity and hope. The Negro movement must now struggle against economic injustices that are more deeply rooted in the management and structure of our technology than anything the immigrants ever faced. And it can win this perilous fight only by way of militant political organization and through national programs.

[BAYARD RUSTIN is the executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. His article is based on a study paper that he prepared for a recent conference of the John LaFarge Institute.] ■

# Some Lessons from Watts*

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

IN ORDER for me to talk about Watts, it is necessary for me to talk first about the nature of the revolution through which we are moving. Europeans find it very difficult to accept the term, "the civil rights revolution," because a revolution usually is thought of as having aspects that this revolution does not have.

In general usage, a revolution means an attempt, by force, by a group not in power to take power, and to exercise it. That is not what Negroes want. Contrary to some things that Mr. James Baldwin and Leroy Jones have written, I do not know any sizeable number of Negroes who think in terms of seizing power. Secondly, a real revolution postulates a political philosophy which is different from that held by the major groups with which they are contending. I know of no sizeable group of Negroes in this country who want to revise American institutions. They want to be part of those institutions, for good or ill, as they now exist.

Thirdly, revolutions as we have known them invariably have used any form of power and in any degree—whatever it can get into its hands—for the accomplishment of its aim, the achieving of power. By and large, the Negro revolt has denied that it is interested in, nor has it used, violence. It has limited itself in tactics and stratagems to non-violence.

Now, if this be true, how can we use the term "civil rights revolution"? In the Greek—and true—meaning of the term, "revolution" means to go to the roots of things and turn them upside down. There is a revolution, that is a going to the bottom of things and turning them topsy-turvy, in that the Negro subjectively, inwardly, psychologically, declares himself a man, no longer looks upon himself as an inferior. This is important because the history of top and bottom, the history of slave and master, shows that slavery cannot in fact continue far beyond the point at which slaves no longer looked upon themselves as slaves and accommodated to it—as in America we accommodate to two dis-

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**Bayard Rustin, Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, organized the 1963 March on Washington.**

tinctly different but important concepts, that of Uncle Tom and that of Sambo.

## NEEDED: A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

There is another sense in which we are in a revolutionary stage—an inner revolution that has nothing to do with the Negroes' objectives. It grows out of the fact that what the American Negro now wants to achieve with nonrevolutionary objectives cannot in fact be achieved unless there is a democratic constitutional revolution in the economic and social life of this country. That is what is truly revolutionary. Now, this is already quite clear in its prerevolutionary form. I do not for a moment think that the changes I am about to enumerate are due exclusively to the Negro in motion; but if other forces did exist and the Negro were not in motion, these changes could not have come about. The ecumenical movement in religion—Catholics, Protestants and Jews cooperating—emerged essentially from Negroes in movement. It is, in fact, only around Negroes that Catholics, Protestants and Jews have been able to coalesce for social objectives. I believe we would not now be examining our school systems and doing what Dr. Cronin—and many other educators—have asked us to do for years except for Negroes in motion. It took Negro school boycotts to get this nation to realize that the school system itself is not training people for the age of automation and cybernation and a technological revolution through which we are passing. I do not believe there would be a war on poverty today if Negroes had not been in motion. I do not believe that there would be the student movement concerned with peace and civil rights and academic freedom had that movement not been inspired by the movement of Negro students in 1960.

## A WARNING AND AN APPEAL

It is important to note that I say we are in a pre-revolutionary state precisely because the Negro will no longer consent to look on himself as he has done for 350 years; and because, unless something profound happens, we not only will be unable to solve what we think of as the Negro problem, but we are preparing for a continuous siege, a continuous social dislocation of a violent nature in this country, if we are not able to move rapidly. And this is so precisely because if the Negro's being in motion non-violently causes a number of creative things to happen, if his frustration then causes him to be in motion violently, we will discover that a number of extremely violent things will be visited upon the total nature of our society.

This analysis is important because Watts was a warning and an appeal. If a few Negroes get drunk and go berserk, that is criminal behavior. If an entire community goes berserk, it signals the presence of a social sickness that has sprung from social germs. A young man in Watts said to me and Dr. King, "You know, we won."

I said, "What do you mean, you won?"

He said, "They finally listened to our manifesto." And he kept talking about the manifesto.

And I said, "Young man, what do you mean, the manifesto? Would you mind letting me and Dr. King see a copy of it?"

He pulled out a matchbox; he pulled out a single match; he lit it. He said, "Daddy, that was our manifesto, and the slogan was 'Burn, baby, burn.' "

I said, "But you haven't told me how you won."

He said, "Well, I'll tell you how we won. We were four years telling these white folks peacefully what we needed. We asked them to come and talk with us. They didn't come. We tried to get some war on poverty. It didn't come. But after our manifesto, daddy, the Mayor, the Governor, you, Dr. King, everybody came."

Now, this is amusing, but it is terribly serious, because Watts has caused thousands of young Negroes in this country to speak not what is untrue but what is precisely true—that the great majority of white people in this country, and particularly those with political power, did in fact, after they had burned, bring in the war on poverty; did in fact, after they had pillaged, pay attention to them; did in fact, after the rampaging and the looting, finally say, "Well, something must be done." The danger is not so much from the looting or the burning; the real danger is that, objectively, from what these youngsters have seen happen, they now believe that looting and burning have become a legitimate means for forcing social change. If anyone is at fault, it is the authorities who have failed to see the first aspect of this revolution, which is dignity.

In Watts, I learned what I had been fearing for some time from the response to Malcolm X and to other black nationalist groups: that the Negro in this country no longer will do what Dollard and others described them as doing in their study at Yale on frustration and aggression. Mr. Dollard and others pointed out that frustration generates aggression, in direct proportion. They cited the great number of fights between Negro women and their husbands during weekends, the number of razor duels in the streets, the fights over gamblings, the murders as evidence that Negroes (apart from the Uncle Tom-Sambo concept) turn their aggressive violence in upon themselves. Watts proved to me conclusively that Negroes no longer are going to express frustration in self-aggression; but that they will turn it against the people they feel are responsible for their status.

## NO LAW AND ORDER IN A VACUUM

Watts taught us that, any way one turns it, no law and order are possible in a vacuum. It is pointless to cry, "Let us maintain law and order," for order does not proceed from the accumulation of law. Law is neutral. Order springs from just law and the pursuit of justice—and where there is neither justice nor evidence of its pursuit, disorder is inevitable. Let me give some concrete examples of what I mean by this. I do not want to discuss police brutality in this context. If every policeman in Watts or Bedford-Stuyvesant or Harlem behaved as an ideal creature, there still would be disorder and it would be directed at the policeman; because people in Watts refer to Watts as the zoo, and the policeman as the zoo-keeper—the blue-coat zoo-keeper. The youngsters in Watts would not have been able to analyze their meaning—and it took me some time to apprehend fully what they were saying, which was something like this:

"Mr. Rustin, they hem us into this zoo on four sides, then they tell Charlie Bluecoat to come in here and keep us still. We don't like the zoo. We intend to break out of it."

And in Watts, in the ten-mile stretch from the center of that community all that way to three or four blocks from City Hall—is complete devastation attesting to the strength of that intention. Even the direction that the destruction took has meaning to those people. When the police officers come in and say to them, "Behave yourselves in this condition," the people say the same thing they said to me and Dr. King—and if they say it to me and Dr. King, how much more do they mean it to the policemen?—those boys said to me:

"Mr. Rustin, don't you and Dr. King come in here and tell us to behave ourselves. We are sick of Negro leaders telling us to behave ourselves; 'cause, Daddy, when you tell me to behave myself, you are asking me to accept this condition, and I don't intend to accept it."

There is another aspect: A young boy came to me and said, "Mr. Rustin, I have been trying for weeks and weeks and weeks to get a job. Whitey is not going to give me a job."

I said, "Well, now, son, what do you mean by that?"

He said, "I'll tell you what I mean, Mr. Rustin—I mean that I am so sick of Whitey and his lording it over me and not giving me any work, that I've been selling pot on the street and making me $60 a week. What that Bluecoat Whitey doesn't know is that when he comes in here and tells me not to sell pot, when he isn't going to let me work when I'm able to work and want to work, when that sonofabitch asks me to be lawful, he's trying to take my goddam job away from me."

One of the boys said, "We know that those policemen are scared of us. We had for once to prove to them that they were scared of us, because they come walking in here six at a time and beat us up whenever they want."

### WHITE STEREOTYPE FEAR OF NEGROES

What the boy did not know was the basis of that fear. White people are always afraid of Negroes when there are more than two present. I am quite serious. What else would explain why—when the FBI knew all our plans, when every department of government knew, because we had been meeting with them for eight weeks straight—they continued, before the March on Washington, as did every newspaper, to predict that Negroes had to misbehave?

It is very simple: psychologically, it is projection. The average white policeman says to himself, "Look at these conditions they live in. Look how many of them are unemployed. Look at the condition of the schools. Look what we do to them, and how we beat them. Aha! If I were one of them, I wouldn't take it, I would fight back." Therefore he assumes that we are going to make the same kind of response that he would, because inwardly he knows that we are and react in the same way as human beings.

Those kids smelled this, and they had to bring it out.

It is a tragedy that there is not a major civil rights problem to be solved in the North. When one comes up against decent housing and the destruction of slums, quality integrated education and work, one is not dealing with Negro problems; one is dealing with contradictions in a society which happen most grievously to affect the Negro. I am aware that segregation and discrimination are not totally responsible for the conditions that I shall now describe—but the average Negro in Watts is not any more analytical than the average Jew on the lower East Side or the average Italian on Mott Street; he does not want to know the causes; the shoe pinches; there is a monkey on his back; he wants to get it off. Since 1954, the ghettos have gotten larger; there are more rats and more roaches in them. Negro employment is infinitely worse than it was in 1954. Since 1954 there are more Negro children in segregated classrooms than there were. But in addition, all the legislative action, all the Presidential action, all the Supreme Court decisions—excepting the FEPC provisions of the 1964 bill—were not designed to do anything about the North. They were all designed to do something about the South.

My prediction: There is not a major city in this country—given the revolutionary mood of the Negro youth and their alienation and their separation from the leadership—which may not have a Watts, unless we are prepared to build a coalition of forces, including labor, religious groups, church groups and others, that will come forward with a truly revolutionary plan—a non-revolutionary plan is never adequate for a revolutionary situation.

## GRANDIOSE PLANNING NEEDED

There are times when only that which appears to be grandiose is capable of dealing with a situation which is desperate. And therefore this coalition of forces must now demand that where the private sector of the economy cannot provide work, the public sector do so. We need a massive public works program, *with training*. We need to understand that automation and cybernation cannot affect human services to humans. Therefore in addition to having the kinds of work programs that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had, training must be built into them. The unskilled must be given useful work in the wide area of human services to humans; such people can be employed in that realm with very little training. We must face up to the fact that this nation has got to plan, not go on acting as if somehow or other planning is un-American (by which we seem to mean that planning to give billions to the railways is American; planning to give to the poor is socialism or communism).

Let me give you an illustration. I am all for the war on poverty and all it is doing; but the war on poverty is no answer to the basic revolutionary situation we are in. What is Mr. Shriver going to do with those Negro boys he sends to camp, after he upgrades their reading rates, gives them a feeling of being somebody, in a society where there's so little planning that we could not possibly know what is going to be automated next so that we could really train them to go into a job? I'll tell you what those boys are: they are sticks of dynamite with a time fuse, planted in the ghetto with their frustrated expectations—a major part of the future trouble. It is a dangerous thing to take a 17-year old boy off the streets of Harlem and lead him to believe that when he goes to one of these camps for the year and raises his reading rate to the seventh grade, he is then going to make it, when in fact he cannot make it in a society where there are not jobs for anybody with his skills.

## JOBS AS A MAJOR REMEDY

A recent Sunday issue of *The New York Times* had two extremely interesting articles: One related that the Negroes in Miami were up in arms because they were fearful that more of their jobs will be lost to Cubans who will work for nothing. (That is quite understandable, especially in a state where there is no minimum wage.) The other story related that Mexican-Americans in California are up in arms because, as they saw it, the Negroes rioted and got something while they remained peaceable and got nothing. The basic problem is not the poor Cubans; it is not the Negroes who may be getting jobs; it is not the Mexican-Americans who rightfully feel resentful. The problem is that in a society where the government does not see to it that every man who wants work can have it, the government, whether it knows it or not, is pitting those men against one another to fight like dogs over a bone for the few jobs that do exist. Nothing less than full and fair employment will get us out of this problem.

Michael Harrington reports that fifty per cent of the people of Watts were without work. If fifty per cent of the American people were out of work, we would not only have rioting and revolt; we would have revolution. Therefore why are we surprised that these people do this? And how chagrined we should be that, having done it, the government then makes a half-hearted effort and a response leading young Negroes to feel that this is one of the ways now to legitimize it.

## POLITICAL AGITATORS

A word about political leadership: A riot—or riots—as I have studied them (I've studied the Detroit riots by going to Detroit; I've studied the Cicero riot by going there for the American Friends Service Committee and making a study) whether black or white rioting, happen in the same way. There is frustration, leading to aggression. For no good reason, riots always start over silly things—something bursts. The next step is that the police, with this fear I've been talking about, come in with power far beyond what is needed to contain the disorders. The community reacts to that extraordinary amount of power. That is always the second stage. The third stage is when the worms come out of the woodwork—that is, the thieves in the community see that they can take advantage of the situation; they start breaking windows and stealing. Toward the end of that stage, perfectly respectable people get caught up in the looting. The next stage is when certain political groups—I will not name the ones in Los Angeles because they are still under examination, but will refer back to Harlem where they were Chinese-Maoist Communists—come in and try to keep it going. This is the way it develops.

Now, the important thing about this development is that, after it's gone a certain distance, there is really nothing to do but let it burn out. I myself was booed, shot at, stoned, and finally run off the streets of Harlem last summer trying to stop the riot there. What we discovered is that if the right groups in the community can be reached, and they can reach some of the young people, they can stop it. We have heard a great deal of ugliness about Watts; but the primary reason that it finally boiled down was not because the police came in with more and more power but because finally two youth groups decided that they were going to organize to stop it.

Every paper in this country said that the Watts riot was the worst in American history; everything that the Negro does is the worst. A judge sits on the bench for twenty years and in that time sends ten men to their deaths. Each time, he says, "This was the most heinous crime in the annals of man." In the year 1863, in New York, the Irish were called "shanties," which means "nigger." In the year 1863, amongst the Irish in New York there was 44 per cent unemployment. In the year 1863, Irish could not buy property in certain parts of New York. In the year 1863, policemen used to come into the Irish district five and six together. In the year 1863 the Irish were dirty, they didn't wash, they stank, they were ugly, they were all the things that Negroes are called today. And in the year 1863, the Irish rioted in New York. They killed over 300 people, lynched over 31 Negroes, did much more property damage than was done in Watts.

Do I recall this because I have anymosity toward the Irish? No. I only say that poor frustrated people will riot. And yet, I have yet to hear anyone other than myself recall these facts in connection with Watts.

The Irish got out of the situation they were in because following the Civil War there was a great development, an industrialization, the use of semi-skilled workers which put men back to work. If Negro rioting is to be avoided in the future, it will be because Negroes are enabled to get out of the vicious cycle of frustration that breeds aggression; because this country proves that it is capable of creating a new economic way of life without unemployment, without slums, without poverty. We have the means. Will we find the way to use them wisely, while there is still time?

# A Commentary Report

with

Study Guide & Letters

# THE WATTS "MANIFESTO"
# &
# THE McCONE REPORT

**BAYARD RUSTIN**

COMMENTARY IS AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SIGNIFICANT THOUGHT AND OPINION ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES AND JEWISH AFFAIRS PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (165 EAST 56TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022) AT $9.00 ANNUALLY

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# THE WATTS "MANIFESTO" & THE McCONE REPORT

## *BAYARD RUSTIN*

THE RIOTS IN the Watts section of Los Angeles last August continued for six days, during which 34 persons were killed, 1,032 were injured, and some 3,952 were arrested. Viewed by many of the rioters themselves as their "manifesto," the uprising of the Watts Negroes brought out in the open, as no other aspect of the Negro protest has done, the despair and hatred that continue to brew in the Northern ghettoes despite the civil-rights legislation of recent years and the advent of "the war on poverty." With national attention focused on Los Angeles, Governor Edward P. Brown created a commission of prominent local citizens, headed by John A. McCone, to investigate the causes of the riots and to prescribe remedies against any such outbreaks in the future. Just as the violent confrontation on the burning streets of Watts told us much about the underlying realities of race and class relations in America—summed up best, perhaps, by the words of Los Angeles Police Chief William Parker, "We're on top and they're on the bottom"—so does the McCone Report, published under the title *Violence in the City—An End or a Beginning?*, tell us much about the response of our political and economic institutions to the Watts "manifesto."

Like the much-discussed Moynihan Report, the McCone Report is a bold departure from the standard government paper on social problems. It goes beyond the mere recital of statistics to discuss, somewhat sympathetically, the real problems of the Watts community—problems like unemployment, inadequate schools, dilapidated housing—and it seems at first glance to be leading toward constructive programs. It never reaches them, however, for, again like the Moynihan Report, it is ambivalent about the basic reforms that are needed to solve these problems and therefore shies away from spelling them out too explicitly. Thus, while it calls for the creation of 50,000 new jobs to compensate for the "spiral of failure" that it finds among the Watts Negroes, the McCone Report does not tell us how these jobs are to be created or obtained and instead recommends existing programs which have already shown themselves to be inadequate. The Moynihan Report, similarly, by emphasizing the breakdown of the Negro family, also steers clear of confronting the thorny issues of Negro unemployment as such.

By appearing to provide new viewpoints and fresh initiatives while at the same time repeating, if in more sophisticated and compassionate terms, the standard white stereotypes and shibboleths about Negroes, the two reports have become controversial on both sides of the Negro question. On the one hand, civil-rights leaders can point to the recognition in these reports of the need for jobs and training, and for other economic and social programs to aid the Negro family, while conservatives can find confirmed in their pages the Negro penchant for violence, the excessive agitation against law and order by the civil-rights movement, or the high rates of crime and illegitimacy in the Negro community; on the other hand, both sides have criticized the reports for feeding ammunition to the opposition. Unfortunately, but inevitably, the emphasis on *Negro* behavior in both reports has stirred up an abstract debate over the interpretation of data rather than suggesting programs for dealing with the existing and very concrete situation in which American Negroes find themselves. For example, neither report is concerned about segregation and both tacitly assume that the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 are already destroying this system. In the case of the McCone Report, this leaves the writers free to discuss the problems of Negro housing, education, and unemployment in great detail without attacking the conditions of de facto segregation that underly them.

THE ERRORS and misconceptions of the McCone Report are particularly revealing because it purports to deal with the realities of the Watts riots rather than with the abstractions of the Negro family. The first distortion of these realities occurs in the opening chapter—"The Crisis: An Overview"—where, after briefly discussing the looting and beatings, the writers conclude that "The rioters seem to have been caught up in an insensate rage of destruction." Such an image may

**BAYARD RUSTIN**, the noted civil-rights leader, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York. His article, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," in the February 1965 COMMENTARY, has been widely discussed.

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reflect the fear of the white community that Watts had run amok during six days in August, but it does not accurately describe the major motive and mood of the riots, as subsequent data in the report itself indicate. While it is true that Negroes in the past have often turned the violence inflicted on them by society in upon themselves—"insensate rage" would perhaps have been an appropriate phrase for the third day of the 1964 Harlem riots—the whole point of the outbreak in Watts was that it marked the first major rebellion of Negroes against their own masochism and was carried on with the express purpose of asserting that they would no longer quietly submit to the deprivation of slum life.

This message came home to me over and over again when I talked with the young people in Watts during and after the riots, as it will have come home to those who watched the various television documentaries in which the Negroes of the community were permitted to speak for themselves. At a street-corner meeting in Watts when the riots were over, an unemployed youth of about twenty said to me, "We won." I asked him: "How have you won? Homes have been destroyed, Negroes are lying dead in the streets, the stores from which you buy food and clothes are destroyed, and people are bringing you relief." His reply was significant: "We won because we made the whole world pay attention to us. The police chief never came here before; the mayor always stayed uptown. We made them come." Clearly it was no accident that the riots proceeded along an almost direct path to City Hall.

Nor was the violence along the way random and "insensate." Wherever a store-owner identified himself as a "poor working Negro trying to make a business" or as a "Blood Brother," the mob passed the store by. It even spared a few white businesses that allowed credit or time purchases, and it made a point of looting and destroying stores that were notorious for their high prices and hostile manners. The McCone Report itself observes that "the rioters concentrated on food markets, liquor stores, clothing stores, department stores, and pawn shops." The authors "note with interest that no residences were deliberately burned, that damage to schools, libraries, public buildings was minimal and that certain types of business establishments, notably service stations and automobile dealers, were for the most part unharmed." It is also worth noting that the rioters were much more inclined to destroy the stock of the liquor stores they broke into than to steal it, and that according to the McCone Report, "there is no evidence that the rioters made any attempt to steal narcotics from pharmacies . . . which were looted and burned."

This is hardly a description of a Negro community that has run amok. The largest number of arrests were for looting—not for arson or shooting. Most of the people involved were not habitual thieves; they were members of a deprived group who seized a chance to possess things that all the dinning affluence of Los Angeles had never given them. There were innumerable touching examples of this behavior. One married couple in their sixties was seen carrying a couch to their home, and when its weight became too much for them, they sat down and rested on it until they could pick it up again. Langston Hughes tells of another woman who was dragging a sofa through the streets and who stopped at each intersection and waited for the traffic light to turn green. A third woman went out with her children to get a kitchen set, and after bringing it home, she discovered they needed one more chair in order to feed the whole family together; they went back to get the chair and all of them were arrested.

If the McCone Report misses the point of the Watts riots, it shows even less understanding of their causes. To place these in perspective, the authors begin by reviewing the various outbursts in the Negro ghettoes since the summer of 1964 and quickly come up with the following explanations: "Not enough jobs to go around, and within this scarcity not enough by a wide margin of a character which the untrained Negro could fill. . . . Not enough schooling to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged Negro child whose environment from infancy onward places him under a serious handicap." Finally, "a resentment, even hatred, of the police as a symbol of authority."

For the members of the special commission these are the fundamental causes of the current Negro plight and protest, which are glibly summed up in the ensuing paragraph by the statement that "Many Negroes moved to the city in the last generation and are totally unprepared to meet the conditions of city life." I shall be discussing these "causes" in detail as we go along, but it should be noted here that the burden of responsibility has already been placed on these hapless migrants to the cities. There is not one word about the conditions, economic as well as social, that have pushed Negroes out of the rural areas; nor is there one word about whether the cities have been willing and able to meet the demand for jobs, adequate housing, proper schools. After all, one could as well say that it is the *cities* which have been "totally unprepared" to meet the "conditions of *Negro* life," but the moralistic bias of the McCone Report, involving as it does an emphasis on the decisions of men rather than the pressure of social forces, continually operates in the other direction.

The same failure of awareness is evident in the report's description of the Los Angeles situation (the Negro areas of Los Angeles "are not urban gems, neither are they slums," the Negro population "has exploded," etc.). The authors do concede that the Los Angeles transportation system is the "least adequate of any major city," but even here they fail to draw the full consequences of their findings. Good, cheap transportation is essential to a segregated working-class population in a big city. In Los Angeles a domestic worker, for example, must spend about $1.50 and 1½ to 2 hours to get to a job that pays $6 or $7 a day. This both discourages efforts to find work and exacerbates the feeling of isolation.

A neighborhood such as Watts may seem beautiful when compared to much of Harlem (which, in turn, is an improvement over the Negro section of Mobile, Alabama)—but it is still a ghetto. The housing is run-down, public services are inferior, the listless penned-in atmosphere of segregation is oppressive. Absentee landlords are the rule, and most of the businesses are owned by whites: neglect and exploitation reign by day, and at night, as one Watts Negro tersely put it, "There's just the cops and us."

The McCone Report, significantly, also ignores the political atmosphere of Los Angeles. It refers, for example, to the repeal in 1964 of the Rumford Act—the California fair-housing law—in these words: "In addition, many Negroes here felt and were encouraged to feel that they had been affronted by the passage of Proposition 14." Affronted, indeed! The largest state in the Union, by a three-to-one majority, abolishes one of its own laws against discrimination and Negroes are described as regarding this as they might the failure of a friend to keep an engagement. What they did feel—and without any need of encouragement—was that while the rest of the North was passing civil-rights laws and improving opportunities for Negroes, their own state and city were rushing to reinforce the barriers against them.

The McCone Report goes on to mention two other "aggravating events in the twelve months prior to the riot." One was the failure of the poverty program to "live up to [its] press notices," combined with reports of "controversy and bickering" in Los Angeles over administering the program. The second "aggravating event" is summed up by the report in these words:

> Throughout the nation unpunished violence and disobedience to law were widely reported, and almost daily there were exhortations here and elsewhere, to take the most extreme and illegal remedies to right a wide variety of wrongs, real and supposed.

It would be hard to frame a more insidiously equivocal statement of the Negro grievance concerning law enforcement during a period that included the release of the suspects in the murder of the three civil-rights workers in Mississippi, the failure to obtain convictions against the suspected murderers of Medgar Evers and Mrs. Violet Liuzzo, the Gilligan incident in New York, the murder of Reverend James Reeb, and the police violence in Selma, Alabama—to mention only a few of the more notorious cases. And surely it would have been more to the point to mention that throughout the nation Negro demonstrations have almost invariably been non-violent, and that the major influence on the Negro community of the civil-rights movement has been the strategy of discipline and dignity. Obsessed by the few prophets of violent resistance, the McCone Commission ignores the fact that never before has an American group sent so many people to jail or been so severely punished for trying to uphold the law of the land.

IT IS NOT stretching things too far to find a connection between these matters and the treatment of the controversy concerning the role of the Los Angeles police. The report goes into this question at great length, finally giving no credence to the charge that the police may have contributed to the spread of the riots through the use of excessive force. Yet this conclusion is arrived at not from the point of view of the Watts Negroes, but from that of the city officials and the police. Thus, the report informs us, in judicial hearings that were held on 32 of the 35 deaths which occurred, 26 were ruled justifiable homicides, but the report—which includes such details as the precise time Mayor Yorty called Police Chief Parker and when exactly the National Guard was summoned—never tells us what a "justifiable homicide" is considered to be. It tells us that "of the 35 killed, one was a fireman, one was a deputy sheriff, and one was a Long Beach policeman," but it does not tell us how many Negroes were killed or injured by police or National Guardsmen. (Harry Fleischman of the American Jewish Committee reports that the fireman was killed by a falling wall; the deputy sheriff, by another sheriff's bullet; and the policeman, by another policeman's bullet.) We learn that of the 1,032 people reported injured, 90 were police officers, 36 were firemen, 10 were National Guardsman, 23 were from government agencies. To find out that about 85 per cent of the injured were Negroes, we have to do our own arithmetic. The report contains no information as to how many of these were victims of police force, but one can surmise from the general pattern of the riots that few could have been victims of Negro violence.

The report gives credence to Chief Parker's assertion that the rioters were the "criminal element in Watts" yet informs us that of the 3,438 adults arrested, 1,164 had only minor criminal records and 1,232 had never been arrested before. Moreover, such statistics are always misleading. Most Negroes, at one time or another, have been picked up and placed in jail. I myself have been arrested twice in Harlem on charges that had no basis in fact: once for trying to stop a police officer from arresting the wrong man; the second time for asking an officer who was throwing several young men into a paddy wagon what they had done. Both times I was charged with interfering with an arrest and kept overnight in jail until the judge recognized me and dismissed the charges. Most Negroes are not fortunate enough to be recognized by judges.

Having accepted Chief Parker's view of the riots, the report goes on to absolve him of the charge of discrimination: "Chief Parker's statements to us and collateral evidence, such as his fairness to Negro officers, are inconsistent with his having such an attitude ['deep hatred of Negroes']. Despite the depth of feeling against Chief Parker expressed to us by so many witnesses, he is recognized even by many of his vocal critics as a capable Chief who directs an efficient police force and serves well this entire community."

I am not going to stress the usual argument that the police habitually mistreat Negroes. Every Negro knows this. There is scarcely any black man, woman, or child in the land who at some point or other has not been mistreated by a policeman. (A young man in Watts said, "The riots will continue because I, as a Negro, am immediately considered to be a criminal by the police and, if I have a pretty woman with me, she is a tramp even if she is my wife or mother.") Police Chief Parker, however, goes beyond the usual bounds. He does not recognize that he is prejudiced, and being both naïve and zealous about law and order, he is given to a dangerous fanaticism. His reference to the Negro rioters as "monkeys," and his "top . . . and bottom" description of the riots, speak for themselves, and they could only have further enraged and encouraged the rioters. His insistence on dealing with the outbreak in Watts as though it were the random work of a "criminal element" threatened to lead the community, as Martin Luther King remarked after the meeting he and I had with Chief Parker, "into potential holocaust." Though Dr. King and I have had considerable experience in talking with public officials who do not understand the Negro community, our discussions with Chief Parker and Mayor Samuel Yorty left us completely nonplussed. They both denied, for example, that there was any prejudice in Los Angeles. When we pointed to the very heavy vote in the city for Proposition 14, they replied, "That's no indication of prejudice. That's personal choice." When I asked Chief Parker about his choice of language, he implied that this was the only language Negroes understood.

The impression of "blind intransigence and ignorance of the social forces involved" which Dr. King carried away from our meeting with Chief Parker is borne out by other indications. The cast of his political beliefs, for example, was evidenced during his appearance last May on the Manion Forum, one of the leading platforms of the radical right, in which (according to newspaper reports) he offered his "considered opinion that America today is in reality more than half pagan" and that "we have moved our form of government to a socialist form of government." Such opinions have a good deal of currency today within the Los Angeles police department. About a month before the riots, a leaflet describing Dr. King as a liar and a Communist was posted on the bulletin board of a Los Angeles police station, and only after the concerted efforts of various Negro organizations was this scurrilous pamphlet removed.

CERTAINLY these were "aggravating factors" that the McCone Report should properly have mentioned. But what is more important to understand is that even if every policeman in every black ghetto behaved like an angel and were trained in the most progressive of police academies, the conflict would still exist. This is so because the ghetto is a place where Negroes do not want to be and are fighting to get out of. When someone with a billy club and a gun tells you to behave yourself amid these terrible circumstances, he becomes a zoo keeper, demanding of you, as one of "these monkeys" (to use Chief Parker's phrase), that you accept abhorrent conditions. He is brutalizing you by insisting that you tolerate what you cannot, and ought not, tolerate.

In its blithe ignorance of such feelings, the McCone Report offers as one of its principal suggestions that speakers be sent to Negro schools to teach the students that the police are their friends and that their interests are best served by respect for law and order. Such public-relations gimmicks, of course, are futile—it is hardly a lack of contact with the police that creates the problem. Nor, as I have suggested, is it only a matter of prejudice. The fact is that when Negroes are deprived of work, they resort to selling numbers, women, or dope to earn a living; they must gamble and work in poolrooms. And when the policeman upholds the law, he is depriving them of their livelihood. A clever criminal in the Negro ghettoes is not unlike a clever "operator" in the white business world, and so long as Negroes are denied legitimate opportunities, no exhortations to obey the rules of the society and to regard the police as friends will have any effect.

This is not to say that relations between the police and the Negroes of Watts could not be improved. Mayor Yorty and Police Chief Parker might have headed off a full-scale riot had they refrained from denouncing the Negro leaders and agreed to meet with them early on. Over and over again—to repeat the point with which we began—the rioters claimed that violence was the only way they could get these officials to listen to them. The McCone Commission, however, rejects the proposal for an independent police review board and instead recommends that the post of Inspector General be established—under the authority of the Chief of Police—to handle grievances.

THE CONDITIONS of Negro life in Watts are not, of course, ignored by the McCone Report. Their basic structure is outlined in a section entitled "Dull, Devastating Spiral of Failure." Here we find that the Negro's "homelife destroys incentive"; that he lacks "experience with words and ideas"; that he is "unready and unprepared" in school; and that, "unprepared and unready," he "*slips* into the ranks of the unemployed" (my italics).

I would say, *is shoved*. It is time that we began to understand this "dull, devastating spiral of failure" and that we stopped attributing it to this or that characteristic of Negro life. In 1940, Edward Wight Bakke described the effects of unemployment on family structure in terms of the following model: The jobless man no longer provides, credit runs out, the woman is forced to take a job; if relief then becomes necessary, the woman is regarded even more as the center of the family; the man is dependent on her, the children are bewildered, and the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered. Bakke's research dealt strictly with white families. The fact that Negro social scientists like E. Franklin Frazier and Kenneth Clark have shown that this pattern is typical among the Negro poor does not mean, then, that it stems from some inherent Negro trait or is the ineluctable product of Negro social history. If Negroes suffer more than others from the problems of family instability today, it is not because they are Negro but because they are so disproportionately unemployed, underemployed, and ill-paid.

Anyone looking for historical patterns would do well to consider the labor market for Negroes since the Emancipation. He will find that Negro men have consistently been denied the opportunity to enter the labor force in anything like proportionate numbers, have been concentrated in the unskilled and marginal labor and service occupations, and have generally required wartime emergencies to make any advances in employment, job quality, and security. Such advances are then largely wiped out when the economy slumps again.

In 1948, for example, the rates of Negro and white unemployment were roughly equal. During the next decade, however, Negro unemployment was consistently double that of whites, and among Negro teenagers it remained at the disastrously high figure which prevailed for the entire population during the Depression. It is true that the nation's improved economic performance in recent years has reduced the percentage of jobless Negroes from 12.6 per cent, which it reached in 1958 (12.5 per cent in 1961) to roughly 8.1 per cent today. Despite this progress, the rate of Negro unemployment continues to be twice as high as white (8.13 per cent as against 4.2 per cent). In other words, job discrimination remains constant. These statistics, moreover, conceal the persistence of Negro youth unemployment: in 1961, 24.7 per cent of those Negro teenagers not in school were out of work and it is estimated that in 1966 this incredible rate will only decline to 23.2 per cent. What this figure tells us is that the rise in Negro employment has largely resulted from the calling of men with previous experience back to work. This is an ominous trend, for it is estimated that in the coming year, 20 per cent of the new entrants into the labor force will be Negro (almost twice as high as the Negro percentage of the population). Approximately half of these young Negroes will not have the equivalent of a high-school education and they will be competing in an economy in which the demand for skill and training is increasing sharply.

Thus there is bound to be a further deterioration of the Negro's economic—and hence social—position, despite the important political victories being achieved by the civil-rights movement. For many young Negroes, who are learning that economic servitude can be as effective an instrument of discrimination as racist laws, the new "freedom" has already become a bitter thing indeed. No wonder that the men of Watts were incensed by reports that the poverty program was being obstructed in Los Angeles by administrative wrangling. (As I write this, the New York *Times* reports that political rivalries and ambitions have now virtually paralyzed the program in that area.)

HOW DOES THE McCone Report propose to halt this "dull, devastating spiral of failure"? First, through education—"our fundamental resource." The commission's analysis begins with a comparison of class size in white and Negro areas (the latter are referred to throughout as "disadvantaged areas" and Negro schools, as "disadvantaged schools"). It immediately notes that classes in the disadvantaged schools are slightly smaller; on the other hand, the more experienced teachers are likely to be found in the *non*-disadvantaged areas, and there is tremendous overcrowding in the disadvantaged schools because of double sessions. The buildings in the "disadvantaged areas are in better repair"; on the other hand, there are "cafeterias in the advantaged schools" but not in the disadvantaged schools, which also have no libraries. This random balance sheet of "resources" shows no sense of priorities; moreover, despite the alarming deficiencies it uncovers in the "disadvantaged schools," the McCone Report, in consistent fashion, places its emphasis on the Negro child's "deficiency in environmental experiences" and on "his homelife [which] all too often fails to give him incentive. . . ."

The two major recommendations of the commission in this area will hardly serve to correct the imbalances revealed. The first is that elementary and junior high schools in the "disadvantaged areas" which have achievement levels substantially below the city average should be designated "Emergency Schools." In each of these schools an emergency literacy program is to be established with a maximum of 22 students in each class and an enlarged and supportive corps of teachers. The second recommendation is to establish a permanent pre-school program to help prepare three- and four-year-old children to read and write.

W. T. Bassett, executive secretary of the Los Angeles AFL-CIO, has criticized the report for its failure to deal with education and training for adolescents and adults who are no longer in school. Another glaring omission is of a specific plan to decrease school segregation. While most of us now agree that the major goal of American education must be that of quality integrated schools, we cannot, as even the report suggests, achieve the quality without at the same time moving toward integration. The stated goal of the McCone Commission, however, is to "reverse the trend of de facto segregation" by improving the quality of the Negro schools: in short, separate but equal schools that do not disturb the existing social patterns which isolate the Negro child in his "disadvantaged areas."

That the commission's explicit concern for Negro problems falls short of its implicit concern for the status quo is also evident in its proposals for housing. It calls for the liberalization of credit and FHA-insured loans in "disadvantaged areas," the implementation of rehabilitation measures and other urban-renewal programs and, as its particular innovation, the creation of a "wide area data bank." Meanwhile it refuses to discuss, much less to criticize, the effect of Proposition 14 or to recommend a new fair-housing code. To protect the Negro against discrimination, the McCone Report supports the creation of a Commission on Human Relations, but does not present any proposals that would enable it to do more than collect information and conduct public-relations campaigns.

THE MOST crucial section of the report is the one on employment and, not unexpectedly, it is also the most ignorant, unimaginative, and conservative—despite its dramatic recommendation that 50,000 new jobs be created. On the matter of youth unemployment, the report suggests that the existing federal projects initiate a series of "attitudinal training" programs to help young Negroes develop the necessary motivation to hold on to these new jobs which are to come from somewhere that the commission keeps secret. This is just another example of the commission's continued reliance on public relations, and of its preoccupation with the "dull, devastating spiral" of Negro failure. The truth of the matter is that Negro youths cannot change their attitudes until they see that they can get jobs. When what they see is unemployment and their Economic Opportunity programs being manipulated in behalf of politicians, their attitudes will remain realistically cynical.

Once again, let me try to cut through the obscurantism which has increasingly come to cloud this issue of Negro attitudes. I am on a committee which administers the Apprenticeship Training Program of the Workers Defense League. For many years the League had heard that there were not enough Negro applicants to fill the various openings for apprenticeship training and had also repeatedly been told by vocational-school counselors that Negro students could not pay attention to key subjects such as English and mathematics. The League began its own recruitment and placement program two years ago and now has more than 500 apprentice applicants on file. When, last fall, Local 28 of the Sheetmetal Workers Union—to take one example—announced that a new admission test for apprentices was to be given soon, the League contacted those applicants who had indicated an interest in sheetmetal work. The young men came to the office, filled out a 10-page application form, filed a ten-dollar fee, and returned it to the Local 28 office. Then, five nights a week for three weeks, they came to Harlem, in many cases from Brooklyn and Queens, to be tutored. Most of the young men showed up for all fifteen sessions, and scored well on the test. At their interviews they were poised and confident. Eleven of these men finally were admitted to a class of 33. The WDL doesn't attribute this success to a miraculous program; it merely knows that when young people are told that at the end of a given period of study those who perform well will obtain decent work, then their attitudes will be markedly different from those who are sent off to a work camp with vague promises.

To cut the cost of job training programs, the McCone Commission avers that compensation "should not be necessary for those trainees who are receiving welfare support." Earlier in the report the authors point out that welfare services tend to destroy family life by giving more money to a woman who lives alone; yet they have the audacity to ask that the practice of not allowing men who are on family relief to earn an additional income be maintained for young men who are working and being trained. How is a young man to be adequately motivated if he cannot feel that his work is meaningful and necessary? The McCone Report would have us say to him, "There, there, young man, we're going to keep you off the streets —just putter around doing this make-work." But the young man knows that he can collect welfare checks and also hustle on street corners to increase his earnings. A man's share of a welfare allotment is pitifully small, but more than that, he should be paid for his work; and if one is interested in his morale, he should not be treated as a charity case.

Continuing with the problem of employment, the report recommends that "there should immediately be developed in the affected area a job training and placement center through the combined efforts of Negroes, employers, labor unions and government." In the absence of actual jobs, this would mean merely setting up a new division, albeit voluntary, of the unemployment insurance program. "Federal and state governments should seek to insure through development of new facilities and additional means of communication that advantage is taken of government and private training programs and employment opportunities in our disadvantaged communities." Perhaps the only thing the Job Corps program doesn't lack is publicity: last summer it received ten times as many applications as it could handle. Nor can new types of information centers and questionnaires provide 50,000 new jobs. They may provide positions for social workers and vocational counselors, but very few of them will be unemployed Negroes.

The report goes on: "Legislation should be enacted requiring employers with more than 250 employees and all labor unions to report annually to the state Fair Employment Practices Commission, the racial composition of the work force and membership." But an FEP Commission that merely collects information and propaganda is powerless. And even with the fullest cooperation of labor and management to promote equality of opportunity, the fact remains that there are not enough jobs in the Los Angeles area to go around, even for those who are fortunate enough to be included in the retraining programs. As long as unions cannot find work for many of their own members, there is not much they can do to help unemployed Negroes. And the McCone Report places much of its hope in private enterprise, whose response so far has been meager. The highest estimate of the number of jobs given to Los Angeles Negroes since the Watts crisis is less than 1,000.

THE NEGRO slums today are ghettoes of despair. In Watts, as elsewhere, there are the unemployable poor: the children, the aging, the permanently handicapped. No measure of employment or of economic growth will put an end to their misery, and only government programs can provide them with a decent way of life. The care of these people could be made a major area of job growth. Los Angeles officials could immediately train and put to work women and unemployed youths as school attendants, recreation counselors, practical nurses, and community workers. The federal government and the state of California could aid the people of Watts by beginning a massive public-works program to build needed housing, schools, hospitals, neighborhood centers, and transportation facilities: this, too, would create new jobs. In short, they could begin to develop the $100-billion freedom budget advocated by A. Philip Randolph.

Such proposals may seem impractical and even incredible. But what is truly impractical and incredible is that America, with its enormous wealth, has allowed Watts to become what it is and that a commission empowered to study this explosive situation should come up with answers that boil down to voluntary actions by business and labor, new public-relations campaigns for municipal agencies, and information-gathering for housing, fair-employment, and welfare departments. The Watts manifesto is a response to realities that the McCone Report is barely beginning to grasp. Like the liberal consensus which it embodies and reflects, the commission's imagination and political intelligence appear paralyzed by the hard facts of Negro deprivation it has unearthed, and it lacks the political will to demand that the vast resources of contemporary America be used to build a genuinely great society that will finally put an end to these deprivations. And what is most impractical and incredible of all is that we may very well continue to teach impoverished, segregated, and ignored Negroes that the only way they can get the ear of America is to rise up in violence.

Note: This article was written previous to the March, 1966 disturbances in Watts.

# Study Guide

## *The Watts "Manifesto" & the McCone Report*

Bayard Rustin

A. What really happened in Watts last August? Presumably it is essential to "get the facts straight." By reading this article carefully, you should be able to draw up a list of "facts" — events, actions, statistics, etc. — agreed upon by Mr. Rustin, the authors of the McCone Report, and just about everyone else. How substantial, or insubstantial, is this agreement? Is Mr. Rustin's quarrel with the McCone Report primarily about the facts or about the interpretation of the facts? Consider the following argument: It is impossible to establish what really happened in Watts on a purely objective basis, because the facts are meaningless unless they are interpreted, and the interpretation depends on one's general political commitments. Do you agree? How might the events in Watts be interpreted by the John Birch Society? The Black Muslims? Are you yourself more inclined to describe the events in question as the "Watts riots" or the "Watts Manifesto"? Why? Were the rioters "caught up in an insensate rage of destruction" or were they engaged in "the first major rebellion of Negroes against their own masochism"?

B. Consider Mr. Rustin's critique of the McCone Report. You will note that he does not totally condemn it; moreover, he provides the reader with a summary of even those recommendations and findings with which he takes issue. In other words, he engages in responsible criticism. How, in your opinion, might Mr. McCone answer this criticism? Do you agree with Mr. Rustin's critique? Why? Why not? Let us assume you do agree: to what underlying cause can the failures of the McCone Report be attributed? Throughout the article, Mr. Rustin makes various suggestions that address themselves to this question. Thus, he asserts that the report repeats "the standard white stereotypes and shibboleths about Negroes"; that the report contains a "moralistic bias . . . involving as it does an emphasis on the decisions of men rather than the pressure of social forces"; that the report is marred by an "implicit concern for the status quo"; and that it shares in the general shortcomings of the "liberal consensus" about Negro deprivation (see the final paragraph of the article). Do you agree with any or all of these criticisms? Is it possible to agree with Mr. Rustin about the inadequacy of the McCone Report while disagreeing with him about the underlying cause(s) of that inadequacy?

C. Is it fair to say that Mr. Rustin views the Negro problem as basically an economic problem? You will note that he speaks of "the Negro's economic — and hence social — position" and that he considers it to be absolutely crucial that Negroes are "so disproportionately unemployed, underemployed, and ill-paid." (For some other reflections by Mr. Rustin on these problems, see his "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement" in the February 1965 *Commentary,* and "Johnson So Far: II. — Civil Rights" in the June 1965 issue.) In what other perspective(s) might one view the Negro problem? (Consider Norman Podhoretz's "My Negro Problem — and Ours" in the February 1963 *Commentary.)* Yet, however one views the Negro problem, it is impossible to deny that the Negro is economically handicapped, as Mr. Rustin's incontrovertible evidence demonstrates. How can this situation best be remedied, according to Mr. Rustin? There seems to be a vicious circle in evidence: Negroes do not enjoy equal employment opportunities because they have not had equal educational opportunities, but the latter depend to a considerable extent on raising the economic level of Negroes. At what point can this vicious circle best be broken? How does one begin?

D. The United States is basically a liberal democracy. What can the events in Watts teach us about the promises and failures of liberal democracy? Consider the following arguments:

1. "The events in Watts represent a healthy reaction to a sick society. They exposed the hypocrisy of a nation that pretends to be concerned with liberty and equality but denies justice to a substantial minority of its citizens." Do you agree?

2. "The events in Watts represent a sick action against a healthy society. The rioters broke the law, thus acting even against their own interests, for the rule of law is the best — perhaps the only — guarantee that justice will ultimately be done." Do you agree?

3. "Mr. Rustin expects too much. In a liberal democracy, political action depends on the opinions of the majority. For better or worse, the majority of Californians wish to 'go slow' in granting substantial equality to Negroes; witness their repeal of the Rumford Act, a fair-housing law." Do you agree?

4. "Mr. Rustin is himself one of the ornaments of liberal democracy. He is a responsible spokesman for the Negro. He justly reminds the majority of its moral obligations, but during the riots he and Martin Luther King were in Los Angeles, striving to put an end to the violence. He is himself part of 'the events in Watts.' In view of this, one can say that the events in Watts represent a healthy action in a healthy society." Do you agree?

## LETTERS FROM READERS

### The McCone Report

To the Editor of Commentary:

I am greatly concerned with the gross errors of fact in Bayard Rustin's article in the March issue of Commentary ["The 'Watts Manifesto' & the McCone Report"]. I have examined carefully his three paragraphs describing the Education Section of the McCone Commission Report; he has been guilty of seven important errors of fact and distortions of the Report.

(1) Mr. Rustin states: "The commission's analysis begins with a comparison of class size in white and Negro areas (the latter are referred to throughout as 'disadvantaged areas' and Negro schools, as 'disadvantaged schools')."

But in turning to the Report, I find that on the first page of the Education Section the Commission stated: "Five study areas were selected within the Los Angeles City Unified School District. Four of these are disadvantaged areas: Watts and Avalon (predominantly Negro and within the riot area), and Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles (predominantly Mexican-American and outside the riot area). The other study area included Pacific Palisades, Westwood, and Brentwood, which are, by comparison, advantaged areas. Citywide data were also compiled." The study areas were "designated by the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, and rank least favorably in the county with respect to the following criteria; family income, male unemployment, education, family status, housing," etc.

In other words, the McCone Commission studied and reported on schools in disadvantaged areas, not just Negro ghetto areas. Clearly, "disadvantaged area" and "disadvantaged school" are *not* synonymous with "Negro area" and "Negro school' throughout the Education Section. This fundamental error on Rustin's part distorts his argument thereafter.

(2) In the same paragraph Rustin stated: "There are cafeterias in the advantaged schools *but not* in the disadvantaged schools."

What the Report actually said, however, was that too many schools in disadvantaged areas lacked cafeterias. But a majority of the schools in the disadvantaged areas do have cafeterias. Nevertheless, the commission recommended that, "Action should be taken to provide cafeteria facilities and free or reduced-priced meals for needy students in disadvantaged areas" (page 55).

(3) Rustin added: ". . . disadvantaged schools, which also have *no* libraries." The commission reported: "Some schools in the disadvantaged study areas do not have libraries while all schools in the advantaged study areas have libraries. In part, lack of libraries is due to the utilization of rooms to meet rapid enrollment growth and to house special classes. Libraries should be provided in all schools." In fact, in the Watts District, all of the secondary schools and sixteen out of the seventeen elementary schools have libraries.

(4) Rustin stated: "The McCone Report . . . . places its emphasis on the *Negro* child's deficiency in environmental experiences."

But in fact, the commission wrote: "There is increasing evidence to indicate that *children who live in disadvantaged areas* begin school with a deficiency in environmental experiences which are essential for learning" (page 56). Note that Rustin's first error is now compounded; note also that the commission considered these deficiencies to be "environmental," not "some inherent Negro trait" (Rustin, page 33).

(5) Immediately following these misstatements of the commission's findings, Rustin wrote: "The two *major* recommendations of the commission in this area will hardly serve to correct the imbalances revealed."

But the commission did not consider, nor label, its recommendations on *these* findings as *"major,"* though the McCone Report did, in fact, unequivocally call for their "correction" as follows: "In summary, it appears that inequalities exist with respect to incidence of double sessions, cafeterias, libraries, and course offerings for academically talented students. These differences can and should be eliminated" (page 56).

(6) Rustin paraphrased the two major recommendations of the McCone Commission to include the pre-school program and the reduction of class size to a minimum of 22 with "an enlarged and supportive corps of teachers." The commission carefully explained that along with the teachers needed to reduce class size, "additional supportive personnel to provide special services," would be needed (page 61). Then the commission went on to explain: "To be effective, the teacher in disadvantaged areas needs much more immediately available help with guidance, welfare, health, and social and emotional problems than do teachers in advantaged areas" (page 59). The commission explained further the intent of this recommendation as follows: "A sharp reduction in class size, together with provision for special supporting services and materials, would offer teachers a more professionally rewarding assignment and would be likely to attract dedicated teachers to seek positions in schools in disadvantaged areas. The commission's study as well as experience elsewhere support this conclusion" (page 59).

The tragedy of this error on Rustin's part is that it obscures the fact that the first education recommendations of the McCone Commission are precisely the specific, massive, expensive, and basic changes that the "More Effective Schools" program in New York has engendered. If Rustin were really interested in accurately assessing the effectiveness of these recommendations, surely he could have observed for himself the "More Effective Schools" program in New York.

(7) Rustin implies that the commission supports "separate but equal schools that do not disturb the existing social patterns which isolate the Negro child in his "disadvantaged areas." In fact, the commission wrote: "It is our belief that raising the level of scholastic achievement will lessen the trend towards de facto segregation in the schools in the areas into which the Negroes are expanding and, indeed, will tend to reduce all de facto segregation. It is our conclusion that the very low level of scholastic achievement we observe in the predominantly Negro schools contributes to de facto segregation in the schools. In turn school segregation apparently contributes importantly to all de facto segregation. We reason, therefore, that raising the scholastic achievement might reverse the entire trend of de facto segregation" (page 60).

FINALLY, Rustin's implication that the commission supports separate and equal schools is contrary not only to the statements of the commission, but is diametrically opposed to the whole tenor of the commission report and recommendations in the field of education. The commission clearly accepts the position of Kenneth Clark and others that the goals of integration and quality of education must be sought together. They are interdependent; one is not possible without the other. The whole Education Section of the McCone Commission Report is based on the judgment of the commission that neither separate nor simply "equal" educational programs provide an equal opportunity for children from disadvantaged areas to learn.

The commission concluded: "We propose that the programs for the schools in disadvantaged areas be vastly reorganized and strengthened so as to strike at the heart of low achievement and break the cycle of failure. We advocate a new, massive, expensive, and frankly experimental onslaught . . ." (page 58). "If we can provide the most effective possible learning situation for the student and attract able teachers to teach in these areas, we will have made the most important step toward solving the problems of low educational achievement. It is clear that the proposed programs will be costly, but not as costly, however, as failure, delinquency, loss of productive manpower, and social dependency" (page 60).

The errors in Rustin's article regarding the Education Section of the McCone Commission Report are so gross, fundamental, and injurious that to publish the article without concurrent review and rebuttal certainly requires some editorial explanation. Surely errors of this nature on so vital an issue cannot be excused on grounds of style or exaggeration for effect. As a very minimum gesture, you could have published conspicuously the concluding three pages (58-61) of the Commission Report on Education. . . . KENNETH A. MARTYN

Education Consultant to the
McCone Commission
California State College at
Los Angeles, California

MR. RUSTIN writes:

My major criticism of the section in the McCone Report dealing with education was, first of all, that the authors had no plan for integrating the schools, but instead accepted and even propounded the notion that de facto segregation would disappear when the scholastic achievement of the Negro was improved. And, secondly, that the major cause for concern, as outlined by the commission, was not inadequate schools but the environmental deficiencies of the Negro. Mr. Martyn's letter does nothing to answer those criticisms and, in fact, reinforces them.

But let me answer him point by point:

(1) Mr. Martyn is verbose, but essentially correct when he says "disadvantaged area" and "disadvantaged school" are not synonymous with "Negro area" and "Negro school." They are synonymous with nonwhite area and nonwhite school. The Report lumps all disadvantaged schools together, and does not give breakdowns by each neighborhood except in three tables devoted to reading performance. If Mr. Martyn wants me to say the Mexican-Americans suffer as much as Negroes do in Los Angeles, I concede his point.

(2) Just a point of fact: the McCone Report says that two-thirds of the schools which do not have cafeterias are located in districts with predominantly Negro and Mexican enrollment. It goes on to say, "Even in those schools where there are cafeterias, the Los Angeles schools do not provide free or reduced price lunches to needy students." One can assume from reading the Report that cafeteria service is not available to the vast majority of nonwhite students.

(3) I am happy to learn that in the Watts district there are libraries in most of the schools. That fact was not mentioned in the Report. The library deficiency does exist in other disadvantaged areas, however.

(4) I never said the commission ascribed the low reading levels to "some inherent Negro trait," search page 33 of the March COMMENTARY as you will. I did say that the Report places major emphasis on environmental deficiencies rather than on inadequate schools and de facto segregation. I quote from page 56 of the Report: "However, the Commission does not feel that these inequalities or differences in teacher experience or status fully explain the lower achievements of students in disadvantaged areas." The section immediately following is headed "Environmental Factors." I quote: "There is increasing evidence to indicate that children who live in disadvantaged areas begin school with deficiency in environmental experiences which are essential for learning." That section concludes: "His course toward academic failure is already set before he enters school and is rooted in his early childhood experiences." Most tragically, neither the authors of the Report nor Professor Martyn suggest a plan for eliminating the environmental deficiencies, i.e., eliminating the slums.

(5) Professor Martyn must agree, since he points it out, that some recommendations were labeled "major," and printed in boldface type, etc. Others were not—such as the one he cites. But even if this "non-major" recommendation is adopted, the basic imbalance and inequalities of the school system will remain. Or does Professor Martyn believe there can be separate but equal schools?

(6) I know precisely what an "enlarged and supportive corps of teachers" entails. I don't believe COMMENTARY readers needed Professor Martyn to spell it out. I have examined the "More Effective Schools" program. It is limited, not massive, but expensive. As conceived in New York, it is an *educational technique*, not a plan for integration. New York City is developing other plans for integration: educational parks, Princeton plan, 4-4 schools etc. If the McCone Report had even hinted at some of these, Mr. Martyn's criticisms of my article might have had some relevance.

(7) I do not understand how raising the scholastic achievement in the predominantly Negro schools will reverse de facto segregation. Mr. Martyn's final bow to quality-integrated education would have been more effective if he had said one concrete word about integration. Instead, he repeats the gobbledygook of the McCone Report. It is neither moral nor educationally sound, on the one hand, to keep Negro children segregated for years and, on the other, to announce that there will be integration when their reading level reaches that of white students. I support a "More Effective Schools" program for all students; I want to see the whole educational system improved. It would be tragic if hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent for a few showplace schools, while the mass of Negro students attend inferior, dilapidated schools, and millions of white students leave the cities to attend insulated, educationally distorting, segregated schools.

Finally, one gets the impression from the length of Professor Martyn's letter and from his language—"gross errors of fact," "distortions," "the tragedy of his error," "if Rustin were really interested," etc., that he is mounting a devastating onslaught. All he has done is to pile up picayune criticisms which take up more space than my original paragraphs. Even if these criticisms were accurate, and they are not, my fundamental critique of the McCone Report would remain intact.

# A Commentary Report
# with
# Study Guide & Letters

## THE LESSONS OF THE LONG HOT SUMMER

*BAYARD RUSTIN*

COMMENTARY IS AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY JOURNAL OF SIGNIFICANT THOUGHT AND OPINION ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES AND JEWISH AFFAIRS PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (165 EAST 56TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022) AT $9.00 ANNUALLY
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# THE LESSONS OF THE LONG HOT SUMMER

### *BAYARD RUSTIN*

TOWARD THE END of the long hot summer of 1967—a summer which saw riots in more than thirty-two cities and the death of nearly one hundred Negroes—Vice-President Humphrey was asked to comment on the assertion that the United States had spent $904 billion (or 57 per cent of the nation's budget) on military power since 1946, while spending only $96 billion (or six per cent) on social programs in the same period. "The fact is," he said "there has been a 'sickness' in the world in these post-World War II years which we have not had the luxury of ignoring." Apparently, however, we *have* had the luxury of ignoring the sickness created by the simultaneous growth and decay of our central cities. The question posed for us by the events of this past summer is whether we can now afford the price.

In 1910, a large majority of our population lived in rural areas; today, about three-fourths of our population lives in urban areas (and since 1950, 1.5 million Negroes have moved to Northern ghettos). Yet the United States Congress remains a basically rural body. In the House, 225 out of 435 members come from towns with populations of 50,000 or less, and in the Senate the ratio is 56 to 44. It is, therefore, no great cause for wonder that the needs of our cities should simultaneously have increased and been neglected. Until recently, indeed, we did not even possess a precise inventory of those needs. Largely through the efforts of the AFL-CIO, however, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress has now drawn up such an inventory, projected to 1975.

The study, entitled "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing," is not the product of academics removed from reality, utopian civil-rights activists, or labor leaders with a vested interest in higher wages; it represents the findings of experts in the various fields surveyed. The projected costs it estimates do not include the cost of the additional teachers, doctors, policemen, etc., who will have to staff the new facilities once they are built. Nevertheless, these estimates do give us a rough idea of our unmet needs, some notion of what it will take to meet them, and the benefits, in terms of long-range employment opportunities, of doing so.

To begin with education: based on the U.S. Office of Education's figure of 27 pupils per classroom, 107,000 new classrooms are needed to handle present overcrowding, and another 200,000 to replace existing facilities that ought to be abandoned because they are unfit. Altogether, 750,000 new classrooms will have to be built over the next ten years if we are to cope with the present backlog, future deterioration, and expected increase in enrollment. This means an expenditure by 1975 of $5.3 billion, as compared with $3.7 billion in 1965—and for elementary education alone, the cost over the entire ten years totals $42 billion. So far as higher educational opportunities are concerned, if the growing demand for them is to be met, state and local governments will have to spend $13.9 billion for academic facilities during the next decade, and another $6.1 billion to provide housing and related facilities for the students. Thus outlays in this area will have to climb from approximately $1.2 billion in 1964 to nearly $2.5 billion in 1975.

Then there is housing. The federal government's major vehicle for providing multi-family moderate income housing is Sec. 221 (d) (3) of the National Housing Act. Under this program non-profit sponsors receive 100 per cent mortgages at low interest rates, and yet in the six years since the passage of that bill only 40,000 units have flowed from it. If we were to build 40,000 units per year in New York City alone, it would take more than twenty years to reach the number of deteriorating buildings occupied at this moment.

Next, transportation. Congress finally recognized the problems created by mass transportation in 1964, when it adopted the Mass Transportation Act. As a result, grants are now available to state and local governments in connection with capital outlays for mass transit facilities. But in order to meet the needs estimated for 1975, spending for highways, roads, streets, bridges, tunnels, airports, marine facilities, mass transit, etc., will have to climb to nearly $18 billion in that year.

Similarly with health facilities. In 1965 we spent $500 million on them; in the next decade $13 billion will be required if the health needs of our people are to be adequately managed. Moreover, in such public-health areas as sewage and waste disposal, capital outlays will have to rise from $385 million and $625 million respectively in 1965 to $1.1 billion and $1.2 billion respective-

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BAYARD RUSTIN's previous contributions to COMMENTARY include "From Protest to Politics" (February 1965), "The Watts 'Manifesto' & the McCone Report" (March 1966), and "Black Power and Coalition Politics" (September 1966). Mr. Rustin is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

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ly in 1975. So too with public water supply systems. In 1965, state and local governments spent just over a billion dollars in capital outlays on such systems. The needs estimated for 1975 will require $2.25 billion.

Writing in the March 1967 issue of *The Federationist,* AFL-CIO economist Nathaniel Goldfinger cogently sums up the significance of this inventory of American needs. Pointing out that the labor force will increase at the rate of 1.5 million per year in the next decade, Goldfinger goes on:

> A logical policy would be to see to it that these two needs—the growing need for jobs and the pressing need for public facilities—are brought together in a planned program.
>
> The employment impact of these construction activities is substantial. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated that each million dollars spent in this way creates approximately one hundred jobs for the year—about forty jobs at the construction site and about sixty jobs in industries supplying building material, equipment and services, including unskilled and semi-skilled jobs badly needed in an automated economy.
>
> Moreover, to this must be added the indirect impact—that is, the impact felt as the result of the wages and salaries paid to these workers. As these wages and salaries are spent, retail sales are increased and still more jobs are created—in stores and warehouses and in companies producing consumer goods. This adds another 50 to 100 full-time jobs.
>
> *This would mean that a billion dollars spent on public facility construction is worth 100,000 jobs directly created on the construction site and in the production and distribution of equipment and material, plus somewhere between 50,000 to 100,000 more jobs as the result of increased sales to consumers.* [Italics mine—B.R.]

Here, then, is what the AFL-CIO rightly calls "the foundation for a nationwide program . . . based on federal financial and technical assistance to the state and local governments, including federal grants-in-aid and guaranteed loans, as well as direct federal aids."

Not the least important consequence of such a program would be to make jobs available to the unemployed poor. Thanks largely to the agitation of the civil-rights movement and a book by Michael Harrington called *The Other America,* this nation instituted a War on Poverty several years ago. It would only seem reasonable that the first task of an assault on poverty would be to create jobs for all those who are able to work. This apparently self-evident proposition was not, however, one of the assumptions behind the Johnson War on Poverty. *That* war was implicitly based on the notion that poor people are poor because there is something wrong with them, and it has accordingly proceeded to set up a bedlam of community-action programs under the delusion that the poor can be helped to organize themselves out of poverty. (Even if this were possible, it is hard to see how it could be accomplished at an expenditure of fifty dollars per poor person—which is all the Office of Economic Opportunity has been allotted by Congress after administrative costs are subtracted.)

To be sure, community-action programs have their value, but they do not employ the unemployed; nor do job-training camps do any good when they train young people for jobs which simply do not exist. On top of all this, the War on Poverty as presently conceived involves no strategy for lifting the *employed* poor out of poverty—those, that is, who are so underpaid that they live in poverty even while working; nor can it help the 13 per cent of the poor who live in families headed by women who should not work, or the 25 per cent of the poor who, being over sixty-five, cannot work. Only a high minimum wage and some form of guaranteed income can help people in those three categories.

Let me emphasize that I am not here suggesting that the War on Poverty be scrapped, but that it be widened and intensified so that it may more adequately attack the problems it now claims to be attacking. And I want to stress the problems of Negroes, for it is no secret that the inadequacy of our programs for dealing with the needs of our urban population, and of the poor among them in particular, places a special burden on the American Negro. One grows weary of citing the same hideous figures time and time again—figures which show that life in the ghetto has been getting worse rather than better in the last ten years, that housing is worse, that schooling is worse, that the job situation is worse. I will try on this occasion to bring it all home through a less familiar set of horrifying statistics.

In 1930, according to analyses made by Drs. Paul M. Vincent and James D. Haughton of the New York City Board of Health, pregnant Negro women were twice as likely to die in childbirth as pregnant white women. In 1964 the mortality rate of Negro women in childbirth was *more than three times* that of white women.

In 1940, fourteen times as many non-white mothers had their babies delivered by midwives as white mothers. In 1960 the figure was *twenty-three times* as many.

In 1950, the infant mortality rate for non-whites was 66 per cent higher than for whites, but in 1964 it was *90 per cent* higher.

## II

THUS WE ARE confronted in 1967 by a nation which has neglected to meet the basic needs of its entire population and which has most grievously failed in providing for the needs of Negroes. It is beyond the resources neither of human ingenuity nor of the national treasury to formulate and act upon a plan for doing what is necessary. It remains to be seen whether it is beyond the resources of the national will.

The goals are clear. First: full employment. Second: a $2 minimum wage. Third: a guaranteed annual income for those now dependent, through no fault of their own, on welfare.

Everyone pays lip service to the goal of full employment, but the fact is that there is much resistance to it in Washington. Oscar Gass has succinctly described the thinking behind that resistance:[*]

> American public men are quite united in concern to avoid a depression of 10 to 15 million unemployed. But they are almost equally united in sharing a leery attitude toward full employment. . . . Under full employment, wages are pushed up; prices are pushed up; the value of fixed income declines; profits come easily; businessmen lose their sobriety; innovation is neglected; the international competitive position is weakened. . . . Consequently, . . . men of authority in Washington take only a limited interest in the reduction of unemployment below the present 4½ per cent. They are more concerned with the danger of "overheating" the economy.

The problem of changing such attitudes poses an enormously important challenge to economists who disagree with that line of reasoning. A non-economist may, however, be permitted to observe that if the long hot summer of 1967 proves anything, it is that "the danger of 'overheating' the economy" may turn out to be as nothing compared with the dangers of our present employment policies. For those latter dangers include not only violence but an answering repressiveness that could end by threatening the very fabric of American liberties.

A series of federally financed public-works programs for the creation of the physical facilities detailed by the Joint Economic Committee would be an obvious step in the direction of full employment. In helping to build these facilities, the poor would be working at something that would enlist their seriousness and their hope; the young would be trained for jobs that actually existed, and they would know they had a chance to grow and improve with those jobs. (Another step toward full employment would be the creation of a whole new hierarchy of non-professional workers to help the professional perform some of the services he now performs by himself. Social-work aides could, for example, act as companions to older people, and could interpret the need for family planning to overburdened mothers.)

The immediate passage of a $2 minimum wage would do as much as the entire poverty program in helping the poor to rehabilitate themselves. Yet even a $2 minimum wage would only guarantee an income of $4,160 for a year's work—roughly $2000 less than what the government has computed to be a "modest but adequate" urban family budget. We should not be satisfied until every American family has at least that "modest but adequate" income. For now, however, increasing the minimum wage to $2 an hour would be a responsible and reasonable step in the right direction. There are those who say that doing so would result in the elimination of precisely those jobs which now provide at least some opportunity for unskilled Negroes, young people, and others who are not qualified to compete in an automated economy. This is true, and it explains why the proposal makes sense only within the framework of a national commitment to generate a large number of new jobs.

In our culture, a man's judgment of himself is inevitably related to his role in the production of goods and services. He is someone because he does something on which society sets a value. So the idea of a guaranteed annual income is a good one only for people who are incapacitated from working either by age or physical disability. Full employment is the answer for everyone else.

In the meantime, there are the burnt-out neighborhoods of Detroit and Newark to be dealt with. In a recent article in *Newsday*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan calls for the immediate rebuilding of those neighborhoods—an action that in my view should be taken by means of a National Emergency Public Works and Reconstruction Act which would not only be a good thing in itself but would create employment for unskilled and semi-skilled workers living in the riot-torn ghettos.

## III

The Freedom Budget for All Americans proposed last year by A. Philip Randolph is, I believe, more advanced than other anti-poverty and full-employment proposals in that it sets priorities and timetables, and indicates how the necessary money can be made available. To many of us the really galling and ironic fact is that we could abolish poverty and attain full employment while still maintaining the present proportion of military expenditures to social programs. In any event, the Freedom Budget is based on the assumption that an expenditure of only 6 per cent of the national budget would suffice to realize specified goals.[†] The key to this projection is an economic growth rate of 4½ to 5 per cent. According to Woodrow L. Ginsberg, the research head of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, such a growth rate is "highly feasible," given a burgeoning population, an improvement in output per man hour, and the will to utilize all our manpower. "It would not," says Ginsberg, "strain our productive capacities and is reasonable in the light of early postwar experience as well as in most recent years."

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[*] "The Political Economy of the Great Society," COMMENTARY, October 1965.

[†] One item not included in the Freedom Budget, but which should become part of all our future proposals, is the family allowance advocated by Moynihan in his *Newsday* article. Moynihan points out that the United States is the only industrial democracy in the world that does not have such a system of automatic payments for families who are raising minor children. He suggests a monthly "payment of $8 per child under six, and $12 for those between six and seventeen." Everyone would receive these allowances, "not just a special segment artificially defined as below a certain income line or across a certain racial line." Moynihan estimates that this program would cost the United States $9 billion a year.

As to financing, the economists who drew up the Freedom Budget (men like Leon Keyserling and Vivian Henderson) estimated that if its provisions were enacted, the federal government would receive an additional eight to ten billion dollars a year on the average during the next decade even without raising the rates which existed in October 1966. This sum, amounting to some 400 to 500 billion dollars more for the decade as a whole, would more than cover the cost of the increased federal outlays called for by the program.

But would the program, or another like it, be inflationary? A look at our economic history may be helpful here. The two periods of serious inflation in recent times were World War II and its reconversion aftermath, and the Korean war era (1950-51 specifically). Those inflationary movements could have been checked much more effectively by higher taxes during World War II, a less precipitate ending of controls following the war, and by a prompter imposition of controls during the Korean war. But let us leave these matters aside. Nobody said during those wars that we should cut back on our military expenditures because they were causing inflation. What we did during World War II and the Korean war was to concentrate on what we needed most and cut back on what we needed least. Today the President is attempting to raise taxes to pay for the war in Vietnam while cutting back on the war against poverty. It is a question of priorities, not of inflation, and in the present case the priorities are being set in an immoral and costly fashion.

Even before the Vietnamese war our national economic policies and our campaign against inflation served to redistribute income in the wrong direction—to hurt those who needed help the most, and to help those most who did not need our help at all. Then, in the period 1962 through 1965, instead of investing in massive social programs, we cut taxes to stimulate the economy. Yet by 1966 there had emerged a growing recognition that the investment boom in plants and equipment had become excessive and now constituted the main inflationary danger. And so taxes were raised. No doubt a large part of our increased output and job opportunities resulted from the tax cut, but we could have been better served had a different balance between tax cuts and increased federal spending been achieved. If it should prove impossible to carry forward the priorities of the Freedom Budget without tax increases, we should increase taxes by whatever amount may be necessary. But the burden must be placed where it can easily be borne instead of being hung on the necks of the downtrodden.

## IV

WE DO, THEN, have a fairly good idea of what our national needs are; we have the makings of a viable program for dealing with them; and we have the financial resources. But do we have the final, and indispensable, element—the political will?

The administration proclaims that we can continue to pursue the war in Vietnam and still make progress at home. Yet the President asks for an across-the-board tax increase of 10 per cent to pay for the Vietnam war—an increase which will exacerbate the injustices of an already regressive tax structure, and which bespeaks a twisted idea of our national priorities. Reporting on the atmosphere in Washington in the aftermath of the Detroit and Newark riots, Daniel Patrick Moynihan writes:

> The mood of the administration in Washington is one of paralysis. There is no political will for the Executive Branch to move in any direction and nothing but fear as to what direction Congress will take if it should seize the initiative. . . . The result has been a curious process of backward reasoning. First: "We can't do anything [for lack of money]." Second: "We don't do anything." Third: "We shouldn't do anything."

And Moynihan adds: "We cannot do anything without the President, and the President seems determined to do nothing. Worse, he is denying it."

The surprising fact of the matter, however, is that the President's paralysis and the Congressional backlash do not seem to represent the prevailing national mood. The August Harris Poll on post-riot attitudes found that while a few more white people (between 5 and 8 per cent) were resorting to racial stereotypes than in 1966, a large majority (more than 60 per cent) of whites supported federal programs to tear down the urban ghettos (84 per cent of the Negroes favored this) and wanted large-scale government works projects to provide jobs for all the unemployed (91 per cent of the Negroes favored this proposal).

But even if the political support is there, only political organization can activate and make it effective. The Negroes are the only group in our population that is presently in significant motion. This poses serious problems because Negroes by themselves do not have sufficient political power to bring about a social revolution. As a minority, they can participate in it as a powerful and stimulating force; or they can provoke a counterrevolution. In either case the decisive factor will be the political direction in which the majority decides to move. Thus, as I have argued many times before, Negroes have no constructive alternative to acting in concert with other minority groups, with liberals, with intellectuals, and with the labor movement. In other words, there is no alternative to coalition politics.

"Twice in this generation," William V. Shannon recently observed in the New York *Times*,

> the leaders of American life outside Washington reached agreement on a major issue and forced the federal government to act. In 1947-48 the issue was the Marshall Plan. Business and civic leaders rallied to support the rebuilding of Western Europe submitted by a Democratic President to a conservative and potentially balky Republican Congress. In 1963-64, religious leaders of all faiths powerfully reinforced the civil-rights movement and compelled President Kennedy [and Johnson] to ask for a far-reaching civil-rights bill and Congress to enact it.

The catalyst behind the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was, of course, the civil-rights movement. That movement, despite the malaise and shenanigans of the past year, remains the prime force for democratic social change in this country. It is true that we have not recently been witnessing the kind of excitement stirring within it that we were accustomed to for almost ten years. What we have been witnessing instead are rioting and demogogic ranting. But we tend to see only what the mass media permit us to see, and the mass media consistently tend to a preference for the dramatic over the real.

They do not, for example, stress the fact that in almost every city across the country scores of community groups are working on the problems of housing, schools, jobs, health, and police relations (in New York City alone over three hundred such groups are now active). From New York to Los Angeles, vigorous and often successful work is being done to get Negro youngsters into the building trades. And the South is honeycombed with voter-registration groups that have emerged—largely under the leadership of the Southern Regional Council and the NAACP—since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

While a number of organizations that were concerned between 1955 and 1965 with direct mass action now show evidence of decline, the two oldest members of the civil-rights movements, the NAACP and the National Urban League, have been growing steadily since 1965. The NAACP has just had one of the largest national conventions in its history. Last year it raised $686,786 in new life memberships, a considerable increase over 1965; in the last two years, it has added eighty-seven new branches and sixty youth councils; and its membership in Mississippi alone has doubled. In the last three years, similarly, the National Urban League has added to its affiliates by a third, doubled its budget, and greatly increased its staff. The Scholarship Defense Fund, formerly affiliated with CORE, conducts workshops throughout the South. The Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP has opened new offices and expanded its services. In Mississippi the NAACP, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and former SNCC activists like Fannie Lou Hamer have banded together to elect at least sixteen Negro local officials.

But if the civil-rights movement is far from dead, it most certainly is in a crisis. Having come to the end of one historical phase of activity, it must readapt its tactics to confront a new one, and the crisis is a reflection of the uncertainties of the transition.

LET ME TRY to compare some of the new problems with those of the preceding period.

(1) From 1955 to 1965 the objectives of the movement were chiefly to secure the Negro's right to vote and to integrate public accommodations. Those issues affected Negroes almost exclusively and could be attacked simply as civil-rights problems. Secondly, because they were matters of simple dignity, of getting what the Constitution clearly said everybody ought to have, and because they yielded spectacular and emotional victories, they could sustain the interest of people who were becoming attracted to the movement. In the present period we confront the more complex problems of housing, education, and jobs, which affect not only Negroes but also whites. And, in attacking them, we are not merely raising questions about the Constitution; we are also stimulating a great national debate over economics, priorities, and planning.

(2) In the previous period the unity of the Negro community cut across class lines. Most Negroes, regardless of their economic or social station, were subject to the same discrimination in public places. Ralph Bunche was as likely to be refused service in a restaurant or a hotel as any illiterate sharecropper in Mississippi. This common bond prevented latent class differences and resentments from being openly expressed. But the people who have benefited most from the Negro revolution are middle-class Negroes (whose sons and daughters actually created and led the sit-in movement). The economic status of the black middle class now makes it possible for them to utilize integrated public accommodations, and American industry has stimulated middle-class progress by upgrading the educated Negro—a fact which is simultaneously appreciated, scorned, and exaggerated by unemployed Negroes. The resentment felt by this new underclass of Negroes is likely to show itself in frustration behavior—such as riots—and in other forms of hostility, not only toward whites who "have it" but also toward Negroes who have "made it."

(3) In the previous period, the only expenditure the federal government was called upon to make involved the cost of police protection and enforcement. It is much easier to issue moral proclamations when there is no need to back them up with congressional appropriations. Many white Americans who joined the March on Washington and applauded Martin Luther King's dream of freedom seem far less enthusiastic about

helping us realize that dream when it means altering our economic structure.

(4) In the 1955-65 period, though it was the quest for voting rights and desegregation that constituted the main objectives, the dynamic around the campaign to secure them was provided by racist brutality. Nothing that any Negro leader did or said stiffened the will of the mass movement quite so much as Bull Connor's policemen, dogs, firehoses, and cattle prods, or the bombing of churches, and the murder of children and civil-rights workers. All this both strengthened the Negro will and created a consensus of conscience in the white community. When Mayor Daley failed to respond creatively to some of Martin Luther King's demands in Chicago last year, he proved that the dynamic of the fight for the objectives of the new period—better housing, jobs, and education—is political, not moral.

(5) Because of the drama of the previous period, the movement received a great deal of help from the mass media; almost every day for ten years newspapers all across the nation carried news of civil-rights activity on their front pages. In the present period, however, the slow, irksome, and unspectacular work being done does not draw headlines. Much of our present activity is either ignored or relegated to small items on back pages. Perhaps this is why so many people consider the movement dead. In any case, this adds to our problem of developing and sustaining momentum.

(6) In the previous period, most people, if asked to identify the nation's most compelling social problem, would have said "civil rights." Today the answer is more likely to be "Vietnam." This means that whereas before we were being carried along by a forward psychological thrust, we are now trying to progress against a stream of psychological withdrawal. The Vietnam war has created disunity in the civil-rights movement; it has caused many liberals to abandon the movement and concentrate their energies in anti-war activities; it has permitted reactionaries, in the guise of super-patriots, to cut back funds urgently needed for social change on the home front.

(7) In the 1955-65 period, a young civil-rights worker needed only two qualities to function effectively: bravery and perseverance. With those qualities alone, he could sit-in at hostile lunch counters, throw his body across the streets, integrate buses and bus terminals, and march in the teeth of police brutality and power. The questions he raised were questions of clear principle—the right to vote, free access to public accommodations, etc. Today the young civil-rights worker needs more than just courage and perseverance. The strategies of social reconstruction, of reordering national priorities, and of broad social planning require more than "soul." They require an ability to organize, an understanding of political power and action, and an insight into the processes of social change.

(8) Because the chief strategy in the period just past centered on non-violent mass action, the movement tended to congeal. While there was some debate surrounding strategy and tactics, it was limited solely to the areas of public accommodations and voting. But once the questions become, as they now have, questions of economics, a wider dialogue also becomes inevitable; and there can be no meaningful discussion of such matters without basic philosophical differences emerging.

(9) The previous period was one of non-violence. Even those Negroes who were not persuaded of non-violence as a moral principle practiced it as a viable tactic. Today, many younger Negroes are convinced that a violent confrontation is both necessary and inevitable. While I myself do not believe that violence can play a constructive role in solving the problems that face Negroes, society keeps providing the ghetto communities with evidence that unless they riot, they will get nothing. Yet there is also the danger that rioting will produce repressive action. This is in the nature of the very reluctant and token concessions that are being made to the Negro. Beyond a certain point there will be no token concessions left to be made, and since the larger and more basic victories will not have been won through violence, rioting will almost certainly come to reap only resistance and repression. On the other side, very little short of constructive programs for better jobs, housing, and education will prevent Negroes from expressing the rage that has been repressed for so long.

(10) We are no longer in a period of civil-rights revolt as such. We are now in the midst of a struggle to wrest human and economic rights out of the basic contradictions of American society. I am convinced that unless we establish social and economic priorities and organize politically in their behalf, nothing will happen. Protest demonstrations alone will not arouse the financial or moral commitment to solve the problems of poverty. To get the necessary money out of Congress for the necessary programs, we must organize within the broad coalition of American need and American social and political concern.

In sum, to reiterate a point I have made in these pages on more than one occasion in the past, the previous period was a period of protest; the present period must be one of politics.

## V

ALTHOUGH THE civil-rights movement cannot by itself activate the American political will, it can, if it succeeds in readjusting itself to the realities of the new period, take the lead in stirring us all into motion. To that end it will have to concentrate on three major objectives: (1) the implementation of existing laws; (2) voter registration and education; and (3) the development of an economic strategy that will unite blacks and whites in a new majority.

The segregationists have taught us a bitter lesson in the importance of the way laws are applied. For several years now, Negroes have been winning legislative victories, while racists have been subverting these victories by their relentless pressure on the bureaucracy in Washington. Thus the black man who, first, was forced to master the secrets of the judicial and then the legislative process in America, is now being forced to learn how to deal with the bureaucratic apparatus and get it to enforce existing laws.

The movement has made enormous strides in securing the Negro's right to vote in the South. By taking full advantage of opportunities won at great cost, the movement can now help to change, not simply the plight of the Southern Negro, but the shape of American politics as well. Only half the eligible black voters below the Mason-Dixon line are registered. However, they have already begun to exercise an impact on their region, as Negroes sit in state legislatures and city councils for the first time since Reconstruction. An increase in Negro registrants will inevitably mean a growth of Negro political power.

But voter education is no less essential than registration. In Alabama last year it might have been possible to defeat the Wallaces if there had been unity between Negroes and the liberal-labor bloc. In the absence of such unity, black voting strength was dissipated and a racist Presidential candidacy was furthered. To avert any recurrence of such a situation, Southern Negroes, once they have registered and organized themselves politically, will have to seek out allies with whom they can form a new majority. This tactic has already borne some fruit in states like Tennessee, Texas, and Florida. Now it must be applied to the racist heartland itself.

THE consequences of such an integrated political coalition would extend far beyond the South. There are, as James MacGregor Burns has shown, four parties in the United States: liberal Presidential Democrats, moderate Presidential Republicans, conservative congressional Democrats, and Republicans. It was, of course, the cooperation between the congressional Democrats and the Republicans which frustrated any basic social change from 1938 until the Johnson landslide in 1964. And one of the main bulwarks of this reactionary alliance was the one-party South, which provided a bloc of safe conservative seats and through the seniority system guaranteed the Southern caucus disproportionate power on congressional committees.

In 1964, Barry Goldwater forced a temporary realignment from the Right, and following the Johnson landslide, Congress passed more social legislation than at any time since the New Deal. But the defeat of many liberal freshmen in 1966 changed all that. The ruling alliance of the conservative congressional Democrats and Republicans was reconstituted, albeit circumspectly. It is a fairly good bet that the practical reactionaries will not again follow a Goldwater tactic in this generation. That could mean a new "deadlock of democracy," to use Professor Burns's phrase. Negroes would suffer, of course, since they are the first and worst victims of every social problem in this country. But so would whites. There would be no political dynamic capable of responding to the challenge of the city, of transportation, of air pollution, and so on.

If, however, Southern Negroes were to register, organize themselves, and enter into alliance with the white liberal and labor movements of the region, there could be a realignment from the democratic Left rather than from the Goldwater Right. The effect of such a strategy would be the creation of a two-party South and a consequent erosion of one of the main sources of conservative strength in the United States. Viewed in this perspective, a dynamic Negro political movement in the old Confederacy would make an enormous contribution to solving the problems of the black ghettos of the North and, indeed, of the entire society.

This leads directly to my third point: the importance of an economic program. As long as white workers think that the Negro demand for employment is an attempt to steal their jobs, or that the Negro insistence upon decent housing is a conspiracy to destroy the property values so laboriously accumulated by the white lower-middle class, just so long will there be no progress in these areas. In each case, the posing of the issue inevitably divides people who could, under other circumstances, act as allies. Put more generally, there can be no such thing as an exclusively Negro economic program, for that would counterpose the interests of a little more than 10 per cent of the society to those of the overwhelming majority. The action urged by the civil-rights movement will either be integrated or else it will be a failure. Black people must indeed organize black people, and assert their rightful power. But this power will avail them little in the absence of a political strategy and a viable social and economic program.

I do not see the civil-rights movement in the period immediately ahead scoring dramatic victories, such as those scored in the struggle to end segregation in public accommodations and to get Negroes into the voting booths. Rather, I see a process of reorganization and regrouping which may well appear tedious and gradualist but which is even more revolutionary in its implications than the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, the sit-ins of 1960, or the March on Washington of 1963. For the movement is now faced with the task of challenging not just the prejudices of the white community, but some of the basic injustices and contradictions woven into the political and economic fabric of American society.

# Study Guide

## THE LESSONS OF THE LONG HOT SUMMER

**Bayard Rustin**

A. What exactly *are* the "lessons of the long hot summer"? Compare and contrast the answer(s) given by Mr. Rustin to the following possible remarks this question might evoke:

1. A Maoist: "The lessons of the long hot summer are the same lessons that all of this century's history has taught: The United States is a rotten country with an imperialist-racist-totalitarian government that cannot be saved by anything short of a violent revolution."
2. A Fascist: "The lesson of the long hot summer is that there is no possibility of a multi-racial, egalitarian, democratic society. It is time that white Americans of the proper stock realized this and took firm measures to control undesirable and inferior elements."
3. A Southern racist: "The lesson is that we 'white supremacists' didn't do such a bad job in handling our Negroes. After all those riots in Northern cities, we are entitled to say 'we told you so.'"
4. A devout man: "The lessons are that the world is not redeemed and that 'the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.'"
5. A pessimist: "The lesson is that we refuse to learn our lessons. After all, there was also a long hot summer in 1966, but we learned nothing from that."

B. Mr. Rustin begins his article by pointing out that since 1946 the United States has spent $904 billion on military power but only $96 billion on social programs. Later, when discussing the new problems that have beset the civil-rights movement since 1965, he mentions that most people today – including many who might otherwise devote their energies to the civil-rights struggle – think that Vietnam constitutes the nation's "most compelling social problem." Do you agree with "most people" in this respect? Why? Why not? Does Mr. Rustin agree? Does it make sense to you that since 1946, 57 per cent of the budget has been spent on "defense" and only 6 per cent on "welfare"? How might a spokesman for the past several administrations defend this discrepancy in allocations?

C. Someone has said, "In terms of present-day American politics, a liberal is someone who is for the War on Poverty and against the War in Vietnam, while a conservative is someone who is for the War in Vietnam and against the War on Poverty." Does this definition make any sense? Try to articulate the viewpoint of someone who is *for* both the War in Vietnam and the War on Poverty. (Think of high officials in the present administration.) Try to articulate the viewpoint of someone who is *against* both the War in Vietnam and the War on Poverty. (Think of a Republican reactionary who has always been an isolationist.)

D. Mr. Rustin writes: "It is no secret that the inadequacy of our programs for dealing with the needs of our urban population...places a special burden on the American Negro." When people talk of our "urban problem," and when they talk about our "Negro problem," to what extent are they talking about the same problem? If the overwhelming majority of Negroes lived in rural areas, in what way(s) would the problem of our cities be different?

E. In the first section of his article, Mr. Rustin summarizes an inventory of our national needs (projected to 1975) drawn up by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. Consider the merits of the following possible reactions to that inventory:

1. "It's an alarmist document. People are forever viewing the prospects for the future with dismay, but the future always takes care of itself."
2. "It's a utopian document; it aims too high. For example, we don't really need one classroom for every 27 pupils. I should know; I attended a public school in which there were always more than 40 pupils in each classroom. My education didn't suffer."
3. "One should not take this estimate of future needs and costs too seriously, because a lot of unforeseen things can happen in the next eight years."
4. "There's been something dreadfully happy-go-lucky about our planning, or lack of planning for the future of America. So far, we've gotten by, because of our great natural resources, because no war has been fought on these shores for a long time, and because we've had a lot of luck. But we'd better change our ways."

F. At the end of the first section, Mr. Rustin cites figures to prove that "life in the ghetto has been getting worse rather than better in the last ten years." Such figures are sometimes criticized on the ground that they show only that the Negro is "relatively" worse off; i.e., when compared to the white population. Let us assume that it is true that one could cite "absolute" figures to the effect that the Negro's earning power today is greater than ever before and that the infant mortality rate among Negroes has been declining steadily. Nevertheless, one could make a strong case that "relative" figures are more meaningful than "absolute" ones when one is discussing the American Negro. Try to make as strong a case as possible for this point of view.

G. Mr. Rustin concedes that the implementation of his various recommendations entails certain risks. Thus, a full-employment policy might "overheat the economy" and the adoption of the Freedom Budget might be inflationary; nevertheless, Mr. Rustin thinks that the risk entailed by failing to act on his recommendations is much greater. In a debate between Mr. Rustin and the president of the National Association of Manufacturers, what differences would come to light about their respective views of risks? Let us suppose there were a serious inflation in America; how would it affect your life? Would it be fair to say that most Americans, and certainly most liberals, would rather chance an inflation than a depression? If so, how do you account for this fact?

H. Mr. Rustin makes it clear that full employment can only be secured through the deliberate creation of jobs; in other words, through *planning*. Presumably this means that we as a nation have some choice as to the kinds of jobs that will be created and as to the kind of work we want done. Consider the merits of the following possible public-works programs and rank them in the order of their importance in contributing to a better America:

1. A program for building more and better highways.
2. A program for rebuilding the ghettos.
3. A program for expanding the Peace Corps.
4. A program for constructing more post offices, courthouses, town halls, etc.
5. A program for building theaters, stadiums, recreation halls, etc.
6. A program devoted to conservation.

I. Consider the merits of the following possible criticisms of Mr. Rustin's article:

1. "What Mr. Rustin says is sound but limited. I am all in favor of this country's adopting the measures he proposes, but I do not think that this would solve our Negro problem. Mr. Rustin displays a certain Marxist bias: he views the Negro problem as an economic problem. It is that, but it is also a psychological and an ethical problem."

2. "I oppose Mr. Rustin's proposals because they are far too radical. By his own admission, he is in favor of 'altering our economic structure.' This means that he is in favor of the abolition of capitalism—to my mind that also means he is in favor of the abolition of liberal democracy. Granted that our Negro problem is the shame of liberal democracy; liberal democracy nevertheless offers the best chance of solving this and all other social problems."

3. "Mr. Rustin's proposals are completely unrealistic, because the American people are just not ready for them. He himself wonders whether we have 'the political will' to take the proper action, but he is much too optimistic when he comes to the conclusion that adequate political support exists for the necessary programs and that 'political organization can activate and make it effective.' The only evidence he cites is the 'August Harris Poll,' and that is very slight evidence indeed."

4. "Mr. Rustin offers a long-term solution, but he does not say enough about the immediate future. Even if this country adopted the measures he recommends, there would still be ghettos next year—and another long hot summer. We need to do what he tells us to do, but we also need to strengthen local police forces, and deal firmly with all manifestations of violence in the ghettos."

J. Mr. Rustin is strongly in favor of "coalition politics," by which he means that Negroes must act "in concert with ...liberals, with intellectuals, and with the labor movement." Traditionally, this coalition has worked in and through the Democratic Party. Do you think that it can continue to do so in 1968? Why? Why not?

K. Speculate on the possible reactions of the following people to Mr. Rustin's article:

1. Lyndon B. Johnson
2. Stokeley Carmichael
3. Hubert H. Humphrey
4. Martin Luther King
5. Ronald Reagan

L. A few years ago, Robert Penn Warren wrote a book called *Who Speaks for the Negro?* Can Mr. Rustin make any claims to being a "spokesman" for the Negro? Do you think he would want to make any such claim? Why? Why not? Let us assume that you think he has a greater claim to "speaking for the Negro" than, say, Rap Brown; how would you substantiate your opinion?

M. What do any of us really know about the opinions and "mood" of Negroes today? To what extent can we find out about that "mood" by way of opinion polls? By way of the kind of information conveyed in Jervis Anderson's "The Voices of Newark" in the issue of *Commentary*?

**N. As a white American, what can you personally do, and what are you willing to do, to help solve our Negro problem and rectify the injustices that have been inflicted on Negroes? Consider the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) and the desirability (or lack of it) of the following possible courses of "personal" action:**

1. Making a substantial financial contribution to the NAACP.
2. Making a substantial financial contribution to SNCC or CORE.
3. Working to integrate your neighborhood.
4. Working to integrate your neighborhood school.
5. Cultivating personal friendships with Negroes.
6. "Leaning over backwards" in all matters relating to contact with Negroes.
7. Refusing to "lean over backwards" lest you patronize Negroes.

# LETTERS FROM READERS

## The Other America

To the Editor of Commentary:

. . . Bayard Rustin's article ["The Lessons of the Long Hot Summer," October 1967] in my judgment, points up the need for a vast new commitment of energy and resources in "the other America" which now dwells in the hearts of our large cities.

We know that government alone cannot do the job. We know we must find new answers to these problems which threaten to rip the fabric of America asunder. In my view, it is the resources of the private enterprise system which can best begin to resolve these critical dilemmas. If we can bring the same will and energy which has built the wealthiest society in history to the task of rebuilding the shattered ghettos of our large cities, we can begin to fulfill the heritage of equality of opportunity. It is for this reason that I have introduced in the Senate two bills—one concerning housing and one concerning industrial development, which would make it more profitable for private industry to take on these critical social and economic tasks.

But whatever the solution proposed, we as a government and as people must begin to recognize the awesome challenge we face in ending the blight of poverty. Mr. Rustin's article is a powerful piece of evidence that the job is just beginning.

[Senator] Robert F. Kennedy
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor of Commentary:

Bayard Rustin has no greater admirer than the writer of this letter. His article generally attests to his wisdom and responsibility. But he does his own great record of thoughtfulness and fairness no service by his careless and unfair summary treatment of the poverty program. For three years now I have tried to get him to give me a week of his time so that I could take him around the country and show him close up just what the program is doing and what it means. I am confident that after such a tour his attitude would change from mere tolerance of the program to enthusiastic support for its . . . achievements.

Rustin and I agree completely that Office of Economic Opportunity programs alone cannot meet all the problems of the ghetto. But deriding or dismissing what the OEO does in fact do is not helpful to the whole situation. It contributes, unintentionally of course, to the feeling that it doesn't really matter much whether you have a war on poverty or not.

A few quick comments on Rustin's allegations:

(1) "The war on poverty was based on the notion that the poor are poor because there is something wrong with them."

Not only is this cruelly inaccurate, but we have been proving in deeds, not just abstractions, that the poor do indeed have the capacity for learning, for working, for directing, for managing. The basic premise of OEO programs is that there is something wrong with *society* for not having provided opportunities to Negroes and to other poor people—and there is great need now to open up such opportunities and to compensate millions of Americans for past failures of society through incomes, jobs, training, health care, etc. Does Rustin deny that these failures of society have in fact made the poor less capable of full participation?

(2) "[OEO] has proceeded to set up a bedlam of community action programs under the delusion that the poor can be helped to organize themselves out of poverty."

This, again, is an inaccurate summary. . . . We have simply, but importantly, resolved that the poor shall be given a role in the development and implementation of local programs. We have indeed given tens of thousands of poor people an opportunity for participation, for leadership, and above all for a sense of dignity and power. Does Rustin decry this? Is he against giving poor Negroes in the ghettos a new voice, a new role, a new power which can contribute to a total commitment by the community? Does he think it is unimportant that about ninety thousand poor people are actually employed by the local community action programs in a variety of jobs—that these poor constitute the vast majority of all poverty program employees?

Rustin refers to "an expenditure of fifty dollars per poor person" by OEO in its present budget. This is careless and misleading arithmetic. Surely, Rustin must know that already almost a million young people have had Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs at which they earned $1,500 or $2,000 each. He must know that hundreds of thousands of American youngsters are benefiting from year-round Head Start which costs about one thousand dollars per child per year. He must know that it costs over seven thousand dollars to give a Job Corps enrollee the health care, nutrition, and learning to make him a productive member of society.

Finally, I hope that Rustin and all his allies and associates have recognized that in OEO-type programs we have provided positive alternatives to senseless violence and despair. In hundreds of American cities this past summer there was no violence. The Carmichaels and the Browns may be unhappy about this and even blame OEO for "cooling" these cities. But Bayard Rustin should be pleased that poor people are finally being reached with at least some programs that provide real opportunities for people and for their communities.

OEO is not enough. The whole federal program is not enough. I do not blame the White House for this default, nor even the Congress. Above all, I blame the American people generally for not insisting that more be done and stating their willingness to pay whatever price may be required. . . .

Hyman Bookbinder
Assistant Director
Office of Economic
Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor of Commentary:

Bayard Rustin's long-standing plea for a liberal-labor-Negro coalition is weaker now than it was before the summer. This is because the program of liberalism is more clearly washed up in the eyes of the American people than ever before. The major riots, let us not forget, occurred in the country's most liberal cities—Detroit, with its outstanding war-on-poverty; Newark, with its top public housing program; Milwaukee; New York City; and finally New Haven, the apple of the liberals' eye. . . .

Men like Rustin should be making a clean break with the Great Society, instead of going down the drain with it. But they continue to advocate more, more, more, along the lines of the Freedom Budget and the State and

Local Public Facility Needs study. Of course we need more, but we also need different. Rustin criticizes the war on poverty as not benefiting the poor, but fails to extend this to urban renewal and model cities, to mass transit, to the tax system and the surtax. That is to say, to the heart of LBJ's domestic program.

Rustin knows what "different" means—ghetto control of ghetto programs; taking profit out of the slums instead of pumping more of it in à la Kennedy, Percy, and Johnson; and *redistribution*—redistributing wealth away from the propertied rich and power away from the corporations. Daniel P. Moynihan, whom Rustin quotes favorably throughout his article, has just told ADA to rely on corporate planners to solve America's problems. Is this a position with which we should be confused? Rustin should stop being the liberal and resume being the socialist.

This means constructing a program that is a radical alternative—with explanations to compete with those of the reactionaries and proposals with which a coalition could take the offensive. There is no reason why the links between the crisis at home and the crisis in foreign policy should not be stated clearly. Just because "Nobody said during those past wars that we should cut back on our military expenditures . . ." doesn't mean that we shouldn't start saying precisely that, today.

The construction of that alternative seems remote today, because of the failure of the National Conference for New Politics. But it becomes more necessary every day, as we witness deepening crises and events like LBJ's throttling of Senator Clark's $3 billion proposal to provide jobs in the slums. The need for more will only be met if a new American majority can be brought to understand, by a different explanation from that of repudiated liberalism, the structural basis of our present crisis.

PAUL BOOTH

Chicago, Illinois

MR. RUSTIN writes:

I don't want to argue details with Hyman Bookbinder, particularly now when the reactionaries are attacking the offices of OEO. Though I do not feel unjustified in my criticisms of the OEO, I think it would be a tragedy if this effort were cut back or dismantled by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition. The OEO program is merely a point of departure; the need now is to go beyond it.

The OEO has financed various community action programs; has provided useful training to make some of the poor employable; and has done other good things. But it had made no attack upon the *structure* of poverty and has, therefore, necessarily approached the problem in terms of the deficiencies of poor individuals and communities. In the 1967 manpower report of the Department of Labor, it is documented that even in the midst of an unprecedented boom, housing, education, and unemployment in the ghettos are worse than they were when President Johnson declared his war on poverty almost four years ago.

Paul Booth raises some crucial and extremely complex issues. Let me deal with just a few.

When Booth says that "The program of liberalism is more clearly washed up in the eyes of the American people than ever before," I am not sure he knows what a pessimistic observation he is making. For to the extent that a disenchantment with liberal problems is taking place, it is part of a movement to the Right. Americans have become disillusioned not because they want more radical and progressive programs than ever before offered. Rather, they are motivated by backlash racism, the incredible notion that we have "done too much" (when in reality we have done so little). The fact that some of the riots occurred in cities with liberal administrations—Detroit and New Haven in particular—cannot be interpreted as simply as Booth suggests. In general, social upheavals come when people are making gains, but not fast enough. So it was that the CIO was not organized in the depths of the 1932 depression, but some four years later when there was hope. Indeed, the UCLA study of the Watts riot indicates that the activists' leadership comes from the best educated, economically advanced Negroes and that the non-participants and the indifferent were more numerous among those worse off. So I would not interpret the riots as an indictment of the liberal program but as an expression of the fact that the society was not liberal enough, i.e., it promised more than it produced and thus excited aspiration, frustration, and anger.

Mr. Booth counterposes to my advocacy of the Freedom Budget his concern with problems like urban renewal, mass transit, the tax system, etc. Yet, it is precisely to these problems that the Freedom Budget addresses itself. Rather than "reactionary Keynesian" tax cuts which further maldistribute income, it proposes public investment in decent housing, education, transportation, and health for all, and a consequent achievement of real full employment. I am quite prepared to extend my critique to the issues which Booth cites—and that is precisely why I am for the Freedom Budget.

Finally, a word about liberalism and socialism. I have the greatest respect for young activists like Booth who see the need to think through a radical program. But one must relate that program to American politics. America today is socially disillusioned not so much out of the nation's refusal to go beyond liberalism but out of an ugly mood which beats a retreat from liberalism and proposes the solution of problems with a nightstick. Liberalism remains as far to the Left as the nation has gone, even though it is certainly not far enough. I am proud to be a socialist but I also know that an authentic socialist would take his bearings from the living reality. I agree with Booth that our problems are so radical as to demand that we go beyond traditional liberalism but then so do some of the most thoughtful liberals, like John Kenneth Galbraith. It is politically impossible to move the society further to the Left while ignoring the fact that its most leftward political movement in mass politics, as the Chicago conference on New Politics amply demonstrated, is still liberal.

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# WHICH WAY OUT?

## BAYARD RUSTIN

# A Way Out of the Exploding Ghetto

By BAYARD RUSTIN

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Photographs by Bob Adelman

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THERE is no longer any denying that this country is in the throes of a historic national crisis. Its ramifications are so vast and frightening that even now, shocked into numbness and disbelief, the American people have not yet fully grasped what is happening to them.

The grim data are clear enough and still coming in. Since this summer began, 30 of our cities, big and small, have been wracked by racial disorder; scores of citizens, almost all of them black, have been killed, thousands injured and even more arrested. Property damage has exceeded a billion dollars; total income loss is incalculable.

As a people, we are not unaccustomed to violence. Frontier lawlessness, Southern vigilante-ism, Chicago gangsterism: these are images and themes embedded in the American tradition. We have only just lost a President to an assassin's bullet. But, having escaped the bombs of two world wars, we are not familiar with the horror of burned-out buildings, smoking rubble, tanks in our streets, the blasts of Molotov cocktails, the ring of snipers' bullets from rooftops. Today we look at sections of Detroit and think of war-torn Berlin. We see rampaging, looting mobs and think of the unstable politics of underdeveloped countries. A nation's identity has been overturned.

In our own history we can find no precedent in this century for the massive destruction the past three years have brought to our cities—no precedent since the Civil War. But the greatest toll is not in property damage or even in lives lost. Nor is the greatest danger that the violence will go on indefinitely, any more than the Civil War did. It is that the aftermath of that war will be repeated, that as in the Compromise of 1877 the country will turn its back on the Negro, on the root causes of his discontent, on its own democratic future.

Not since the Great Depression have social policy, our national institutions, our political order been more severely tested than at present. The coming months will shape the character of America in the remainder of the 20th century—and I am trying to speak with the utmost sobriety, precision and restraint.

Why does the Republic find itself at a crossroads? What has actually happened?

THE term "race riot" is unilluminating and anachronistic. It describes the Detroit disorders of 1943, when the Negro and white communities were locked in combat. White mobs invaded the ghetto. Negroes forayed downtown. Men were beaten and murdered for the color of their skins. In the upheavals of the last four summers, destruction has been confined to the ghetto; nor, discounting the police, were black and white citizens fighting. In fact, in Detroit whites joined in the looting and sniping. And I am told that whites were free to walk through the embattled ghetto without fear of violence from Negroes.

This is not to deny the importance of antiwhite hostility. One has only to hear the sick racial epithets "honkey" and "whitey" to recognize the deep and bitter hatred that is loose on the streets of the ghettos. But if white blood was what the rioters

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**BAYARD RUSTIN,** chief organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Harlem. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy.

thirsted for, they didn't go very far to get it. What they assaulted were the symbols of white power — police and property, the latter embracing the entire ghetto. These are traditional targets of rebellions and in that sense the riots can be called rebellions.

That sense, however, must be sharply qualified. Is it correct to speak of "race rebellion," or "Negro rebellion"? Are America's Negroes on the verge of revolution? More than one newspaper and television commentator has already begun to draw comparisons between the ghetto uprisings and the French, Russian, Algerian, Irish and Black African independence revolutions. Some Black Power advocates have proclaimed the beginnings of guerrilla warfare and see the urban Negro as a counterpart to the Vietcong. And in Paris it has become fashionable to speak of the *"révolution des noires"* in the U.S.

THE reality is that the revolutionary rhetoric now employed by some young Negro militants cannot create the preconditions for successful, or even authentic, revolution. The independence movements in colonial territories provide no model for the simple reason that American Negroes can have no geographical focus for nationalist sentiment.

Moreover, American Negroes do not constitute a popular majority struggling against a relatively small white colonial ruling group— the ideal condition for guerrilla warfare. Whatever separatist impulses exist among American Negroes cannot find appropriate models in the colonial world.

If independence revolutions are no model, what of social revolutions? This is a more interesting subject because the phrase "social revolution" has been widely used by the civil-rights and liberal movements generally. But in this sense—and the sense in which I have been using it for 30 years — the phrase designates fundamental changes in social and economic class relations resulting from mass political action. Such action would be democratic. That is, it would aim to create a new majority coalition capable of exercising political power in the interest of new social policies. By definition the coalition has to be interracial.

As a minority, Negroes by themselves cannot bring about such a social revolution. They can participate in it as a powerful and stimulating force; or they can provoke a counterrevolution. In either case the decisive factor will be the political direction in which the majority will move.

Numbers are not the only issue. Also important is the class content of revolt. At least in the French and Russian revolutions, revolutionary leaders and parties sought to mobilize fairly definable and cohesive socio - economic classes — workers, peasants, the middle class — which, though oppressed or aggrieved, were part of the society they sought to transform. Upon what classes do the advocates of rioting, the voices of the apocalypse, base their revolutionary perspective? This is another way of posing the question I left hanging earlier: Who is rioting?

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is correct in locating the riots in the "lower class" or in the words of another controversial man, Karl Marx, in the "*lumpenproletariat*" or "slum proletariat." Lower class does not mean working class; the distinction is often overlooked in a middle-class culture that tends to lump the two together.

The distinction is important. The working class is employed. It has a relation to the production of goods and services; much of it is organized in unions. It enjoys a measure of cohesion, discipline and stability lacking in the lower class. The latter is unemployed or marginally employed. It is relatively unorganized, incohesive, unstable. It contains the petty criminal and antisocial elements. Above all, unlike the working class, it lacks the sense of a stake in society. When the slum proletariat is black, its alienation is even greater.

From the revolutionist point of view, the question is not whether steps could be taken to strengthen organization among the *lumpenproletariat* but whether that group could be a central agent of social transformation. Generally, the answer has been no.

The black slum proletariat has been growing in numbers and density. As agricultural mechanization and other factors continue pushing Negroes out of the South, the urban ghettos expand each year by half a million; only 40,000 Negroes annually find their way into the suburbs. This trend has not been affected at all by any antipoverty or Great Society programs.

When the migration of Negroes to Northern and Western cities was at its height during World War II, factory jobs were available at decent wages. With the advent of advanced technology eliminating many semiskilled and unskilled jobs, and with the movement of plants from the central cities to the suburbs (New York lost 200,000 factory jobs in a decade), urban Negroes suffered rising joblessness or employment in low-paying service jobs.

THE depth of the unemployment problem in the slum ghettos is indicated in a recent U.S. Department of Labor report on "subemployment" in cities and slums. While the traditional unemployment rate counts only those "actively looking" but unable to find work, the subemployment index reflects in addition: (1) those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair, (2) those who are working part-time but want full-time jobs, (3) heads of households under 65 working full time but earning poverty wages (less than $60 a week), (4) individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than $56 a week in full-time jobs and (5) a conservatively estimated portion of males known to be living in the slums but who somehow do not show up in employment or unemployment counts.

The report states: "If the traditional statistical concept of 'unemployment' (which produced the nationwide average of 3.7 per cent unemployment rate for January, 1967) is applied to the urban slum situation, the '*unemployment rate' in these areas is about* 10 *per cent . . . three times the average for the rest of the country.*" [Original italics.] The figure for Detroit's Central Woodward area, incidentally, is 10.1 per cent.

The subemployment rate in the 10 cities surveyed yields an average figure of almost 35 per cent. Though possibly in need of further refining, the subemployment rate is the more meaningful figure. Not only does it include the categories listed above, but it also tends to reflect the number of people who experience unemployment over a period of time. By contrast, the official rate counts those unemployed at a point in time (i.e., the time the survey is taken).

High unemployment and low income are not the only problems afflicting the black slum proletariat, but they are the crucial ones. Without adequate income, there is no access to the decent housing market, educational opportunity, even proper health care. (In 1964, East and Central Harlem, comprising 24 per cent of Manhattan's population, accounted for 40 per cent of its TB deaths, 33 per cent of its infant deaths; in Bedford-Stuyvesant, which contains 9 per cent of Brooklyn's population, the respective figures were 24 and 22 per cent.)

The tendency of much current antipoverty rhetoric to create a multitude of disparate problems out of a central multifaceted one is a mistake. It is precisely in the expansion of public facilities and social services that new employment opportunities can be generated, at varying skill levels. High subemployment rates and the lack of decent housing in the slums are two sides of the same coin.

Meanwhile, within the slum proletariat, youth constitutes a subdivision of increasing economic and political importance. While according to the official unemployment rates the joblessness gap between Negro and white men over 20 has been narrowing since 1961, even this official rate records a widening of the gap between Negro and white teen-agers since 1957. Right now the national Negro unemployment rate is 25 per cent nationally but for 16-to-19-year-olds in the 10 slum areas surveyed, it is over 38 per cent! Moreover, this rate was unaffected by the downward trend of the nation's over-all unemployment rate late last year. For white teen-agers, on the other hand, unemployment since 1957 never went beyond 15 per cent and is now at 10 per cent.

Nor is there any evidence that Negro teen-agers do not want to work. Whenever job programs have been announced, they have turned out in large numbers, only to find that the jobs weren't there. In Oakland, a "Job Fair" attracted 15,000 people; only 250 were placed. In Philadelphia, 6,000 were on a waiting list for a training program.

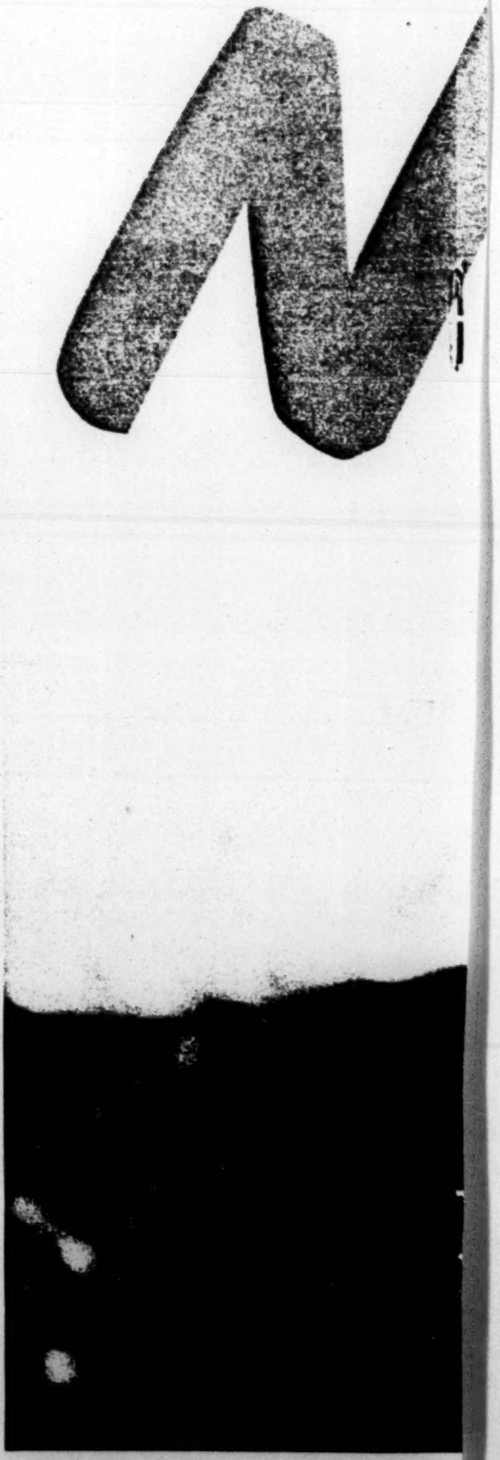
What Negro teen-agers are not inclined to accept are dead-end jobs that pay little and promise no advancement or training. Many would prefer to live by their wits as hustlers or petty racketeers, their version of the self-employed businessman or salesman. That their pursuit of this distorted entrepreneurial ideal only mires them deeper in the slum proletariat is not the point. They want to be part of the white collar organization man's world that is America's future, not trapped behind brooms and pushcarts.

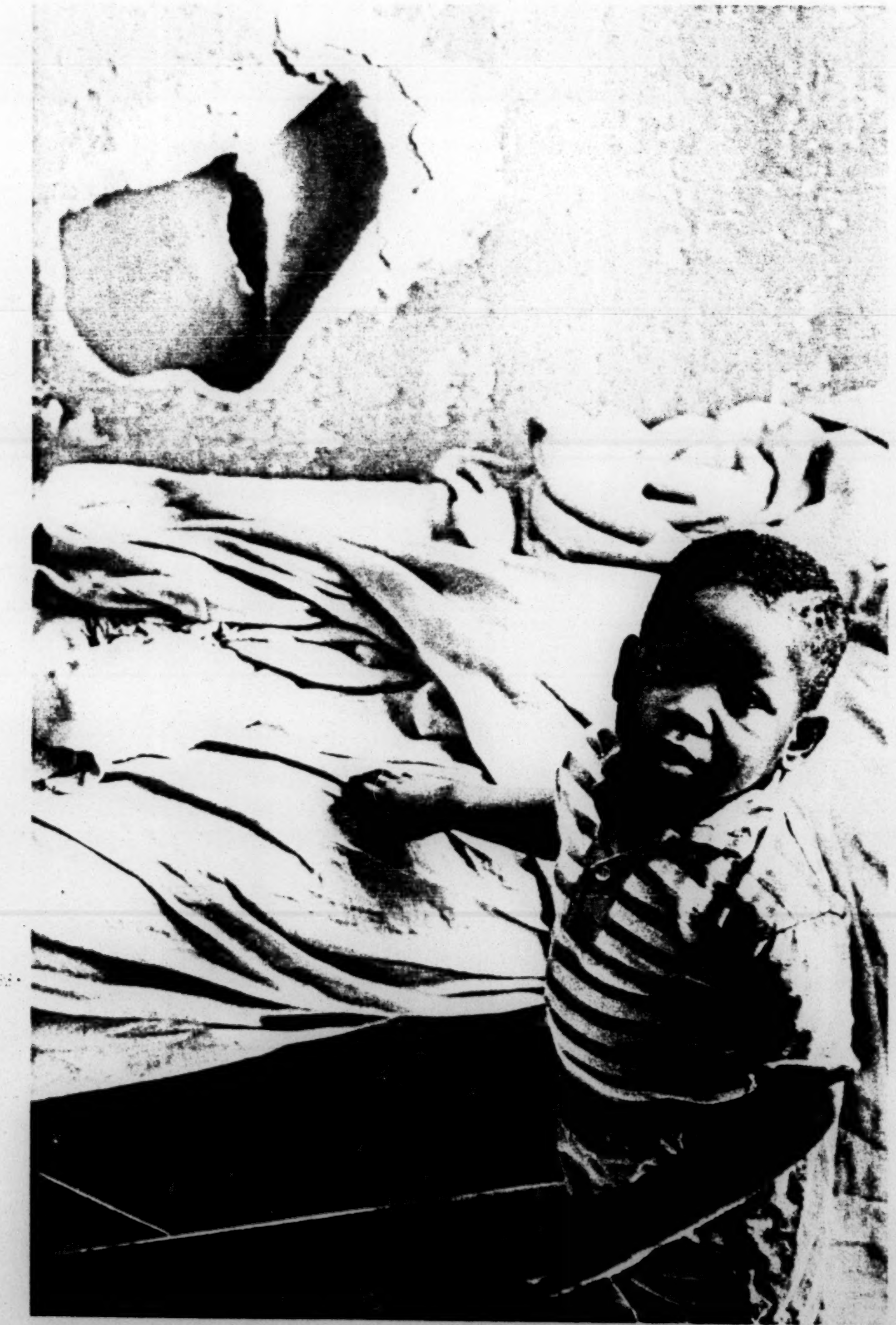
Nor can they fairly be blamed by a society which has itself produced these yearnings, reveled in its affluence, encouraged the consumption of trivia and proclaimed the coming of computerized utopias. The middle classes may nostalgically extol their immigrant parents' fortitude and perseverance in manual labor, but they do not steer their own children toward the construction gang or the garment district. They show them the push buttons, not the pushcart. Might they not then show some compassionate understanding of black youngsters who dream of better things even when crippled by poor education, broken families and the disabilities bred by slum life. If it is true that a Negro boy is nobody unless he owns alligator shoes and an alpaca sweater, who created these symbols? Who whetted this appetite? Who profited from the sale of these commodities, and who advertised them? And who is victimized?

The ghetto youth who is out of school, unemployed and rejected even by the draft (as 52 per cent are in Harlem) is the extreme embodiment of the bitter frustration in the slum proletariat. He is utterly propertyless, devoid of experience in the productive process and without a stake in existing social arrangements. At the same time, because he is young and not beaten down, he is irreverent, filled with bravado, hostile to the alien authority of the police and determined to "make it" in any way that he can. He is at the core of the rioting.

**IN Detroit, the riot begins when pimps and prostitutes taunt police who are raiding a "blind pig" at 5 A.M. In Minneapolis, two women fight over a wig, the police try to break it up and a riot erupts in an atmosphere already charged by delays in the mailing of Federal Youth Opportunity Program paychecks to youths in the ghetto area. In Cairo, Ill., a Negro soldier dies in the city jail; police say it was suicide but order the body embalmed without an autopsy, and fire bombing and shooting follow.**

**In these cases, the police figure prominently in the incidents that triggered the rioting. Sometimes they are not directly involved, but rumors of police brutality flood through the ghetto. Although it may be of some interest to search for a pattern, no very profound purpose is served by concentrating on who struck the match. There are always matches lying around. We**





must ask why there was also a fuse and why the fuse was connected to a powder keg.

To pursue this analogy: Whether the match is struck by police misconduct or by an "extremist" exhorting his listeners to violence, the fuse is the condition of life among the black slum proletariat—hostile, frustrated and with nothing to lose. The powder keg is the social background against which the riots break out and which extends their scope. They become more than riots pure and simple, yet less than politically coherent rebellions. They are *riotous manifestations of rebellion.*

The social background is defined by the fact that the black slum proletariat is part of a larger community of oppressed and segregated citizens—the overwhelming majority of the Negro population. Were it not for this the riots could be dismissed merely as wild, inchoate sprees of looting and violence, the expressions of criminal greed, a carnival of destruction to be suppressed by police force. Such actions, detached from political policies, programs and goals—and, make no mistake about it, the riots were not on behalf of the Black Power ideology; the latter is an after-the-fact justification employed by people in search of a constituency—do not properly constitute a rebellion. But because of the social background, the riots, while not *the rebellion* of the Negro people, are charged with manifestations of rebellion.

It is because of this background that the riots can set off a chain reaction, fan out from the slum proletariat and, as Detroit showed, involve people who ordinarily would not be found looting stores. It is because of this background that snipers and the most violent elements can feel that their actions are in some sense heroic. And it is because of this background that the riots have enormous implications for the future of all Negroes.

As Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young pointed out in their recent statement, the most severe and immediate damage has been to the Negro community itself. In addition to those who lost their lives, thousands lost their homes, food supplies, access to schools. There is danger of a counterreaction enlisting the most bigoted, vigilante-minded elements in the white community. Ammunition has been given to the reactionaries in an already backlash-dominated Congress. Many whites sincerely in favor of integration will be silenced out of fear and confusion. Riots do not strengthen the power of black people; they weaken it and encourage racist power.

But why, asks white America, do the Negroes riot now—not when conditions are at their worst but when they seem to be improving? Why now, after all of the civil-rights and antipoverty legislation? There are two answers.

First, "progress" has been considerably less than is generally supposed. While the Negro has won certain important legal and constitutional rights (voting, desegregation of public accommodations, etc.), his relative socioeconomic position has scarcely improved. There simply has not been significant, visible change in his life.

Second, if a society is interested in stability, it should either not make promises or it should keep them. Economic and social deprivation, if accepted by its victims as their lot in life, breeds passivity, even docility. The miserable yield to their fate as divinely ordained or as their own fault. And, indeed, many Negroes in earlier generations felt that way.

Today, young Negroes aren't having any. They don't share the feeling that something must be wrong with them, that they are responsible for their own exclusion from this affluent society. The civil-rights movement — in fact, the whole liberal trend beginning with John Kennedy's election—has told them otherwise.

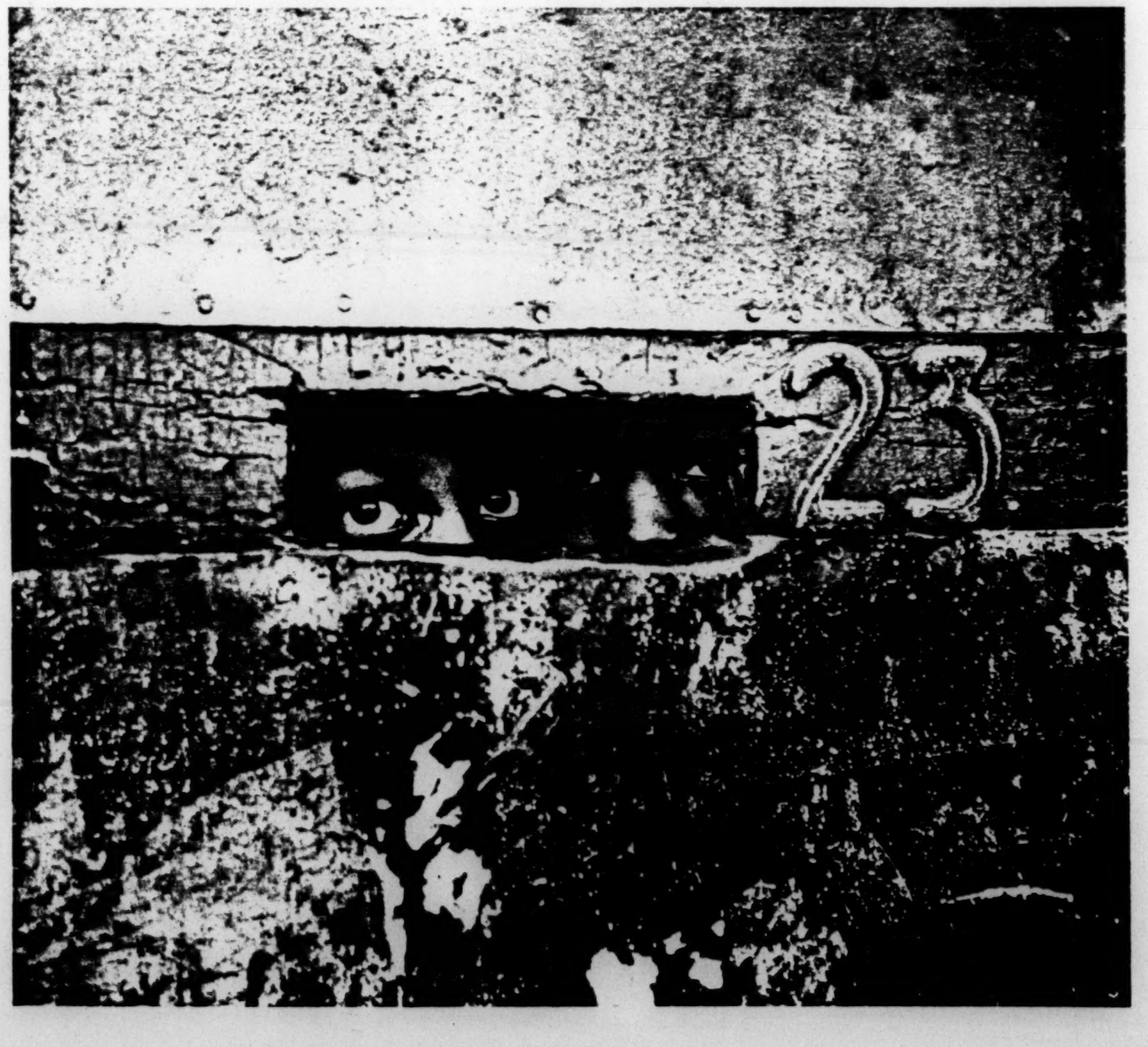
Conservatives will undoubtedly seize the occasion for an attack on the Great Society, liberalism, the welfare state and Lyndon Johnson. But the young Negroes are right: the promises made to them were good and necessary and long, long overdue. The youth were right to believe in them. The only trouble is that they were not fulfilled. Prominent Republicans and Dixiecrats are demanding not that the promises be fulfilled, but that they be revoked.

What they and the American people absolutely must understand now is that the promises cannot be revoked. They were not made to a handful of leaders in a White House drawing room; they were made to an entire generation, one not likely to forget or to forgive. If Republican leaders Everett Dirksen and Gerald Ford, hand in glove with the die-hards of the Confederacy, continue their contemptible effort to exploit the nation's tragedy for partisan political advantage, they will sow the dangerous seeds of race hate and they will discredit themselves morally in the eyes of the coming generations and of history. This is not a wise policy for a party that only yesterday reduced itself to a shambles by catering to the most backward and reactionary elements in the country.

It is ironic that in a nation which has not undertaken a massive social and economic reform since the New Deal one now hears even liberal voices asking: "Don't the causes of the riots go deeper than economics, than jobs, housing, schools? Aren't there profound moral, cultural, psychological and other factors involved—powerlessness, an identity crisis?"

Of course, but in the present context such questions smack of a trend toward mystification which, if it gains ascendancy, will paralyze public policy. Then, too, I cannot help but suspect that they are rationalizations for the yearning of some white liberals to withdraw. "Obviously," they are saying, "there seems to be nothing we can do. We're not even wanted. Why not give the ghettos over to the Black Power people?"

I have no hesitation in saying that this recommendation simply aids and abets the Congressional reactionaries, who would have no objection to letting Negroes run their own slum tenements, dilapidated schools and tax-starved communities. Isn't this in the best tradition of rugged self-help, Horatio Alger and all that? Haven't Barry Goldwater and William F. Buckley endorsed this notion of Black Power? Just so long as white people are left alone. Just so long as the total society is not forced to examine its own inner contradictions. Just so long as the Federal Government isn't challenged to launch radical and massive programs to rebuild our cities, end poverty, guarantee full employment at decent wages, clear our polluted air and water and provide mass transportation.



This is just the challenge posed by A. Philip Randolph's $185-billion "Freedom Budget for all Americans"—a carefully designed, economically feasible program for the obliteration of poverty in 10 years. Unless the nation is prepared to move along these lines—to rearrange its priorities, to set a timetable for achieving them and to allocate its resources accordingly—it will not be taking its own commitments seriously. Surely it cannot then turn amazedly to responsible Negro leaders, whose pleas for large-scale programs it has failed to heed, for an explanation of the consequences.

The present Administration has a grave responsibility. It is very well for it to proclaim that we can have guns *and* butter, that we can pursue our course in Vietnam and still make progress at home. We do have the economic capacity for both, as the Freedom Budget itself shows. But we are not doing both. Let us stop proclaiming that we *can* do what we *don't* do and start *doing* it.

If Administration actions are not to mock its own rhetoric, the President must now take the lead in mobilizing public opinion behind a new resolve to meet the crisis in our cities. He should now put before Congress a National Emergency Public Works and Reconstruction bill aimed at building housing for homeless victims of the riot-torn ghettos, repairing damaged public facilities and in the process generating maximum employment opportunities for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Such a bill should be the first step in the reconstruction of all our decaying center cities.

ADMITTEDLY, the prospects for passage of such a bill in the present Congress are dismal. Congressmen will cry out that the rioters must not be rewarded, thereby further penalizing the very victims of the riots. This, after all, is a Congress capable of defeating a meager $40-million rat extermination program the same week it votes $10-million for an aquarium in the District of Columbia!

But the vindictive racial meanness that has descended upon this Congress, already dominated by the revived coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats, must be challenged—not accommodated. The President must go directly to the people, as Harry Truman did in 1948. He must go to them, not with slogans, but with a timetable for tearing down every slum in the country.

There can be no further delay. The daydreamers and utopians are not those of us who have prepared massive Freedom Budgets and similar programs. They are the smugly "practical" and myopic philistines in the Congress, the state legislatures and the city halls who thought they could sit it out. The very practical choice now before them and the American people is whether we shall have a conscious and authentic democratic social revolution or more tragic and futile riots that tear our nation to shreds.

# The A. Philip Randolph Institute has:

- Prepared and published the "Freedom Budget for All Americans" and launched a major campaign on its behalf.
- Convened informal discussion between members of the press and civil rights leaders, educationists and fighters for school integration, labor leaders and Southern activists, directors of anti-poverty projects and indigenous leaders.
- Interpreted the meaning of the Negro-Labor alliance to State AFL-CIO conventions, student bodies, civic organizations and religious groups.
- Submitted and published testimony on behalf of the $2.00 minimum wage, extended unemployment benefits and repeal of the "Right to Work" laws.

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217 West 125th Street, N. Y. 10027

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Ⓕ Artls

July 20, 1967

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Bayard:

You must admit that I have been very nice to you. I have not bothered you for a long time; that is, I haven't bothered you to remind you to keep your oft-repeated promise to write an article for the AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS. The Newark events lead me to remind you now in re your promise. It is unnecessary for me to tell you what great world-wide interest there is in the recent tragic occurrences at Newark.

An article of about 1200 - 1500 words by you on the why, wherefore, and whither of these events would be most appreciated for two reasons: first, because I know you will do a darn good job, and, second, because I know your article would be widely appreciated and most helpful all around.

You are a facile writer. Your thoughts are clear. Your typewriter is your own. I await your article. Many thanks.

Kindest regards.

Yours fraternally,

Jay

Jay Lovestone
Director
Department of International Affairs

(F) Racial paper

ICFTU ~~Paper~~

Bayard Rustin

As ~~I write, it is~~ only July, but already we seem to be at the peak of another long hot summer. There is a newspaper before me proclaiming in bold front-page headlines: "U.S. Troops Sent into Detroit -- 19 Dead, 800 Injured, 2000 arrested," "New Outbreak in East Harlem, 2 killed, 12 Hurt," "Englewood Snipers Clash with Police," "President Calls On Nation to Combat Lawlessness." Just a few days ago it was Newark and Plainfield and Nyack and Cairo, Illinois. During the same month it was Buffalo. And, as we all know, July is not the hottest month.

As the outbreaks erupt across the country, the question which went up last year, and the year bofore, and the year before that, goes up all over again: Why? You would think that by now everyone would know. Well, the answer, which will be good for next year too, is simply this: Anger Frustration, and Despair.

Why anger and frustration? Because --

--In all our urban ghettoes, the police treat Negroes and Puerto Ricans withwith contempt.

--Unemployment among Negro adults is double that of whites.

--Unemployment among Negro teenagers is triple that of whites.

--The median income gap between Negroes and whites has widened.

--There are more Negroes in segregated class rooms now than there were before 1954.

--The slums have grown more intolerable, and show no signs of improving.

And why despair? Because --

After all the civil rights bills, and the war on poverty there has been no appreciable improvement in the economic conditions of the majority of the Negro masses. Jobs have not been created for them, there are no better schools and there has not been improved housing. In fact, the war on poverty has intensified the despair of the Negro masses, because it raises expectations which it cannot or does not fulfill. These failures, coming after the great hopes of the civil rights revolution, are interpreted by the masses as a sign that the society does not mean to deliver. Therefore, they do not feel that they can be patient any longer. They lose faith in democratic strategies, and take recourse to violent behavior and supermilitant demands.

For instance, some of the resolutions drawn up at the Black Power conference that met in the ruins of the Newark riot, are an inevitable outgrowth of this frustration and despair. They are full of militancy and emotional aspiration but are not the kinds of demands that seem to have any change of practical implementation. Resolution after resolution called for: two separate nations, one white and one black; rejection of the free choice by any Negro to live in a white world; a nationwide buy-black movement to exert economic pressure for better jobs; para-military training for Negro youth; a black militia to train black families in all aspects of racial defense; permanent contact with African nations; black colleges for every black city; denunciation of birth control as a policy to exterminate Negroes. None of these resolutions addresses itself to practical programs to abolish hunger, create full employment, clean up the slums, improve education, and open up housing -- the very evils that lead every year to frustration and violence.

Still, these are not the only catalysts at work in the syndrome of Negro frustration and violence.

One of them has to do with the fact a class warfare has erupted among Negroes themselves. Since the passage of the civil rights bills, the Negroes who have benefited most and advanced most rapidly have been the middle class. The educational and economic status of the middle class makes it possible for them to enjoy public accommodations and higher paying jobs that the masses still cannot enjoy. American industry has stimulated this middle class progress by upgrading educated Negroes as fast as it finds them, a fact which is both appreciated and scorned by the unemployed. This class resentment is as likely to show up in hostility towards the whites who "have it" as towards the Negroes who have "made it."

Another catalyst has been the attitude of the society to riots in the past. It indicates clearly to the Negro masses that the society will neither recognize them, nor do anything for them, however token, until they become violent.

There are several examples of this:

In Watts, after the 1965 riots, young Negroes boasted to me: "We won!. You know we won! We asked the Governor to come, he would not come. We asked the Mayor, we asked the Chief of Police, none of them would come. But after we burned and looted they all came."

In Chicago, last year, young Negroes said again: "When we wanted sprinklers, we went out in the street, forgetting nonviolence and patience and we tore up the street, and in 24 hours we had not only the $8 sprinklers we wanted, but they also gave us swimming pools."

In Buffalo, recently, it was only after the young Negroes had rioted that the Mayor be-ged them to hold off while he ran to the Chamber of Commerce to get jobs that had been promised a whole year before.

The same thing had happened in Harlem. For some years prior to the riots of riots of 1964, A. Philip Randolph had been urging the New York City administration and the police department to upgrade Negro officers, and specifically had proposed that a Lieutenant Sealy be made a Captain and placediin charge of central Harlem. For years, Randolph's appeal fell on deaf ears. But less than 24 hours after the 1964 riots, the city officials and the police department announced that Lieutenant Sealy had beennmade a Captain and placed in charge of a Harlem precinct. Three days later, in a discussion with a Negro youth group , I was told by one of the leaders: "You and Randolph, with your ideas about peace and non-violent, are useless. You have been begging whitey to make Sealy a Captain -- but they paid you no mind. When we tore up 125th Street, they got the message. We upgraded Sealy with sticks and stones. You and Randolph ain't no leaders. You fools are beggare and begging is out of style."

All of this reveals not only that the society has been as actively and better ~~is teac~~hing young Negroes to to rely upon violence, but also that this violence is being perpetrated lead largely upon Negroes themselves. In all the riots, only a handful of whites have been killed, while hundreds of Negroes have died, and thousands injured and arrested. The hunger and misery that is left in the wake of the riots is borne only by Negroes, many of them who took no part and had no interest in the riots. Though white store owners have suffered the greatest economic loss, Negro store owners are also wiped out. Lately, it has seemed that the violence is slowly being turned outwards upon the white community, but by and large, it is still concentrated in Negro communities. The fact however that violence is now being turned outwards may be a sign that those who riot are becoming increasingly awareoof the self-destructiveness of violence. But evan so, it is still socially destructive behavior, and not by any means creative.

As the riots erupt, they reveal something far more significant and troubling. The caused of the riots lie fundamentally in the absence of federal programs to eradicate poverty and frustration. Yet, even now, at the peak of unrest, we are treated to the spectacle of the national Congress investing all its energies in passing a bill to control Stokely Carmichael, No sooner it does this than it concentrates almost equal energy in defeating a bill that would have alleviated the problem of rat infestation in the ghetto. I am not at all in favor of riots or violence, but what, with this evidence of congressional attitude before, them, must young Negroes say?

Finally, in these conditions of frustration policed reveal of police the inflammatory symbol o[redacted] particularly in the ghettoes. As we have seen, many of the violent outbreaks have been preceded by incidents of excessive police action. And the fundamental reason for this is that, to the ghetto residents, the police ~~represent~~ personify the contempt and indifference and oppression that ~~the ghetto residents~~ to which they have been subjected ~~feel~~ from the society at large. More responsible police action will not by itself abolish frustration but it can play a greatrrole in restraining already inflamed passions.

As I have said many times before, I am opposed to rioting. I have always insisted that riots, rather than help to solve our problems will, in fact, compound them. The problem will never be solved until the United States adjusts its national priorities and faces the fact that ~~[illegible]~~ revolutionary social, [illegible] action is required to ~~remedy~~ meet a revolutionary situation. The country cannot buy social peace with anything less than a plan radical plan ~~to abolish poverty~~ which goes to our very roots to abolish poverty. And ~~this~~ such plan must include the following:

(a) National planning to put America's poor back to work through public works, and through building those hospitals, roads, schools, transportation systems, etc., that all Americans will benefit from.

(b) Establishing a guaranteed income for those too old, too young, or too crippled to work.

(c) On-the-job training for ~~those too~~ the uneducated and unskilled to find work in American industry.

(d) Redefining new areas of work through human services to humans that automation and cybernation cannot touch.

(e) Raising the minimum wage to not less than $2 per hour and subsidizing those employees who cannot afford to pay such rates in the same way we now subsidize farmers through price supports.

(f) Tearing down the slums and creating new towns, thereby employing the people in the slums.

Such a plan must become part of a multi-billion dollar program to eliminate poverty and despair for America's 50 million poor, black and white, since there is no just way to isolate the American Negro and do anything special for him. Such demands, therefore, though they represent the basic demands of the Negro community are demands whose implementation requires political action that goes beyond any special party. They must be supported and fought for by the only socially conscious coalition in America, the coalition of labor, civil rights, liberals, churchmen, and intellectuals. But the chief partners of this coalition must be the civil rights and labor movements, for only these two movements are at the present moment commited and dedicated to all the programs that can end economic frustration and despair among all of America's poor. And therefore, the chief hope for social and economic justice in America over the next decade rests heavily on the combined action of the civil rights and labor movements in cooperation with all other communities of good will. Under no other circumstances will the national congress be moved or compelled to legislate the kind of economic programs that will put an end to our nightmare.

# FACTS!

### By Bayard Rustin

In the coming weeks and months there will be a flood of words written on paper and spoken into tape recorders on what set off the rioting in our cities. Politicians, sociologists, policemen, social workers, and eyewitnesses will present their versions of the immediate causes. They will look for patterns, parallels, and precedents.

With all due respect, we don't need to wait for these reports. We already know the underlying causes of the riots. After all, racial disorders have hit more than 70 U.S. cities in the last four summers, and the reports on them fill volumes.

It is time we stopped searching for new twists and began to deal with the basic problems.

And that problem is simple to describe: conditions of life in the black ghettos have been deteriorating. Unemployment there remains unconscionably high—especially for teenagers—despite the slight tightening of the labor market resulting from the Viet Nam war.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education recently stated that more Negro youngsters are in segregated schools today (whether *de jure* or *de facto*) than in 1954, the year of the famous Supreme Court decision. The housing picture is equally bleak; in fact, urban renewal programs so far have destroyed more low-income housing than they have replaced. The slum ghettos have not been shrinking; they are growing at the rate of 500,000 inhabitants a year.

What we are witnessing is not simply increasing misery in the Negro communities but the disintegration of our cities. This is not simply a "race problem"; it is a social and economic problem of staggering proportions. It cannot be solved by so-called anti-riot bills or by locking up Stokeley Carmichael and Rap Brown. It *can* be solved when the nation makes up its mind to reorder its priorities and to reallocate its resources in favor of massive social investments.

We must begin to ask ourselves what our national purposes are.

The riots cannot be explained merely in terms of statistics in unemployment, housing and education.

Misery in itself does not lead to revolt. Those at the bottom must feel that they don't *have* to be there, their fate is not sealed, that their situation can be better. They must feel that their conditions are the product of injustice.

In a society like ours, characterized by rapid technological and social changes, it is not easy to convince the downtrodden that they belong underfoot. They cannot accept the notion that a society that now has a spaceship on the way to Venus cannot provide decent jobs, incomes and housing.

Moreover, the political atmosphere of the sixties has held out the promise of economic justice. The Civil Rights Revolution, though still far from completed, won impressive victories against segregation and discrimination; young Negroes who have lived through this revolution (even when not participating in it) will not "stay in their place." The war on poverty and the other Great Society efforts were rightly construed by the poor as a promise of better things to come.

We have not kept the promises; we have not fulfilled the hope. Our failure helped set the stage for the riots—futile and tragic outbursts of destructive violence whose greatest victim is the Negro himself—and for a right-wing counter-revolution with far-reaching political consequences. Unless we head off this counter-revolution, whose aim is to capture the White House in 1968, the result will be a disastrous blow to the liberal coalition, in which the labor movement plays a vital part, to the Negro people, and to the political future of the country.

In 1964 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition that controlled Congress since the end of the New Deal was smashed in the Johnson landslide victory over Goldwater. With the liberals in control, a spate of desperately-needed social legislation, much of it developed in the Kennedy Administration, finally came out of Congress. It seemed to presage a new era of liberal progress. Indeed, some optimistic commentators proclaimed the permanent demise of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition.

Only two years later, however, the right-wing resurgence was underway. Playing on the riots of '65 and '66, and the frustation over Viet Nam, the Republicans scored major gains in the Congressional elections. (Still there were optimistic commentators talking about how liberal some of the Republican victories were.) The reactionary coalition was reestablished.

We are now saddled once more with a Congress hell-bent on stagnation, a Congress that has wrecked rent-subsidies, halved aid to education and the war on poverty, and exhibited a new low in social responsibility by defeating the Administration's modest $40 million rat-extermination program the very same week it authorized $10 million for a new fish aquarium in Washington, D.C.

The strategy of the right-wing coalition is revealed in the sickening effort of Dirksen and Ford to turn the present anguish of the Negro people to political advantage by blaming the Administration for the riots.

Their theme between now and the elections will be that the Great Society's promises aroused unreasonable expectations. Their solution will be, not to fulfill, but to revoke these promises. They will pursue this course vigorously, because, as Roy Wilkins has said, "They think they smell victory in the air."

Indeed, with George Wallace threatening to remove Southern electoral votes from the Johnson column, and with talk of a "peace ticket," which would divide and confuse some liberal elements, the conservatives have reason to be hopeful.

All of this poses a severe challenge to the liberal coalition—the unions, the Negroes, the religious groups, the liberal intellectuals, and the poor. It must develop a common strategy and program if it expects to bring a powerful counter pressure to bear against the right-wing resurgence and to win liberal victories in 1968.

By definition the coalition is composed of forces that cannot agree on *all* questions, but there is sufficient common ground to make effective action possible—and sufficient danger to make it imperative.

Much will depend on our ability to respond to the riots, to educate the American people as to their underlying causes, and to project remedies that not only *promise* but are able to produce tangible change.

The key to such change is decent jobs. It is easy to lose sight of this amid all the sociological jargon which tends to project a hundred different problems where one multifaceted problem exists. Some people say that housing is the key—as if there were no connection between the snail's pace of housing construction and unemployment in the construction industry.

Others point to education—as if the 750,000 new classroom units we need over the next 10 years can be built without manpower, or as if reducing the teacher's load by hiring teacher's aides had no meaning for the unemployed in the ghetto.

Still others point to family instability—as if one could not point to direct statistical correlation between family instability and male unemployment rates.

It has already been remarked that, by and large, the participants in the riots were not the Negro working class, but the Negro "lower class"—what Karl Marx called the "lumpenproletariat" or the "slum proletariat." They are the unemployed, the underemployed, the marginally employed. They lack the discipline and cohesion of the working class. They lack its sense of a stake in the society.

The depth of the unemployment problem in the slum ghettos is indicated in a recent Department of Labor reports on "subemployment" in U.S. cities and slums.

The Department concluded that unemployment, measured in even the traditional manner, was about three times as high as the national average in the areas surveyed.

Calculated on the more comprehensive measuring rod—the Subemployment Index—which reflects those who are underemployed, discouraged from seeking work or otherwise not in the labor force, unemployment was close to 10 times as high as the national average.

High unemployment and low income are not the only problems afflicting the black slum proletariat, but they are the crucial ones. Without adequate income, there is no access to the decent housing market, to educational opportunity, even to proper health care. We need a full employment program geared to the satisfactions of our unmet social needs. In the process, we can transform the black "lower class" into a working class.

In the immediate run, we should strongly back a measure like the O'Hara Bill, which calls for the creation of one million public service jobs now, financed by the federal government at a cost of $4 billion.

This must be followed by a massive reconstruction and rehabilitation program that would provide homes, schools, health facilities, etc. in the ghetto areas.

The task before the liberal coalition is to make the American people understand that such massive programs are not wild-eyed utopian schemes but, in the light of cold facts, the only practical answer to chaos and reaction.

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK N Y 10036

[illegible]

April 25, 1968

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Bayard:

Thank you very much for that contribution to our symposium, and it is one that we want to use. Obviously, however, a great deal has changed since we originally put the proposal up to you, and the King assassination makes it clear that we should postpone this issue for some time.

You will, of course, be paid for your work, and you will also have a chance to see the galleys when we do decide to go ahead and present it. I will let you know as soon as a decision is made.

Regards,

Kirk

J. Kirk Sale
Sunday Department

JKS:dd

Rustin
Article

# TIMES SYMPOSIUM

by Bayard Rustin

I have never condoned violence either as a moral principle or political tactic. And I have opposed it whether it loomed as a threat to blacks, a threat to whites, or, as it ultimately is, a threat to a civil and democratic society.

I am somewhat unhappy, therefore, that by focussing upon " anti-white threats" by black militants, your question betrays a more immediate concern for what violence might do to whites than for the threat it poses to the safety and security of all the people and all the progressive institutions in our society.

White society cannot now make more of their own fears than they make of an unprecedented national crisis, nor can they fall back upon the violent rhetoric of black militants as an excuse to escape a great moral responsibility.

The events of recent months show that regardless of who it is that is preaching violence, it is not whites who are suffering most from violence, but Negroes. Martin Luther King spent his life preaching brotherhood and nonviolence but he died at the hands of a white gunman. In Orangeburgh, North Carolina, it may have been Negro students who were using the rhetoric of violence, but it was white policemen who shot three of them. In Trenton it was a 19-year-old black student who was shot by the police while being arrested. In Oakland, it was a 17-year-old black militant who was shot by the police as he walked towards them with his hands above his head. Of the 39 people killed in the disorders that followed the violent murder of Dr. King, all but 5 where Negroes. Of the 83 people killed in the disorders of last year, 74 were Negroes. Those left without homes were Negroes; Those left without food and clothing were Negroes.

Up until now, therefore, it would appear that it is Negroes who have been the chief victims of "anti-white threats" or "anti-white" behavior. Not only that, but the preponderant victims among all those Americans who preach love and nonviolence have also been Negroes. We cannot afford to ignore what all of this has to say of white anti-black violence -- both hidden and overt. Nor can we ignore the fact that the violence of the oppressor is always more socially and morally dangerous than the reactive violence of the oppressed.

In any event, the toll in black death and black misery would seem to indicate that whites have far less to fear from Negro violence than vice versa. It indicates that what they have to fear, what we all have to fear, are the conditions in American life that breed violence -- conditions which could not have existed (to state the problem charitably) without the indifference or tacit approval of white society.

To view the present situation as one brought about solely by Negro hostility is to overlook the real and objective situation. 1) The violence in our society does not spring from the verbal outbursts of black militants, but from underlying conditions of American life: So while violent rhetoric may be a catalyst of disorder, it is by no means the cause. 2) Many Negroes are responding out of a loss of faith in the ability or willingness of the traditional system to bring them genuine progress; and while one might disagree with the methods they employ to make the system more responsive, the mass of the sociological and economic evidence is certainly on their side. 3) Negroes do not manufacture guns or own gunshops; nor are they on the legislative committees which determine under what conditions guns are to be sold, and to whom. 4) A paradox which should concern us all: Violence, whether verbal or actual, is both a plea for, and a threat to, the creation of a more democratic order for all Americans.

So there is no exit here for anybody. And while I continue to dissociate myself from violence, it seems to me that white Americans will be impeding the creation of a more just and democratic order in this country so long as they continue to interpret militant black rhetoric as a threat merely to their own safety and security.

As to whether anti-white threats are damaging to the Negro cause, I can only say this: In a society whose whole corpus is imperilled by the unjust conditions in which 22 million of its citizens live it is no longer useful -- if indeed it ever was -- to ~~to~~ continue talking about the Negro cause or the Negro problem.

The only correct view of the American reality obliges everyone to recognize that we are all trapped in an American problem whose solution is vital and crucial to the American cause. If any segment of this society, black or white, resorts to violence, then the total security of all Americans will be threatened. And, though widespread Negro violence may lead to the repression of the Negro people, such repression will take place only as the civil liberties of all other Americans are violated and revoked.

Therefore it is not the Negro cause that is in peril, but the American cause. And white Americans will continue to do grave damage and injustice to that cause as long as they persist in viewing the conditions against which black Americans are struggling merely as a "Negro problem" rather than as a problem created by the failure of this society to do justly by all of its citizens.

The prophets supplied us with the answer many centuries ago: "Where there is justice order is possible; where there is injustice disorder is inevitable."

# # #

Times Symposium

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parentheses

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The only correct view of the American reality obliges everyone to recognize ~~It ought to have been clear to everyone by now~~ that we are all trapped in an American problem whose solution is vital and crucial to the American cause. If any segment of this society, black or white, resorts to violence, then the total security of all Americans will be threatened. And, though widespread Negro violence may lead to the repression of the Negro people, such repression will take place only as the civil liberties of all other Americans are violated and revoked.

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The prophets supplied us with the answer many centuries ago: "Where there is justice order is possible; where there is injustice disorder is inevitable."

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WESTERN UNION

[illegible] WASHINGTON

[illegible] NEW YORK NEW YORK

[illegible] YOU [illegible] FIVE HUNDRED WORDS TO [illegible] NEW YORK

[illegible] IS PLANNING [illegible] TO FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT [illegible] [illegible] BY SUCH BLACK

[illegible] AS [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] THEMSELVES OUR FASCISTS.

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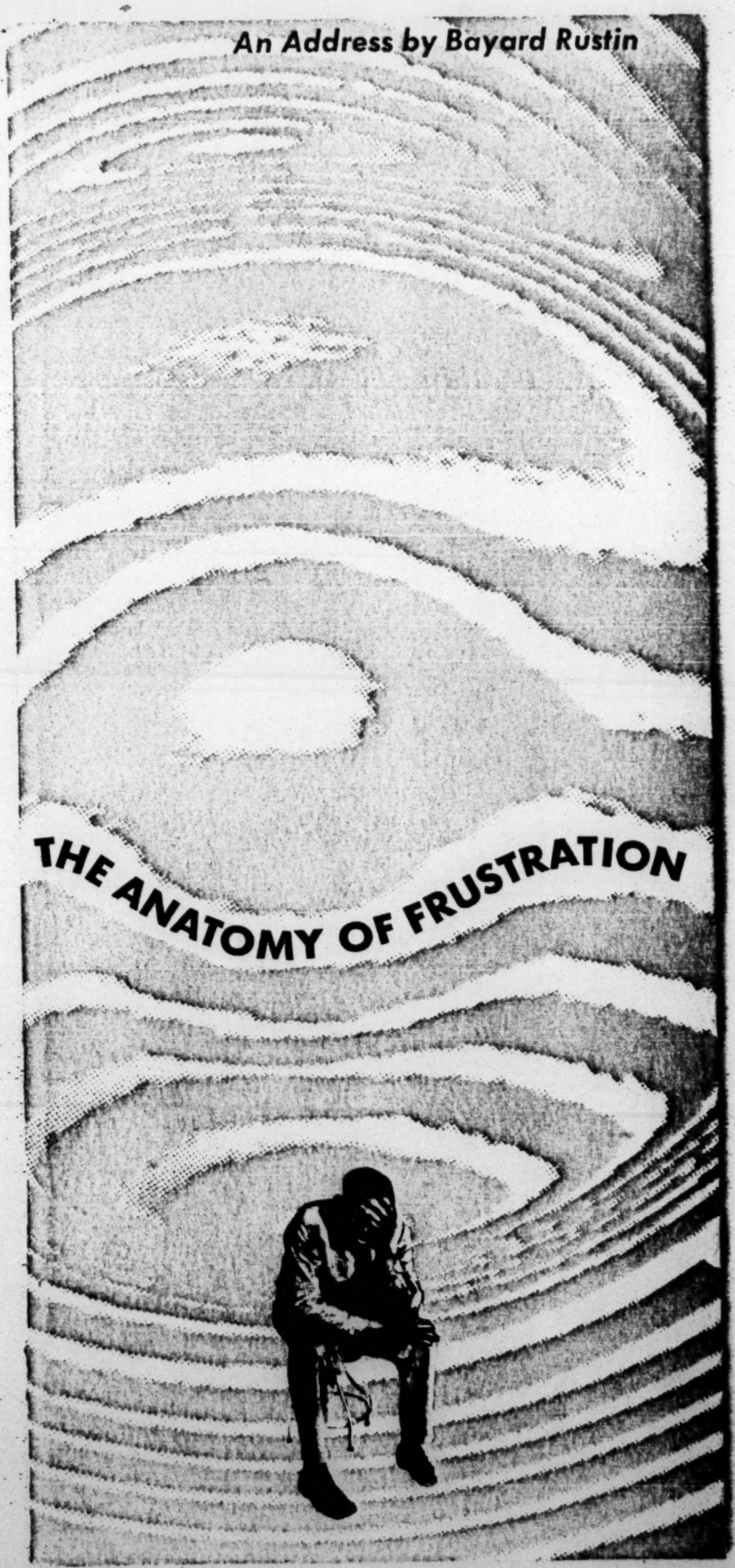
WESTERN UNION

An Address by Bayard Rustin

# THE ANATOMY OF FRUSTRATION



**The Anatomy of Frustration**
*An address delivered by*
**Bayard Rustin,** *director of the*
*A. Philip Randolph Institute,*
*at the 55th National Commission Meeting*
*of the Anti-Defamation League*
*of B'nai B'rith.*
*May 6, 1968, New York, N.Y.*

The United States is in a crisis, a deep moral crisis—and I speak with a heavy heart.

Many younger Negroes today, in deep frustration, sincerely, gropingly, tragically, have adopted many of the negative and degrading concepts which have brutalized and enslaved them, believing somehow that these concepts can achieve freedom for them.

We must try to analyze the problem.

We would be mistaken to think that the only desire of young Negroes today is to have a job, to have a decent house, to be well-educated, to have medical care. All of these things are very important, but deeper and more profound is the feeling of young Negroes today—through all classes, from the *lumpenproletariat* to the working poor, the working classes, the middle classes and the intelligentsia—that the time has come when they are demanding recognition of their dignity and that the time has come when they should have power, a voice in the solution of problems which affect their lives. Every Negro in the nation could be provided with decent housing, jobs, education, medical care, and we would still have a revolt on our hands because Negroes want, deeply and sincerely, to share in the decision-making process.

The tragedy is that those who are in deepest revolt are not only responding to the frustrations of their objective situation, but more fundamentally to the morality of a society which is teaching them that violence is the only effective force for social change. This society is systematically teaching them that it will respond only to tactics of desperation and violence.

This is not only true for Negroes. Many of us have been concerned for years about Columbia University taking all the land around its Harlem site and running people out of their homes to build high-rise structures exclusively for white people. We warned Columbia officials that a problem would occur. But the great educators at Columbia did not respond to our pleas. They waited until 200 students, using the tactics of desperation, closed down the University. Then they were ready to talk. Then they were ready to discuss whether there ought to be a building where Columbia students, predominantly white, would enter from the top into one gym and where Negroes from Harlem would enter at the bottom of the same structure into a separate gym. One should have known that such separated facilities would create problems.

Or, let us take another example. In Chicago, young Negroes went out into the street because they had no air conditioning, because their apartments had three and four times too many people. They could endure it in the winter but in the summer they could not. And so the kids went out and turned on the fire hydrants and the police came and beat their heads and there was a riot. And then came the tragic lesson that violence is indeed a force for social change: The Mayor of Chicago, failing to meet the basic social and political needs of the people, responded by riding through the ghetto distributing eight dollar sprinklers for the fire hydrants. In addition, he promised them two swimming pools.

Or, in New York where A. Philip Randolph and I had for five years tried to get the police department to upgrade Negro patrolmen: We urged that a Negro be made head of the police force in Harlem for psychological reasons. It was not done. But two weeks after the riot in 1964, they upgraded a Negro lieutenant, made him a captain, and put him in charge of the Central Harlem Precinct. I then received a letter from a youth group saying, "You and Randolph failed. You should roll over and get the hell out of the way for your methods don't work. *We* upgraded a Negro policeman with sticks and stones and Molotov cocktails."

So this is the lesson we are teaching—that when the liberal forces of this nation join in coalition and urge that something be done, they are ignored. But that when people riot something is done. While basic needs are not met, minor and often insignificant concessions are made.

Negro women in Watts making $55 and $60 a week as maids were spending up to twenty-six of those dollars getting taxis from the Negro ghetto to the white homes where they worked because no one had provided a transportation system for Watts. When Martin Luther King and I went to Watts and told the young Negroes they must put an end to rioting, that it was destroying their own community, they said: "Go back where you came from. We are winning." One of them lit a match, held it up, and said: "This is our manifesto and it's winning." And he went on to say that if you went out into the streets you would find sociologists, economists, city planners, hospital experts, transportation experts, "all there because of our manifesto." The fact is that there were groups in Watts before that riot which had urged the city to do something about conditions. They were ignored.

The action for dealing with the problem of justice must come quickly, and before more rioting, lest we further teach people that the only viable method of social change is an act of desperation.

What I know, and what you ought to know, is the tragedy of a society which will not make basic changes but will make promises and token concessions—so long as the rioting goes to point X. But when it reaches X plus one, we are all in trouble, for then there will be the most vigorous repression. Then there will be vigilantism. Even more important, you cannot repress one-tenth of the population, no matter how badly elements of it behave, without threatening the civil liberties of everyone in the nation. Where there are not civil liberties, we cannot make social progress. That I believe is the problem before us.

What must be understood is the anatomy of frustration, and here is where the Jewish problem can be put into focus. I am not one who goes about apologizing for or explaining away Negro anti-Semitism. It is here, it is dangerous, it must be rooted out. We cannot say it is somehow different or not really important. We cannot sweep it under the rug. What we can and had better do is to understand it if we are in fact to deal with it.

The first thing about those who are frustrated is that their frustration causes them to adopt a psychology, an economics, and a sociology which are frustrated. It goes like this: The United States is no longer viable. All institutions must be destroyed and new ones established. Negroes are never going to get their rights.

The death of Dr. Martin Luther King spurred that philosophy to its logical conclusion. Take what Stokely Carmichael is reported to have said: "If they wanted to brutalize a black man, why didn't they get me or Rap Brown. We're the really dangerous ones to this social order. The fact that they got King indicates that Negroes will never get anything in this society and they are out to exterminate us all."

So the first point of the frustrated is that the society is not viable. Secondly, if the society is not viable, then no program needs to be projected because to project a program is to fool the masses of Negroes. So they viciously attack the Freedom Budget put forth by A. Philip Randolph. To them Randolph and I became the major enemies because we were putting forth a program, and to put forth a program, when you know nothing will move, is dishonest.

Thirdly, if the nation is not viable, and no program is needed, then all those people who have worked over the years for civil rights and are still working for integration into this society become the enemy. Not the Ku Klux Klan, not the John Birch Society, but those closest to you.

This is what Jews need to understand: That in the list of whom you attack, those you love come first. You attack those you expected something from. You attack those who have in fact carried the banner. So before King's death, King and his non-violence were the first enemy precisely because he had done the most. The argument went that if after all the bloodshed, the bombings, the tear-gassing, the water-hosing and the dogs, King could not produce real victories, then he had fooled his people, he had exposed them to useless sacrifice. After his death, of course, a new situation was created. Now they had the opportunity to shift gears, to say that the greatest Negro was killed by a white. But when King was alive, it was a different story.

Next in the list of enemies of the frustrated come Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph. They are now the traitors to the cause. I have leaflets in my office in which A. Philip Randolph is threatened. One, with blobs of red paint looking like blood, declares: "Randolph, you are next."

Listed, too, are the liberal community which has fought side by side with us and the Jews who made greater contributions than anybody else in the liberal community. Because of this reverse hate-affection syndrome, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, the liberals, the Jews, the labor leaders who lifted almost two million Negroes out of the *lumpenproletariat* into the working classes, are all bastards now.

The point is that if Jews are under attack by the extreme left in the Negro community, they are in the same basket with Negro leaders and even the most progressive political leadership. Jews are not the only victims of this attack. Jews are not likely to feel better simply because others are also under attack, nevertheless there ought to be an understanding of what the problem really is.

In the anatomy of frustration, the long-time leadership is rejected. But heroes must be found somewhere and so they adopt heroes of foreign revolutions—not because they believe in the philosophy of their heroes, but because they want to adopt the extreme tactics that they believe have worked for those heroes. Thus, Che Guevara, Mao Tse Tung, Castro and Fanon become heroes. This doesn't make the militants Communists. It means, rather, that they are so desperate for new methods that they reach into completely different kinds of situations hoping that those tactics can be applied here. Of course, they cannot be.

The tactics of the frustrated, or the anatomy of frustration, are that the only thing left to do, since the society is not viable and program is unrealistic, is to give everybody hell, to denounce everybody and to call for revolt.

Consider the question of the Jew in the ghetto. Nothing that I say is justification for anti-Semitism for I know that in a situation where anti-Semitism exists, none of us is safe. Anti-Semitism must be rooted out. We have, however, an obligation to try to understand Negro anti-Semitism without excusing it.

If you happen to be an uneducated, poorly trained Negro living in the ghetto, and particularly if you live by your wits selling numbers, selling dope, engaging in prostitution, then you only see four kinds of white people. One is the policeman, the second is the businessman, the third is the teacher, and the fourth is the welfare worker. In many cities, three of those four are predominantly Jewish. Except for the policeman, the majority of the businessmen, the majority of the teachers, the majority of the welfare workers are Jewish. Here again is the hate-love syndrome.

Ninety percent of the crime that Negroes commit is against other Negroes in the ghetto. Negroes, therefore, both hate and depend on policemen. To have to depend on someone you dislike and who often brutalizes you is ghastly.

Then comes the businessman. Many ghetto Negroes know nothing about capitalization. The fact is, if you walk up 125th Street you will see what they say you will see—a television set that sells in department stores for $79.50 costs $132 in Harlem. But the ghetto dweller does not calculate that the department store is able to sell the TV set at $79.50 because he has made a considerable down payment, and is required to finish payments within one year; while in the ghetto he is often given, with no down payment, three or four years in which to pay. He often does not understand that as the length of time for payment is increased, the interest is increased. He does not always understand that only such long-term capitalization makes it possible for him to have a TV set at all.

Many people are kept alive for three and four weeks at a time by local businessmen who let them pile up the debt until they hit the numbers or something and can pay for what they bought. But if you hit the numbers once in a year and have to give most of the money to the groceryman for things you have already eaten, when there are still more things you need, you hate him for taking your money even though you know it belongs to him.

The thing to understand is that the chief characteristic of every ghetto and of every major poor area is that people operate on the principle of immediate gratification. If you have little money, you operate on immediate gratification. You don't buy a sheet until the sheet is torn. You don't buy salt until you're at dinner and the salt runs out. Nobody can save up enough money to take advantage of a sale. You've got to get it when you can—and the tragedy here is that the need to live always on the principle of immediate gratification can be sometimes frightening.

A young fellow I got a job for came to see me a week after receiving his first two weeks pay. He came to thank me for the job and to show me what he had bought for himself. He had gone into a store on 125th Street when he had $125 for his two weeks' work and had paid $67.50 for a pair of alligator shoes.

Now, this may shock you, but if you have never had anything but sneakers, and even those with holes in them, and day after day you've been walking past the shoe store seeing something beautiful, then to pay that amount for it may be uneconomical but it is psychologically understandable. He held those shoes to his breast waiting for me to rave about how beautiful they were. And I did. I knew that at a later time I would have to talk to him about the wise use of money, but I wasn't going to destroy his moment of immediate gratification, which was for him a moment of great beauty.

Next comes the teacher. She's Jewish. In the ghetto one does not analyze that the Board of Education and the whole system is corrupt, that no matter how much that teacher wants to teach she cannot teach in those conditions. One does not bother to analyze that it is not the teacher's fault that the child had no breakfast, and may not have lunch, that he may have to go to the poolroom to bum money for potato chips and an orange soda and that that may be all he eats that day. How can you teach that child? How can you teach children when you have forty in a class and two disruptive children who need psychiatric care? To the ghetto mother, there is the teacher and she is Jewish. And she doesn't think the Jewish teacher cares whether her child gets to learn or not.

Then you come to the welfare worker. If you know anything about welfare you know that spying is part of the system. To sneak around on weekends to find out if there are men's shoes or pants hanging in the closets, whether a man has been in the house for the weekend, is part of the job. One method by which the relief rolls are decreased is on the basis of finding a man in the house.

We must get at these problems not on the basis of urging people merely to change their attitudes or of misinterpreting the Kerner Report on civil disorders. That report didn't say that Americans are racist. If it did, the only answer would be to line everybody up, all 200 million of us, line up 200,000 psychiatrists, and we'd all lie on couches for the first ten years trying to understand the problem and the next ten years learning how to deal with it. All over the country people are beating their breasts crying *mea culpa*—"I'm so sorry that I am a racist"—which means, really, that they want to cop out because if racism is to be solved on an individual psychological basis, then there is little hope.

What the Kerner Report was really saying was that the *institutions* of America brutalize not only the Negro but also whites who are not racists, and who in many communities have to use racist institutions. When it's put on that basis, we know that the fundamental problem is not sitting around examining our innards, but getting out and fighting for institutional change.

I am all in favor of Jewish businessmen doing what they can to find a job here and there for the Negro. That's very commendable. But if the choice were between putting energy into finding a job here or there for a Negro as against putting the weight of the affluent Jewish businessman behind fundamental social change in which the government becomes the employer of first and last resort for the hard-core poor, then I would propose the latter choice. The problem is that neither individuals nor the private sector of the economy has, or can take, the responsibility for full employment in American society. This is the responsibility of all segments of the society and thus, finally, the government.

The Negro and the poor can only be lifted out of poverty when the government takes the responsibility for creating work for those that the private sector can no longer use, given the impact of automation and cybernation. American business will not buy sheer muscle power. The sale of muscle power began to diminish when sweatshops began to disappear. American capital is not going to put the under-educated back to work; the society must collectively do that. I am all for private enterprise doing what it can, but there are extreme limitations.

For example, we need a national land-use policy. We're not going to find homes for the poor until we have a national land-use policy, as well as a national migration policy. There is all the talk about urban crisis while in Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama, Negroes are being run off the farms and being forced into Chicago, St. Louis and New York. We will never catch up so long as the present farm policy continues to drive them into the cities. The more of them that we find homes for, the more come in. One-half million Negroes are leaving the South annually, coming to New York, Chicago and other ghettos—one-half million coming in while only about 30,000 per year are going out of the ghettos into the suburbs. For those who don't take the trouble to find out, that is how the ghettos grow larger, with more frustration and more despair.

Here are some of the things we are going to have to do in order to deal with white fear and Negro frustration. We're going to have to have a $2 minimum wage in this country. And if there are small businessmen frightened by that, let me reassure them that I am for government subsidization of those who cannot afford to pay just as the government subsidizes millionaire railway men and millionaire farmers with price supports. Why not the small businessman if he can't afford to pay?

We are going to have to have public works to put these people back to work and to do it without a lot of talk about pre-training. These people don't have to be pre-trained. All they need to know is that there is a job. John Dewey said that a man learns by doing. I want to go Dewey one better—we must put these people to work learning while doing, and while being paid. In World War II we did not ask whether people were too black, or too old, or too young, or too stupid. We simply said to them this is a hammer, this is a tool, this is a drill. We built factories and sent these people into the factories. We paid them extraordinarily good wages and in two months they created the miracle of making planes that flew. We can find a peacetime method for doing this. And the method is in public works —for all the schools, all the hospitals, all the psychiatric clinics, all the new modes of transportation, of cleaning the air, of cleaning the rivers. All of these improvements would benefit not only the poor but also the affluent. Furthermore, for those who cannot work because they are too young, too old, too sick, or who are female heads of large families, we must have guaranteed incomes. In addition, we must have free medical care and we must pay a salary to those capable of going through school. Beyond this we must see that the ghettos with their high density of people per room cannot be improved. We must create new towns and destroy the ghettos, providing work through construction and human services to humans. Nothing short of this will be effective.

These programs will cost us $18.5 billion a year beyond the present level of expenditure and that money can come from the Gross National Product. But I want to assure businessmen again—these people are not going to sit on the money when they get it. They're going to act like Americans. They're going to go out and buy all the junk that is advertised, thereby raising the GNP, raising the economic production and growth of the country, and fundamentally adding to the economic stability of the nation.

The way things are now, we are twice damned. We are paying $15 billion a year for the support and misdeeds of those who cannot find work and end up in prison or on welfare. If they are provided with work and improve the economy, then we have additional growth plus the $15 billion we are now paying for keeping them on welfare and in jail.

For the things which must be done, I request the understanding, the cooperation and the aid of Jews. I do so knowing that there is Negro anti-Semitism and knowing how Jews must feel when they hear some Negro extremists talk. To hear these young Negroes spouting material directly from *Mein Kampf* must bring up terrible memories, shocking inner turmoil. But in times of confusion, I recommend to Jews what I do for myself in times of confusion. I go back and read the Jewish prophets, fundamentally Isaiah and Jeremiah. And I want you to know that if every Jew in the United States—not just a minority of extremists—called me a black nigger and said we don't need you to speak out against anti-Semitism in Poland, we can handle it ourselves, I would not stop speaking out against anti-Semitism in Poland. I would continue to speak because I could do no other, because Isaiah and Jeremiah have taught me to be against injustice wherever it is, and first of all in myself. There is a moral problem in abandoning the fight against injustice merely because less than two percent of the Negroes in this country are engaging in anti-Semitism. It is a problem which Isaiah and Jeremiah would be the first to point out and it may even be a cop out for those Jews who have other reasons for wanting to abandon the struggle. I urge Jews to be aware of that and at the same time to remember that the issue never was, and never can be, simply a problem of Jew and gentile or black and white. The problem is man's inhumanity to man and must be fought from that basic principle regardless of race or creed.

Jews ought not to fall into a trap. They have The Book. They've had the books. There is no more stirring story anywhere in the world, no more important philosophy in history, than can be found in Judaism. Everything is there, but it must be read. It must be remembered, too, that there were problems at the turn of the century when German Jews living in New York were distressed when Eastern Jews began to come in in large numbers. The term Eastern *Yidden* was used by those German Jews as if it meant nigger. Jews must remember their past history when they consider the militance and anti-Semitism among some young Negroes today. We must get on with the fight for a coalition of labor forces, of religious forces, of businessmen, of liberal and civil rights groups standing together. White fear, Negro frustration, and anti-Semitism will disappear not because we rail against them but because we bring about a social and economic program to neutralize them.

What is truly at stake is whether we can band together in a great political movement beyond party to bring about the socialization of this nation where it needs to be socialized, or whether we are going to permit the nation which we love to be torn asunder in a race war in which people who don't want to be on either side may be forced to take sides. That is our problem. That is our challenge. And I hope that the Jewish people, who have been among the staunchest liberal forces in this society, will continue to be a part of the coalition of forces necessary to meet this challenge.

# THE REBELLION

by Bayard Rustin

There is no longer any denying that this country is in the throes of an historic national crisis. Its ramifications are so vast and frightening that even now, shocked into numbness and disbelief, the American people have not yet fully grasped what is happening to them.

The grim data are clear enough, and still coming in. Since this summer began, thirty of our cities, big and small, have been wracked by racial disorder; scores of citizens, almost all of them black, have been killed, thousands injured, and even more arrested. Property damage has exceeded a billion dollars; total income loss is incalculable.

As a people we are not unacc~~o~~ustomed to violence. Frontier lawlessness, Southern vigilantism, Chicago gangsterism: These are images and themees imbedded in the American tradition. We have only just lost a President to an assassin's bullet. But, having escaped the bombs of two world wars, we are not ~~accustomed to~~ familiar with the horror of burned-out buildings, smoking rubble, tanks in our streets, the blasts of Molotov cocktails, the ring of snipers' bullets from rooftops. Today we look at sections of Detroit and think of war-torn Berlin. We see rampaging, looting mobs and think of the unstable politics of underdeveloped countries. A nation's identity has been overturned.

In our own history we can find no precedent in this century for the massive destruction the past three years have brought to our cities -- no precedent since the Civil War. But the greatest toll is not in property damage or even in lives lost. And the greatest danger to the country is not that the violence will go on indefinitely, any more than the Civil War did. It is that the aftermath of that war will be repeated, that as in 1877 the Compromise of the country will turn its back on the Negro, on the root causes of his discontent, on its own democratic ~~failure~~ future. Not since the Great Depression have social policy, our national institutions, our political order been more severely tested than at present. The coming months will shape the character of American in the remainder of the Twentieth Century -- and I am trying to speak with the utmost sobriety, precision, and restraint.

Why does the Republic find itself at a crossroads? What has actually happened?

## II.

The term "race riot" is unilluminating and anachronistic. It describes the Detroit disorders of 1943, when the Negro and white communities were locked in combat. White mobs invaded the ghetto: Negroes forayed downtown. Men were beaten and murdered for the color of their skins. In the upheavals of the last four summers, destruction has been confined to the ghetto; nor, discounting the police, were black and white citizens fighting. In fact, in Detroit whites joined in the looting and sniping. And I am told that whites were free to walk through the embattled ghetto without fear of violence from Negroes.

This is not to deny the importance of anti-white hostility. One has only to hear the sick racial epithats "honkey" and "whitey" to recognize the deep and bitter hatred that is loose on the streets of the ghettos. But if white blood was what the rioters thirsted for, they didn't go very far to get it. What they assaulted instead were the symbols of white power -- police and property, the latter embracing the entire ghetto. These are traditional targets of rebellions, and in that sense the riots can be called rebellions.

That sense, however, must be sharply qualified. Is it correct to speak of "Race Rebellion", of "Negro Rebellion"? Are America's Negroes on the verge of revolution? More than one newspaper and television commentator has already begun to draw comparisons between the ghetto uprisings and the French, Russian, Algerian, Irish and Black African independence revolutions. Some "Black Power" advocates have proclaimed the beginnings of guerilla warfare and see the urban Negro as a counterpart to the Vietcong. And in Paris it has become fashionable to speak of the "revolution des noires" in the U.S.

The reality is that the revolutionary rhetoric now employed by some young Negro militants cannot create the preconditions for successful, or even authentic revolution. The independence movement in colonial territories provide no model for the simple reason that American Negroes can have no geographical focus for nationalist sentiment. Even among "extremists" there is no significant support for a "back-to-Africa" movement; nor is there, as in earlier decades, a call for a separate nation within the Black Belt states.

The demand for "black control" of the ghettos -- a central ingredient of the "Black Power" slogans -- despite its nationalist flavor, and even if it were achieved, would not lead to economically viable political units.

Moreover, American Negroes do not constitute a popular majority struggling against a relatively small white colonial ruling group -- the ideal condition for guerilla warfare. Whatever separatist impulses exist among American Negroes cannot find appropriate models in the colonial world.

If independence revolutions are no model, what of social revolutions? This is a more interesting subject because the phrase "social revolution" has been widely used by the civil rights and liberal movements generally. But in this sense -- and the sense in which I have been using it for thirty years -- the term designates fundamental changes in social and economic class relations resulting from mass political action. Such action ~~wpi,d~~ would be ~~de,peratoc~~ democratic -- that is, it would aim to create a new majority coalition capable of exercising political power in the interest of new social policies. By definition the coalition had to be interracial.

As a minority, Negroes by themselves cannot bring about such a social revolution. They can participate in it as a powerful and stimulating force; or they can provoke a counter-revolution. In either case the decisive factor will be the political direction in which the majority will move.

Numbers is not the only issue. Also important is the class content of revolt. At least in the classic examples -- e.g., the French and Russian revolutions -- revolutionary leaders and parties sought to mobilize fairly definable and cohesive socio-economic classes -- the workers, the peasants, the middle classes -- classes which, though oppressed or aggrieved, were part of the society they sought to transform. Upon what classes do the advocates of rioting, the voices of apocolypse, base their revolutionary perspective? This is another way of posing the question I left hanging earlier: who is rioting?

## III.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is correct in locating the riots in the "lower class" -- or, in the words of another controversial man, Karl Marx, in the "lumpenproletariat" or "slum proletariat." Lower class does not mean working class; the distinction is often overlooked in a middle-class culture that tends to lump the two together.

The distinction was also important to Marx -- and to a succession of revolutionists and sociologists alike. The working class is employed; it has a relation to the production of goods and services; much of it is organized in unions; it enjoyes a measure of cohesion, discipline and stability lacking in the "lower class." The latter is unemployed or marginally employed; it is relatively unorganized, incohesive, unstable; it contains the petty criminal and anti-social elements. Above all, unlike the working class, it lacks the sense of a stake in society. When the slum protetariat is black, its alienation is even greater.

From the revolutionist point of view, the question is not whether steps could be taken to strengthen organization among the lumpen/proletariat but whether that group could be a central agent of social transformation. Generally, the answer has been no.

The black slum proletariat has been growing in numbers and density. As agricultural mechanization and other factors continue pushing Negroes out of the South, the urban ghettos expand each year by half a million; only 40,000 Negroes annually find their way into the suburbs. This trend has not been affected at all by any anti-poverty or Great Society programs.

When the migration of Negroes to Northern and Western cities was at its height during World War II, there were factory jobs available for them at decent wages. With the advent of advanced technology eliminating many semiskilled and unskilled jobs and with the movement of plants from the central cities to the suburbs (New York lost 200,000 factory jobs in a decade), urban Negroes suffered rising joblessness or employment in low-paying service jobs.

The depth of the unemployment problem in the slum ghettos is indicated in a recent Department of Labor report on "sub-employment" in U.S. cities and slums. While the traditional unemployment rate counts only those "actively looking" but unable to find work, the sub-employment index reflects in addition: 1) those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair, 2) those working part-time but wanting full-time jobs, 3) heads of households under 65 working full-time but earning poverty wages (less than $60 a week), 4) individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than $56 a week in full-time jobs, and 5) a conservatively estimated portion of males known to be living in the slums but who somehow do not show up in employment or unemployment counts.

The report states: "If the traditional statistical concept of 'unemployment' (which produced the nationwide average of a 3.7% unemployment rate for January 1967) is applied to the urban slum situation, the *'unemployment rate' in these areas is about ten percent...three times the average for the rest of the country*." [Original italics.] The figure for Detroit's Central Woodward area, incidentally, is 10.1%.

The sub-employment rate in the ten cities surveyed, however, yields a figure of 33.97%. Here is a breakdown of the ten areas surveyed, contrasting the traditional unemployment rate with the subemployment rate:

| | Unemployment Rate (%) | Subemployment Rate (%) |
|---|---|---|
| East Harlem | 9.0 | 33.1 |
| Central Harlem | 8.1 | 28.6 |
| Bedford-Stuyvesant | 6.2 | 27.6 |
| Boston (Roxbury) | 6.9 | 24.2 |
| New Orleans | 10.00 | 45.3 |
| Philadelphia | 11.0 | 34.2 |
| Phoenix | 13.2 | 41.7 |
| St. Louis | 12.9 | 38.9 |
| San Antonio | 8.1 | 47.4 |
| San Francisco | 11.1 | 24.6 |

The sub-employment rate, though possibly in need of further refining, is the more meaningful figure. Not only does it include the categories listed above but in so doing it tends to reflect the number of people who experience unemployment over a period of time; by contrast, the official rate counts those unemployed at a point in time (i.e., the time the survey is taken).

In addition, I suspect that the new yardstick ~~will not be so~~ is less sensitive to temporary changes in the labor market, or to ad hoc governmental programs. If a person who was unemployed gets ajob at $55 a week, the traditional index just switches him from the unemployed to the employed column -- and lo! he's just like the rest of us. The sub-employment rate tends to embrace those who hover on the edges of unemployment and poverty, on the boundaries of the slum proletariat.

High unemployment and low income are not the only problems afflicting the black slum proletariat, but they are the crucial ones. Without adequate income, there is no access to the decent housing market, to educational opportunity, even to proper health care. (In 1964 East and Central Harlem, comprising 24% of Manhattan's population, accounted for 40% of its TB deaths, 33% of its infant deaths; in Bedford-Stuyvesant, 9% of Brooklyn's population, the respective figures were 24% and 22%).

It is true that ~~in addition to~~ besides inadequate income, the ghettos suffer from a shortage of quality educational, medical and other social services. But it is a mistake to create a multitude of disparate problems out of a central multifaceted one -- the

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tendency of much current anti-poverty rhetoric. It is precisely in the expansion of public facilities and social services that new employment opportunities can be generated, at varying skill levels. High subemployment rates and the lack of decent housing and public services in the slums are two sides of the same coin.

Meanwhile, within the slum proletariat, youth constitutes a subdivision of increasing economic and political importance. While according to the official unemployment rates the joblessness gap between Negro and white men over 20 has been narrowing since 1961, even this official rate records a widening of the gap between Negro and white teenagers since 1957. In 1954, the year of the Supreme Court decision, 15% of Negro teenagers were out of work; in 1961 it was 25%; in 1963, 28%. Right now it is still at 25% nationally -- but for 16 - 19 year olds in the ten slum areas surveyed, it is over 38%! Moreover, this rate was unaffected by the downward trend of the nation's overall unemployment rate late last year. For white teenagers, on the other hand, unemployment since 1957 never went beyond 15% and is now at 10%.

Nor is there any evidence that Negro teenagers do not want to work. Whenever job programs have been announced ~~announced~~, they have turned out in large numbers, often to find that the jobs weren't there. In Oakland, a "Job Fair" attracted 15,000 people; only 250 were placed. In Philadelphia, 6,000 were on a waiting list for a training program.

What Negro teenagers are not inclined to accept are dead-end jobs that pay little and promise no advancement or training. Many would prefer to live by their wits as hustlers or petty racketeers -- their version of the self-employed businessman or salesman. That their pursuit of this distorted entrepreneurial ideal only mires them deeper in the slum proletariat is not the point; they want to be part of the white-collar organization man's world that is America's future, not trapped behind brooms and pushcarts. Nor can they fairly be blamed by a society which has itself produced these yearnings, reveled in its affluence, encouraged the consumption of trivia, and proclaimed the coming of computerized utopias. The middle classes may nostalgically extol their immigrant parents' fortitude and perseverance in manual labor, but they do not steer their own children toward the garment district. They show them the push buttons, not the push cart. Might they not then show some compassionate understanding of black youngsters who dream of better things even when crippled by poor education, broken families and the disabilities bred by slum life. If it is true that a Negro boy is nobody unless he owns alligator shoes and an alpaca sweater, who created these symbols? Who whetted ~~his~~ this appetite? Who profited from the sale of these commodities, and who advertised them? And who is victimized?

The ghetto youth who is out of school, unemployed and rejected even by the draft (as 52% are in Harlem) is an extreme embodiment of the bitter frustration in the slum proletariat. He is utterly propertyless, devoid of experience in the productive process, and without a stake in existing social arrangements. At the same time, because he is young and not beaten down, he is irreverent, filled with bravado, hostile to the alien authority of the police, and determined to "make it" in any way that he can. He is at the core of the rioting.

## IV.

In Detroit, the riot begins when pimps and prostitutes taunt police who are raiding a blind pig at 5:00 A.M. In Minneapolis, two women fight over a wig, the police try to break it up, and a riot erupts in an atmosphere already charged by delays in the mailing of Federal Youth Opportunity Program paychecks to youths in the ghetto area. In Cairo, a Negro soldier dies in the city jail; police say it was suicide but order the body emblamed without an autopsy; fire bombing and shooting follow.

In these cases, the police figure prominently in the incidents that ~~tripped~~ triggered the rioting; sometimes they are not directly involved, but rumors of police brutality flood through the ghetto. Although it may be of some interest to search for a pattern, no very profound purpose is served by concentrating on who struck the match. There are always matches lying around. We must ask why there was also a fuse and why the fuse was connected to a powder keg.

To pursue this analogy: whether the match is struck by police misconduct or by an "extremist" exhorting his listeners to violence, the fuse is the conditions of life among the black slum proletariat, hostile, frustrated and with nothing to lose. The powder keg is the social background against which the riots break out, and which extend their scope.

They become more than riots pure and simple, yet less than politically coherent rebellions; they are riotous manifestations of rebellion.

The social background is defined by the fact that the black slum proletariat is part of a larger community of oppressed and segregated citizens: the overwhelming majority of the Negro population. Were it not for this, the riots could be dismissed merely as wild, inchoate sprees of looting and violence, the expressions of criminal greed, a carnival of destruction to be suppressed by police force. Such actions, detached from political policies, programs and goals -- and make no mistake about it: The riots were not on behalf of the "Black Power" ideology; the latter is an after-the-fact justification employed by people in search of a constituency -- do not properly constitute a rebellion. But because of the social background, the riots, while not the rebellion of the Negro people are charged with manifestations of rebellion.

It is because of this background that the riots can fan out from the slum proletariat and, as Detroit showed, suck in people who ordinarily would not be found looting stores. It is because of this background that snipers and the most violent elements can feel that their actions are in some sense heroic, that they are winning manhood by carrying out deeds that the rest of the community cannot oppose. And it is because of this background that the riots have enormous implications for the future of all Negroes.

As Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young pointed out in their recent statement, the most severe and immediate damage has been to the Negro communityitself. In addition to those who have lost their lives, thousands have lost their homes, food supplies, access to schools, There is a danger of a counter-reaction enlisting the most bigoted, viglante-minded elements in the community. Ammunition has been given to the reactionaries in an already backlash-dominated Congress. Many whites sincerely in favor of integration will be silenced out of fear and confusion. Riots do not strengthen the power of black people; they weaken it and encourage racist power.

But why, asks white America, do the Negroes riot now -- not when conditions are at their worst but when they seem to be improving. Why now, after all of the civil rights and anti-poverty legislation? There are two answers.

First, the "progress" has been considerably less than is generally supposed. While the Negro has won certain important legal and constitutional rights (voting, desegregation of public accommodations, etc.), his relative socio-economic position has scarcely improved. His unemployment rate is still astronomical; his housing situation is, if anything, worsening; his children still receive inferior educations in slum schools whose de facto segregation rates are rising. There simply has not been significant, visible change in his life.

The second answer is that if a society is interested in stability, it should either not make promises or it should keep them. It should keep its downtrodden utterly befeft of hope or it should fulfill that hope. For in itself, economic and social ~~social~~ deprivation, if accepted by its victims as their lot in life, breeds passivity, even docility. The miserable yield to their fate as divinely ordained or as their own fault. And indeed, many Negroes in earlier generations felt that way.

Today young Negroes aren't having any of this. They don't share the feeling that something must be wrong with them -- that they are responsible for their own exclusion from this affluent society. The civil rights movement -- indeed the whole liberal trend beginning with Kennedy's election -- has told them otherwise.

The conservatives will undoubtedly seize on this for an attack on the Great Society, liberalism, the welfare state, and Lyndon Johnson. But the young Negroes are right; the promises made to them were good and necessary; the youth were right to believe in them; the only trouble is that they were not fulfilled. Prominent Repubicans and Dixiecrats, now in their cruelest hour, are demanding, not that the promises be fulfilled, but that they be revoked.

What they and the American people absolutely must understand now is that the promises cannot be revoked. They were not made to a handful of leaders in White House drawing rooms; they were made to an entire generation, one not likely to forget, or to forgive. If Messrs. Dirkson and Ford, hand in glove with the die-hards of the Confederacy, continue their contemptible effort to exploit the nation's tragedy for partisan political advantage, they will sow the dangerous seeds of race hate; and they will discredit themselves morally in the eyes of the coming generations and of history. This is not a wise policy for a party that only yesterday reduced itself to a shambles by catering to the most backward and reactionary elements in the country.

## V.

It is ironic that in a nation which has not undertaken a massive social and economic reform since the New Deal, one now hears even liberal voices asking: "Don't the causes of the riots go deeper than economics, than jobs, housing, schools? Aren't there profound moral, cultural, psychological and other factors involved -- powerlessness, an identity crisis?"

Of course there are, but in the present context such questions smack of a trend toward mystification, which if it gains accendency will paralyze public policy. Too, I cannot help but suspect that it is a rationalization for the yearning of some white liberals to withdraw. "Obviously," they seem to be saying, "There seems to be nothing we can do. We're not even wanted. Why not give the ghettos over to the 'Black Power' people."

I have no hesitation in saying that this recommendation simply aids and abets the Congressional reactionaries. They would have no objection to letting Negroes run their own slum tenements, dilapidated schools, and tax-starved communities.

Isn't this in the best tradition of rugged self-help, Horation Alger and all that? Haven't Barry Goldwater and William F. Buckley endorsed this notion of "Black Power"? Just so long as white people are left alone. Just so long as the total society is not forced to examine its own inner contradictions. Just so long as the Federal Government isn't challenged to launch radical and massive programs to rebuild our cities, to end poverty, to guarantee full employment at decent wages, to clear our polluted air and water, to provide mass transportation, and so forth.

This is just the challenge posed by A. Philip Randolph's $185 billion "Freedom Budget for All Americans" -- a carefully designed, economically feasible program for the obliteration of poverty in ten years. Unless the nation is ~~programmed~~ prepared to move along these lines -- to rearrange its priorities, to set a timetable for achieving them, and to allocate its resources accordingly -- it will not be taking its own commitments seriously.

The present Administration has a grave responsibility. It is very well for it to proclaim that we can have guns and butter -- that we can pursue our part in Vietnam and still make progress at home. We do have the economic capacity for both, as the Freedom

Budget itself shows. But we are not doing both. Let us stop proclaiming that we can do what we don't do and start doing it.

If Administration actions are not to mock its own rhetoric, the President must now take the lead in mobilizing public opinion behind a new resolve to meet the crisis in our cities. He should now put before Congress a National Emergency Public Works and Reconstruction bill aimed at building housing for homeless victims of the riot-torn ghettos, repairing damaged public facilities, and in the process generating maximum employment opportunities for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Such a bill should be the first step in the reconstruction of all our decaying center cities.

Admitedly, the prospects for such a bill's passage in the present Congress are dismal. It will cry out that the rioters must not be rewarded -- thereby further penalizing the very victims of the riots. This, after all, is a Congress capable of defeating a meagre $40 million rat extermination program while in the same week it votes $10 million for a fish acquarium in the District of Columbia.

But the racial meanness and inhuman callousness which have descended upon this Congress, already dominated by the revived coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats, must be challenged, not accommodated to. The President must go directly to the people, as Harry Truman did in 1948. He must go to them, not with slogans, but with a timetable for tearing down every slum in the country.

There can be no further delay. The daydreamers and utopians are not those of us who have prepared massive Freedom Budgets and similar programs; They are the smugly "practical" and myopic philistines in the Congress, the State Legislatures and the City Halls who thought they could sit it out. The very practical choice now before them and the American people is whether we shall have a genuine and democratic social revolution or more tragic riots that tear our nation to shreds.

# Housing, the Ghetto, and the Urban Crisis

by

Bayard Rustin

In the coming weeks and months we can reasonably expect a flood of words, written on paper and spoken into tape recorders, on what set off the rioting in our cities. Politicians, sociologists, policemen, social workers and eye witnesses without credentials will p present their versions of the immediate causes. They will look for patterns, parallels, and precedents.

With all due respect to these prospective analysts, I don't intend to wait for their reports. Those of us who have been active in the civil rights movement for years, and have been looking at the world around, already know the underlying causes of the riots. We tend, therefore, not to be distracted by the new twists, but instead continue to focus upon basic problem. I will try in this article to describe what the problem is, suggest ways in which we as a country must deal with it, and propose a more specific program for cooperators in general.

The problem is simple: conditions in the ghetto have been deteriorating. Unemployment remains unconscionably high - especially for teenagers. The U.S. Commissioner of Education recently stated that more Negro youngsters are in segregated schools today than in 1954, the year of the famous supreme court desegregation decision. The housing picture is equally bleak; in fact, urban renewal programs so far have destroyed more low-income housing than they have replaced. According to the 1960 census, there were 9.3 billion seriously deficient housing units. And the slum ghettoes have not been shrinking, but have been growing at the rate of 500,000 inhabitants a year. And while 700,000 of these units have been torn down in the last decade, only 600,000 have been built.

What we have witnessed this summer is not simply the result of increasing misery in the Negro community but also the disintegration of our cities. Therefore, it would be disastrous to view it simply as a "race problem"; it is, in fact, a social and economic problem of staggering proportions. And it will not be solved by scotch tape and band-aids or even anti-riot bills, but only when the nation makes up its mind to establish a clear set of national priorities, to relocate it resources, and to engage in a program of massive social investment.

Let us recall, for a moment, the first period of our struggle, beginning in 1954. The current period may be less heroic but not less tragic; it may be less dramatic but it is far more difficult. In 1954, when the

Supreme Court handed down its historic decision, a great phychological ferment began to take place which was followed by a period of intense direct action. It was a period of many sacrifices. People were killed; people were brutally mistreated and beated. Girls had their hands chopped off and burning cigarettes stuck into their breasts and down their backs. There were bombings in Birmingham and in Montgomery/ Millions of dollars are still tied up in fines and bails, some of which we will get back one day.

Although this was a period of great ac activity, it involved the simplest kind of social action. It was simple for a very good reason: the whole nation was stirred up about the least fundamental, though highly important issue of dignity. I say "least fundamental" because dignity cannot spring simply from civil rights bills. They will help; but finally it is the economic and social nature of our society that determines how much dignity the people will have, how much money they will control and whether or not they will share equitably in the national wealth.

This period of direct action was simple also because our attention was focused basically on the desegregation of public accomodations - swimming pools, restaurants, hotels buses, libraries. And direct action was possible without a single penny being spent by the Federal Government. Withoug a single penny being spent, withoug an act of congress, it was possible to create sufficient dislocation around these institutions, and a few Negroes demonstrating could both destroy the old institutions and create new ones overnight. If enough people rode and rode the buses the bus company would capitulate; if enough people sat and sat at counters, were arrested again and again, then finally, restaurants long before the civil rights bill was passed, would have to integrate. Libraries were closed. Swimming pools were closed. Sooner or later even white people in the south became disgusted with not having these institutions and they opened them up.

So it was possible to destroy the old institutions and public accomodations and to build up new ones simultaneously. About two and a half years ago I wrote an article for Commentary Magazine called "From Protest to Politics." I meant to point out there that the civil rights movement is now faced with totally different problems, problems we had never faced before. Where protest demonstrations in the past had destroyed and created new institutions, demonstrations now could only do one thing: they could merely call attention to the fact that something was wrong. But you cannot demonstrate yourself into a new school system or into full and fair employment or into the destruction; that is a political job, requiring allies, requiring priorities, requiring a great effort among the masses of American people as well as among members of congress. Because of the failure during these last three years to do that job, to build up the necessary coalition, there has resulted great frustration among many Negro intellectuals, the destruction of CORE and SNCC and the emergence of the slogan, "Black Power". Because, also of the failure of the Federal Government to deliver on the promises it made during that early period, there has been increased frustration and despair in the ghetto.

We have recently lost sight of what the main problem is, and have instead discussed many multi-faceted ones. Some people say that housing is the key - as if there was no connection between the snail's pace of housing construction and the unemployment in the construction industry.

Others point to education - as if the building of the 750,000 new classroom units that we need over the next ten years can be built without manpower, or, as if reducing the teacher's load by hiring teacher's aides had no meaning to unemployment in the ghetto.

Still others point to family instability - as if one could not easily show a direct statistical correlation between family instability and male unemployment rates. It has already been remarked that, by and large, the participants in the riots were not employed Negroes, but the Negro "lower class" - what Karl Marx called the "lumpnproletariat" or the slum proletariat. They are a combination of the unemployed, the under-employed, and the marginally employed. They lack not only the discipline and the cohesion of the working class, they also lack a sense of a stake in the society.

The depth of the unemployment problem in the slum ghettoes is indicated in a recent Department of Labor report on "sub-employment" in U.S. Cities and slums. While the traditional unemployment rate counts only those "actively looking" but unable to find work, the sub-employment index reflects, in addition: 1) those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair, 2) those working part-time but wanting full-time jobs, 3) heads of households under 65 working full-time but earning poverty wages (less than $60 a week), 4) individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less $56 a week in full-time jobs, and 5) a conservatively estimated portion of males known to be living in the slums but who somehow do not show up in employment or unemployment counts:

The report states: "If the traditional statistical concept of 'unemployment' (which produced the nationwide average of a 3.7% unemployment rate for January 1967) is applied to the urban slum situation, the 'unemployment'

X rate' in those areas is about ten percent... three times the average for the rest of the country." The figure for Detriot's Central Woodward area, incidentally is 10.1%.

The sub-employment rate in the ten cities surveyed, however, yields a figure of 33.97%. Here is the breakdown:

| | Unemployment Rate (%) | Subemployment Rate (%) |
|---|---|---|
| **East HarEast Harlem** | 9.0 | 33.1 |
| Central Harlem | 8.1 | 28.6 |
| Bedford-Stuyvesant | 6.2 | 27.7 |
| Boston (Roxbury) | 6.9 | 24.2 |
| New Orleans | 10.00 | 45.3 |
| Philadelphia | 11.0 | 34.2 |
| Phoenix | 13.2 | 41.7 |
| St. Louis | 12.9 | 38.9 |
| San Antonio | 8.1 | 47.4 |
| San Francisco | 11.1 | 24.6 |

The sub-employment rate, though possiblyin nee in need of further refining, is more meaningful figure. Not only does it include the categories listed above, but in so doing it tends to reflect the number of people who experience unemployment over a period of time; by contrast, the official rate counts those unemployed at a point in time (i.e., the time the survey is taken).

Meanwhile, within the slum proletariat, youth constitutes a subdivision of increasing economic and political importance. While, according to the official unemployment rates, the joblessness gap between Negro and white men over 20 has been narrowing since 1961, even this official rate records a widening of the gap between Negro and white teenagers since 1957. In 1954, 15% of Negro teenagers were out of work; in 1961 it was 25%; in 1963, 28%. Right now it is still at 25% nationally -- but for 16 - 19 years olds in the ten slum areas surveyed, it is over 38%. Moreover, this rate was unaffected by the downward trend of the nation's overall unemployment rates late last year. For white teenagers, on the other hand, unemployment since 1957 never went beyond 15% and is now at 10%.

High unemployment and low income are not the only problems afflicting the black slum proletariat, but they are the crucial ones. We need a full employment program geared to the satisfactions of our unmet social needs.

Such a program has been embodied in the $185 billion "Freedom Budget for All Americans" -- a ten year plan for the abolition of poverty. In the immediate run, an "Urban Coalition" of labor, civil rights, and business groups has proposed an "Emergency Public Works and Reconstruction" bill to create one million new jobs now at a cost of $4 billion.

Let me turn more specifically to housing as it affects Negroes. "The Freedom Budget for All Americans," which embodies my thinking on the subject, states: "The removal of the slum ghetto which now infect our cities, and of substandard housing inoother areas as well, is the top specialized priority...It is an 'end' priority because slum-living is an ultimate evil in itself, both a cause and a by-product of poverty, and perhaps the main factor is what has been called the "self-perpetuating" nature of poverty. And it is a "means" priority, because rapid expansion of home construction with other outlays which it would spark, can perhaps contribute about half of the 22-27 million new jobs we need by 1975.

"Bad housing is occupied predominantly by the poor. According to the 1960 census, less than 21 percent of all owner-occupied housing in metropolitan areas were unsound. But in the case of occupancy by families with incomes under$$3,000, about 60 percent of the former type of housing and about 34 percent of the latter type were unsound. And among consumer units with incomes under $2.000, it appears that at least 4 our of 5 lived in unsound housing.

"The poor in the main are not getting decent housing because it is not "profitable" to provide it for them. Even with the protection of Government insurance through the Federal Housing Administration, far less than one percent of the new single-family homes are purchased by those with incomes under $4,000. The production of new rental housing for the poor on a "profitable" basis has been even more negligible. And the provision of new housing for the higher income groups does not enable decent housing to be "handed down" to the poor in any substantial volume. The proof positive of this is the amount of substandard housing still in use, and its highly unsatisfactory rate of reduction in recent years...Although our urban renewal efforts have been grossly inadequate, the re-housing of slum dwellers have been crowded into other slums, where they pay even higher rents because of thesshortages thus recated. In a more commendable effort, massive projects to rehouse the poor should be built first and, after they move, the slums they have left should be torn downl..Making our citiessdecent places in which to live would reduce the outflow of the affluent to the suburbs. It would at least slow down the process whereby we are now rapidly becoming two Americas -- with the poor forming increasing proportions of those living in the cities, while others move out. And with the affluent and influential forming a reasonable proportion of the total city population, the cities would have both the means and the will to finance adequately the popular services which are now being starved -- with this starvation aggravating the very poverty which it reflects....

"The replacement of slum ghettoes with new housing for their occupants at an adequate pace would not only make other aspects of urban renewal acceptable, but also augment them greatly. Development of community facilities and public improvements of all types would follow in the wake of the needed housing effort. More would be spent for every commodity which enters into housing and every other urban construction, and for furnishings and equipment within the structures. An annual average of almost 700,000 more housing starts during 1966-1975 than in 1965, or 7 million more for the decade, coupled with extensive rehabilitation and related community improvements, would entail for the decade as a whole about 230 billion dollars more direct investment than would result from maintenance of the 1965 level of housing and related activity. Considering the multiplier effects,the increased spending due to this program over the decade might aggregate 450-560 billion dollars and create 45-65 million man-years of employment, or 4 1/2-6 1/2 million on an average annual basis."

The Freedom Budget does not discuss the quality of housing. But I think there are several things we can be sure of: 1) we cannot continue to build high-rise, concrete prisons that are racially and economically isolated; 2) private industry does not provide the answer to the housing problem because low-cost housing is not profitable; 3) people who are unemployed, underemployed and who live on the margin of poverty cannot see their way clear to invest in condominiums or even cooperative housing.

What then can the members of the United Housing Federation do? They can insist, as they did in Twin Pines Village, that some apartments be federally subsidized for poor people to live in. They can begin a recruitment drive that will attract working and middle class Negroes to cooperative developments.

Negroes have had a bad experience with loans, mortages and credit buying. It has been always difficult for them to negotiate with banks, and unscrupulous salesmen have manipulated many families into long-term buying that involves paying more than three times the worth of a given object.

We therefore cannot depend on brochures and descriptive literature to recruit Negro families. Each new housing development must have at least one staff member assigned to recruiting members of minority communities. That means, speaking before church and fraternal groups, seeking out potential cooperatives, and assisting applicants in the securing of loans.

While cooperative life offers the best alternative for many Negroes, it is still not on the immediate agenda for most. But it is vitally necessary that we integrate those we can into developing buildings while, at the same time, continuing the fight for economically and racially integrated housing, and demanding the passage of the Freedom Budget for All Americans.

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# Racial Tension and the Public Character

by

Bayard Rustin

It is the end of that season in American life again when many people, mostly whites, seem suddenly aware that theyllive in a country plagued by racial tensions. It wouldn't be true to say they were not aware of it all along, since it would be impossible for to spend a week, let alone a lifetime in this society and not be. But they certainly act as if it were a surprising discovery, as if racial tension was a nuisance created exclusively by lawless Negroes, without reason or justification.

One might as well make some obvious points right away. Though Negroes may be the chief barometers of race tension in our society, they are not the chief authors of it, and they certainly are not the ones who have done most to nourish it. The credit for that belongs to white Americans. It is they who sowed the seed of bitterness during slavery and it is they who have refused ever since to restore the full human rights and dignity of Negroes.

I am not ignoring the millions of white Americans who have strongly and consistently supported the restoration of full dignity for black Americans. But they have been, and remain, a small minority. And in spite of their efforts, and in spite of our own, the essential quality of American life, so far as Negroes are concerned, remains one of injustice and indignity.

The majority of white Americans do not seem aware of how deep a responsibility they share for the making and the future breaking of these tensions. One has only to look at the way they respond when the centuries of Negro frustration boils over occasionally into one form of violent behavior or another. From Reconstruction, up through the modern protest movement, right up thethe current period of urban disorder, white society has been more quick to invoke the police power than the remedy of social program. The most recent example of this was the derision and la laughter with which our congressmen greeted proposals for a rat eradication p program in our ghettoes. While they were laughing, the rats were still biting Negro babies and the anger of the black ghettoes was still mounting. This reflected a sickness of spirit and an appaling insensitivity to the degrading conditions in which people live. On the other hand, our lawmakers rushed vigorously to the support of a riot bill aimed specifically at suppressing Negroes.

Nor do the majority of Americans seem aware of how high a place violence occupies in the American spirit. It is the same spirit that raped Africa and brought millions of humans here in chains; that took land away from the Indians by subterfuge, force, and treaties that were not honored; that made the gunman a hero of the national ethos and the national virility; that eradicated the beautiful old animals from the plains; that tolerated gansterism as a national way of life; that gave birth to organizations like the KKK - a white protestant group dedicated to God and country but which perpretrated the most unspeakable atrocities against human beings with black skins. While, in the context his was a destructive statement, this is precisely what Rap Brown meant when he reminded the country that violence was as American as cherry pie.

Not only is the society built on violence, but it also, for these purposes it deems to be in the white interest, tolerates violence. This is one of the distructive marks of the national character. Further, in the face of the unjust social conditions that prevail among Negroes, it has established a framework within which a number of young Negroes respond violently to frustration. This is something the society should not ignore in judging the behavior of young Negroes.

But it does. The tendency is still to condemn Negro violence while ignoring the conditions that lead to Negro violence and while ignoring as well the essential violence of the American spirit. A response of this nature implies clearly that in the eyes of the majority of the society Negroes are the villains rather than the victims, by and large, of American race tensions. It is a response, in other words, that rejects a belief both in the Negro's humanity and in his rights of equal citizenship. It denies white American complicity in the degrading conditions in which Negroes live, and it implies an unwillingness to join in any meaningful attack upon these problems.

Of course, particularly when criticizing the role of the national government in all of this, no one as closely associated with civil rights activities as I have been can ignore the fact that especially over the past six or seven years the Executive Branch of the federal government has moved with vigor and concern against some of the historic roadblocks to Negro freedom. Yet, as commendable as have been the efforts of President Kennedy and those of President Johnson (before he gave highest priority to the problems of the Vietnamese) no assault has yet been made on the economic problems of Negro life massive enough to make a crucial difference. Not a small part of the reason for this is that, in the area of domestic social legislation, there has been a gap between the will of the Chief Executive and the will of the congress. In any event, after more than a century of promise, Negroes are still not free, and therefore one can reasonably and rightfully indict a century of indifference and injustice without detracting from the efforts of two of the more progressive and socially concerned Presidencies in this century.

## II

And yet, though it is not a pleasure to admit it, America itself has been lucky in the insistency of the Negro's assault upon racial prejudice and tension. This assault, from Reconstruction to the present time, has been enormously more beneficial to America than to the Negro himself.

Especially since the turn of the century, the Negro, in constant and often lonely political motion, has kept American democracy alert and flexible. By his challenge of racial codes throughout the country, segregated education and public facilities, and jim crow voting proctices, etc., the Negro has not only kept our democracy from settling down into smugness and atrophying into racist and other kinds of reaction, but has also given it another chance to realize itself more justly in the lives of its citizens and more attractively in the eyes of the world. This revolutionary process goes on, and it is one that I have no doubt will be ultimately successful.

But that is not all, The Negro struggle awakened and energized a whole new generation of American students, creating in them a new sense of idealism, a new awareness of their relationship to the politics of their time, and a new concern for the state of their Republic. These young people threw themselves vigorously into the civil rights struggle in the North and in the South, helped abolish the last vestiges of McCarthysm on the American campus, strengthened the peace movement, and brought critical intelligence to bear on the conduct of American foreign policy.

Our struggle went on to revitalize the American liberal conscience, providing it with a resonant domestic issue at a time when foreign policy seemed to offer it the only meaningful arena for the expression of its civilized concerns. The renewered concern with the problems of poverty was a direct result of the sustained Negro drive for a decent life, and therefore the war on poverty, for blacks and for whites, as inadequate as it is, must be counted as one of the genuine contributions of the Negro struggle to the broader American social revolution. By no means least, the Negro struggle exposed a variety of political and racial bigotries which for a long time had remained hidden behind the facade of our pious democratic rhetoric. By showing them up, the Negro movement left no doubt as to which of our groupings were working firmly within the tradition of democratic principles, and which of them were simply exploiting, for their own dark designs, the protection offered by these principles.

As we must see, many of these efforts deeply affected and, in some respects, even changed the face of American life. But much of the good that America derived from the black struggle has not been translated proportionately in Negro life, particularly the lives of those Negroes left out of the civil rights gains, those left in the slums of our big cities, those stranded without money and without food in the rural areas, and those left behind by the technological and automative revolution. Even now, while the country is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars a day for each Viet Cong killed, it is spending no more than fifty dollars a year per person in the war on poverty.

So the stark conditions of the Negro underclass remain virtually unchanged. Unemployment among Negro teenagers is triple that of whites; unemployment among Negro adults is double that of whites; the median income gap between Negro and white has widened; there are more Negroes in segregated classrooms now than there were before 1954; the slums have grown more intolerable, and show no immediate signs of improving.

All of this increases the tensions in American life. Instead, it is scarcely surprising that today more and more young Negroes in the urban underclass are becoming convinced that a violent confrontation with white society is both necessary and inevitable. After doing more in recent years than any other native American group to make American democracy realize itself, many young Negroes are now on the verge of losing all faith in democracy.

It is at this point that we begin to see some of the negative effects that the Negro's response to injustice can have upon the society. I am speaking, of course, of the supermilitancy, looting, rioting, and burning in which black despair is now being expressed. Given the peculiar way in which the white society tends to respond to Negro violence, activities such as we witnessed this summer could well push the races further apart and risk the possibility of a militant racial confrontation in America. Specifically, these activities could create a climate in which the fears and passions of whites and blacks could be organized and politicalized by demagogues and opportunists; and a situation could well come about in which the whites opt once and for all out of any responsibility for social progress and redress for the society's non-whites. Ultimately, the present situation could well set the country upon a course of political and racial repression that could end for many years to come the American dream of a civilized multi-racial relationship.

## III

But the opportunities for avoiding such a future are equal to the dangers that such a future poses. The current circumstances present a challenge to the growth of a courageous national leadership and the development of a national will dedicated to the eradication of the conditions that threaten to tear society apart. The development of this leadership and this will depend upon annumber of things. But chiefly, it depends on the understanding and acceptance of theuuses of social planning and that there is nothing necessarily un-American in such planning.

In any event, the continued degradation of the Negro's social and economic life is not going to be reversed without conscious social planning. The health and education of Negro children are not going to be radically imporved without social planning. And millions of unskilled, unemployed, and underemployed men are not going to be put back to work or assured of a steady income withoug social planning. Such planning, of course, must be democratic in nature. It must also be one of the objectives of such planning to recognize the need for public programs and guaranteed incomes, for it is no longer possible for private enterprise to, on its own, put the vast majority of workers in this country back to work: the government will have to serve as what has been called "the employer of last resort."

But none of this will be possible without the leadership and the will. And the leadership and the will will not be possible as long as our society continues to be plauged with the self-delusion of security. This is perhaps one of the greatest dangers we face as people, for the pursuit of individual security, while ignoring the need of it in the lives of otherppeople, can lead to the death both of social concern and the sould of leadership.

Moreover, I believe there is only one kind of genuine security, and that is the realistic confrontation of insecurity both within and around us. Our society as it exists today is profoundly insecure, for whites as well as for blacks, and there will be no exit for any of us until we voluntarily confront the fact of its existence and develop out of that confrontation a census of will and determination to create a mutual security for all. It is not a difficult a job as it might seem. It requires only the courage to concede eachmman's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

# THE HARLEM RIOT & NONVIOLENCE

by Bayard Rustin

From dusk till dawn for four nights during the tragic event called the Harlem Riot, I walked the streets with a team of 75 boys and men. We took the injured to CORE's first aid station or to the hospital. We dispersed crowds. We did what we could to protect women and children and had some minor success in urging police who had arrested innocent people to free them—especially when doing so contributed to crowd dispersal.

The experiences of those four terrible nights has deepened my faith in nonviolence and I should like to share with you some of my thoughts ten days later.

### Ends and Means

We pacifists maintain that the law of ends and means does, in fact, operate. Never was this more clearly illustrated. Most of the people who engaged in disorder were youths between 18 and 25. They are the unemployed, the forgotten, the poorest of the poor—without hope and with no faith in a society which has doomed them to utter despair. It is they who are forced to live by their wits, seeking out a living by gambling, selling numbers or dope and sometimes selling themselves.

They revolted in the only way left to them. They would make society listen. Like a child in an attention-seeking tantrum, they resorted to violence in a loud outcry of despair.

We pacifists claim that social progress must spring from social justice In their ugly way, these youths were expressing what we, by nonviolent resistance, believe. If society will not remove the slums and give them work and dignity, they will cry out again.

### Violence Degrades

We pacifists assert that violence degrades all who become involved in it. How true! I know many police officers in Harlem by name and many more by sight and reputation. One of the saddest aspects of those nights was the fact that many police officers who are among the better-behaved, reacted with the greatest fear and consequently with the most brutal conduct. I saw a white officer who had once turned over to me a 15-year-old thief on pledge that I take him home and report his behavior to his father—beat a woman to the ground mercilessly. When I urged him to stop, he turned on me.

On the other hand, I saw a Negro churchwoman help to blockade a street to stop a white taxi driver. After her sons had beaten him almost to unconsciousness, she helped them to rob him, leaving him in great agony on the street. Thus on those nights I saw violence degrade on every side. I heard men who usually talk reasonably, demand that youth be given guns to shoot "police and uncle toms."

### Force Stems Progress

We pacifists urge nonviolence because if change toward justice is to take place, it must be in an atmosphere where creative conflict and debate are possible. Wherever great force is used—and I am certain from what I saw that the force used by police was far more than necessary to maintain order—it is used to support the status quo and not to encourage real debate and creative conflict.

The riot has not encouraged real debate: it has given strength to the supporters of reaction. It has brought an injunction against certain groups. It has led to the police commissioner's temporarily prohibiting rallies in the name of law and order. It has brought division of leadership where unity was needed if nonviolent campaigns for justice are to be pursued. It has confused many young people. It has left the powers-that-be in a position to call for "law and order" for protection of white people—a very false position since the riot was economic rather than basically racial.

### Nonviolence in a Violent Situation

Perhaps the most important lesson I learned from this experience is that nonviolence is relavent to a degree—even when fear, brutality and violence rage. On the second afternoon of the riot, I spoke at a big Harlem church. Several speakers preceded me, calling upon youth to use violence. One speaker called for a Mau Mau, another for armed resistance to police. Another said: "I want 100 men to leave this church with me for guerrilla warfare."

Then I spoke and urged nonviolence. I was booed, applauded and then booed again. I appealed for 100 men to join me in the streets and work nonviolently "to end the brutality toward all men." When the meeting ended, I rose to leave the church and was surrounded by a hostile group intent on beating me. From the audience came 75 men who moved-in to protect me without violence. The hostile group scattered.

That night and for three succeeding nights, those 75 men walked in danger through the streets and were responsible for helping many persons and saving many lives. Some were beaten, as I was, for advocating nonviolence but only one deserted.

And so, reliving those four nights of terror and ugliness, I become more dedicated to nonviolence, for I see clearly how resort to violence dehumanizes all who are caught-up in its whirlpool.

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People are also asking me,"Mr. Rustin, ~~Ix~~ Why do Negroes behave this way?" And should like to remind people that in the midst of ~~x KI~~ the Civil War there was something ~~which~~ that occurred in New York which were called the draft riots. They were not really a reaction merely against the draft of Mr. Lincoln to ~~x~~ call the Irish into the Civil War~~x~~ as soldiers. We must see that the parallel between what happened to the Irish then and what ~~sk~~ happened to the Negroes in Watts is similar. The Irish at that time were called "shanty", similar to the term "nigger". They were at the base of the economic ladder. Their unemployment was something like 30% of the heads of families. They were depressed. They had no hope. Mny laws were being passed at that time which further restricted their activity. And they revolted. They ~~ke~~ tore up New York City, they destroyed property, they ~~ke~~ lynched over 30 people, and they behaved in same way, out of the same conditions, as the people in Watts.

My point is not to direct any ~~xx~~ hostility to the Irish, but to show that when people are faced with certain/similar conditions, regardless of their color they behave in a similar manner. May I point out that according to government figures, 35% of the heads of families in Watts are unemployed.

According to Michael Harrington, the author of THE OTHER AMERICA and one of our great social critics, he believes that the percentage of unemployment was closer to 45%, and he is in California investigating the problem at the grass roots.

I submit to the American people that if there were anything like 35% of the heads of families, we would not only have rioting, we would have a national crisis, a depression, an utter revolution. I want to make it quite clear that I am of course opposed to rioting, to arson, to attacks upon police, and I do not excuse this. I feel that it is deplorable. And I want to make this statement early, in order that people shall not be confused. But having deplored it, I want then immediately to move to the facts that underlie it, in order that, terrible as the rioting was, we shall learn from it. We shall learn certain social and psychological lessons. People often say to me, "Mr. Rustin, isn't this going to hurt the Negro cause?" My answer to this is provisional. It will hurt us if we do not learn and if we do not thus create conditions at the national level for dealing with unemployment, with the absence of dignity in these areas. If on the other hand we can learn certain lessons and discover that we have a responsibility and therefore the need to come forward with constructive programs and to understand what has happened, then it will not

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hurt." It can be a tragedy out of whose ashes can rise a nobility of purpose which will help us to deal with the problem creatively.

A young Negro boy spoke to Dr. King and me, and he said, "You know, Dr. King and Mr. Rustin, we won. We won." And I said to him, "How could you have won? Your own homes have been destroyed. The businesses where you have to buy food and where you buy clothes have been destroyed. People are bringing you relief."

He said, "I'm after dignity. And we won because we made the whole world pay attention to Watts." He said, "The police chief never came here before. The governor never came here before. The mayor never came before. We made them come."

And I submit to readers or listeners that such desperation that a young man of 16 could take such a position is not an indictment merely of his miseducation. It is an indictment of this society and its insensitivity to the needs of people.

I learned a few other things in Watts. When Dr. King proposed a committee made up of civil rights organizations, religious leaders, and indigenous leaders of Watts (and the indigenous leadership of Watts is made up of gang leaders, community leaders, church leaders, the leaders of settlement houses, black nationalists and others), they rejected being on a committee with what

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they ~~xxlled~~ considered the established organizations like NAACP, and CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Urban League. And their argument was, "If we ever joined a committee with these people, who are so removed from the needs of Watts, if we went back to Watts, we would have to abdicate our leadership." (aside: abdicate their leadership in Watts - that they would be taken over by an extreme leadership).

Now I think this reveals that ~~wa~~ the problem is, in addition to race, a class problem; that ~~xhexi~~ their hatred and bitterness toward the Negroes who had made it was almost as bad as it was to the whites; and that therefore we must come through with some kind ~~xf~~ of economic program which is capable of bridging this gulf ~~xf~~ or a very serious problem ~~it~~ is going to emerge to divide Negro leadership at the grass roots from the national level.

I would like to give you a few other illustrations of what people said and felt and respondedx ~~xxto~~. There is a way in which one puts his thumb over his little finger out there and holds out the three middle fingers, and says "Brother." This indicates to me that becuase the local leadership and the people in that community have lost faith in the white power strucxtre doing anything for them and the black national leadership dealing with their problems, that this has become a nationalist struggle. That is to say

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that people say that the only way you are going to get anything is when we, the black nationists, rise x up and,xkxxx alone, without any help from the power structure, without any help from these Negrox leaders, do something to call attention to our plight.

It is interesting to me that they have every justification for feeling that the power structure is not going to help themx - the white power structure. There has not been one penny of anti-poverty money brought into that community. Because the Governor, surrounded by middle class Negroes, has his own henchmen, the Mayor, surrounded by Negro henchmen, are fighting each other. And I think that the Governor has taken a much more realistic position than the Mayor. It is obvious that the Mayor of Los Angeles xkmsxkx means to control in xxxy every way, the War on Poverty money. And that other Negroes in the community, perhaps for vulgar political reasons, and I think in part out of national pride, will not permit this to happen. Out of national pride, by which I mean nationalist, Negro, pride. And it was for this reason that Dr. King and I decided that we should talk with the President of the United States, and to urge him to bypax bypass both of these political factions and to bring some relief to these people.

I think it is also true.

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Dr. King and I had a meeting at 1 P.M. last Wednesday with a number of church leaders representing the 50 most important rabbis, priests and ministers in the city. It is significant to note that every one of them pointed out that the economic and social conditions of Watts were such that they, while surprised that the rioting had taken place, on reflection ought not to have been surprised. That in these kinds of conditions they should have seen the handwriting on the wall. That they recognized that the people of Watts wanted to be heard, and that they ~~grxiexxdxx~~ agreed with us in our analysis that the people of Watts want self-determination largely because they do not believe that there are allies who will come to their aid.

It is not only that they do not feel that they have allies, but that as Negroes, they have no means by which they can participate in the society. ~~XXA~~ A young Negro boy who later told me that he had been involved in a number of situations of arsonage, told me that he enjoyed it. I said "You mean you enjoy seeing building going up in fire?" He said, "I did, because it gave me a sense of power, a sense of being somebody. And if I can't go downtown and be a man, at least up here I can set something on fire."

Now, here's another illustration of what seems to me to be a tragic aspect of the self-hatred and destructiveness which emerges when people do not feel that other people are treating them as human beings.

Now, I want to say a word about the police. But I do not want to ~~try~~ carry on the usual argument that the police are brutal; the police mistreat Negroes. Every Negro knows this. There is scarcely any Negro in the land that at some point or other has been anything other than mistreated by a policeman. He may be carrying a suitcase late at night, and the policeman assumes he's a thief, that he's got somebody's radio or television in it. Or the policeman may be prejudiced and frustrated, and he stops him at a red light and he calls him a nigger. In LA I discovered that great numbers of police call Negroes black sons of bitches. The chief of police himself referred to Negroes as monkeys. The chief of police said to D.r King and to me, "There's no prejudice in L.A." And when I asked him how it was possible that 3 out of 4 people voted against Proposition ~~No~~ 14, voted to keep Negroes from getting ~~x~~ housing in the area, he said, "that's not anything to discuss, that's a matter of personal preferenc.e. But he didn't see a relationship.

Now what I want to point out is this. If every policeman in every ghetto behaved as an angel, the problem would still exist of no confidence in the police. First of all, because the ghetto is a place that Negroes do no want to be in, they are fighting to get out of. And for someone to tell you in these

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horrible circumstances ~~hxxkxxxxxxxxxxxxoo-kxxpxxx~~ to behave yourself, he becomes a zoo-keeper, asking you to essentially to accept economic, social, psychological conditions which are abhorrent to you. And therefore even, I repeat, if he behaves like an angel, he is brutalizing you, by asking you to accept what you know ~~yx yx~~ you know you ought not to accept. But secondly, where Negores are ~~ax~~ deprived of work, and therefore to make a living, they must sell numbers and sell women and sell themselves and sell dope and gamble in the pool room /gamble in the streets, because of what society in taking unskilled jobs from them, when the policeman asks you to behave yourself, he is in effect asking you not to have bread and shoes, and therefore, I came to the conclusion, as did Dr. King, that a police review Board was an absolute necessity in the situation, for psychological reasons, if confidence was ever to be established. Although this I did not myself see, I was told by very responsible people that as youngsters threw Molotov cocktails, and as they set a building on fire, or as they looted, they would scream, this is for Selma, this is for Rev. Reeb, this is for Mrs. Liuzzo. And I think that this has to be analyzed, and I think the analysis is this. Many of these poor Negroes who live in Watts come from Texas, Alabama, Louisiana. They have been run off the farm by machines. They stumbled into California with high hopes. They believe, and have been taught to hope, that the North will give them a break. When they get there

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they find that conditions are the same and often worse. The difference between their aspiration for a new life and the dash of hopes that they find is such as to create a fantastic psychological problem that can only lead to self-hatred, frustration, absence of hope, and the desire to strike back. I think it is also important to point out the difference between this conflict and that which took place in Harlem last summer. Now it is obvious that the number of people killed is greater, that the almost $200 million worth of damage ~~xxxxxby~~ fire and looting is greater. It is also true in psychological terms that the situation is different. I saw many young people and ~~xxxxger~~ older people in harlem who would say to the policemen, all right, you policeman, you white son of a a bitch, if you don't like me, kill me. There was none of this in Watts. In Watts people said now is the time to take over the policem station, now is the time to kill these people.

Now I do not approve of this as I have said earlier. But we must ask ourselves what happened that this depth of depression , this increase of tension has occurred. And I feel it is precisely that the revolution's advancement has given people a sense of hope which has been x dashed by the objective situation. Over and over the young Negroes say we have won, we turned the white folks upside down, we destroyed billions of dollars in property - man, that's power. It is also interesting that the slogan throughout this riot was burn, baby, burn. What do they mean by burn, baby, burn? And I think they mean, we have no stake in this society, and therefore we don't care. Burn it down!

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The middle class Negroes/ however who did have a stake, who had cars, who had homes, who had good jobs, were absolutely nonplussed by what had occurred, were confused by what had occurred. And I think the lesson we have to learn is that those who have defend a society, and that those k who have not have ultimately only a desire to destroy it.

There is a great deal of talk about the manifesto. And it took me a time to understand what these people meant by the manifesto. And so I said to one young girl, what do you mean by the manifesto? Who wrote it? She said, we wrote it. I said can I see a copy. And she xx laughed to high heaven She said, Daddy, we're not talking about nothing you write, we're talking about the blood, we're talking about the fires. That's out manifesto. Now you write something you don't know who's going to read it. But baby all over the world they know about our manifesto cause we wrote it in blood! Another young chap said to me, what we were trying to teach these white folks was to render to Caesar those things that are Caesar's but to give us what's ours. Now, another

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Negro boy talked to me. He says you know Mr. Rustin they hit me in the head, they stuck a billy in my guts, and they almost made me vomit, but I could stand all that. He said but when that goddammed son of a bithh from the National Guard tryed to stick me in the leg with a bayonet and tore my five dollar pants, that's I decided I was going to burn something up.

Now Here's a man who is prepared to face all kinds of indignities, but to whom five bucks is so much that when when they tear his pants that means more to him than when they insult him. And this indicates the profound economic problem in that community.

I think it also ~~fair~~ clear to point that a great number of youngsters referred to what happened as the dress rehearsal. That is to say that they did not look upon what happened with sadness, or that this was it and that was too bad/ and they were ashamed they looked upon it as simply saying, if something doesn't change, we're going to do it again.

As an indication of the nationalism, the pride, of this community, as an indication of the depersonalization, of what society can do to people, after many of the shops had been destroyed and people had nowhere to go to buy food, and after many of them had been kept from work for days, with the community as a result being more poor than ever, relief groups came in and started throwing bread and food off trucks to the people. And the people refused to pick it up. They said, man don't treat us like that, we don't want your goddammed food! And to me it is interesting that hungry men, some of whom had not had food for days, refused to accept that food. When they then turned the distribution over to sensitive people, they would take it. They refused to take milk unless it came out of glasses or bottles or cartons! They would'nt take it out of cans. They refused to take food which was not properly wrapped.

And this reveals to me that there is something far greater than hunger, and that is the hunger for dignity.

I think of the meetings that Dr. King and I had with the people of Watts, that while they were very happy that we were proposing economic programs, psychological proposals, social, all kinds of proposals for improving their life, the one thing they wanted more than anything else was to be heard. They said, look, D.r King, we're happy you come, but you're not what we really want to hear. You go tell the governor to come back here and hear our grievances. You tell the Mayor to hear our grievances. And by all means you tell that goddammed chief of police that we want to talk to him. And tell him what's been happening out ~~sk~~ here.

I think this is an indication of the degree to which there are two problems. One is that people want work and the other one is that they want to be treated like human beings.

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If one considered the fact that over 25% of the heads of families in the Negro community are women one can recognize that in this whole complex there is a great problem for the Negro male. Man Negro mabes canot find work, but their women can at menial work - as maids, barmaids, washing windows, taking care of the white folks. And the Negro male thus in his own home has no status. His wife gripes at him in front ~~x~~ of the children~~x~~ for not bringing in money. His children have no respect for him because he is in bed when they go out. He very of ten has to bring in money by living by his wits - gambling, selling cheap wine. I know a great number of young chaps in Harlem, for example, who are married, who go out on a Friday afternoon, having scrounged up in the pool room to get a few dollars, who buy 49 cent wine, wait around until after midnight when the wine stores are closed, and sell it for a dollar. They are constantly under threat of arrest, or selling numbers, or prostitution.

Children learn about this in the neighborhood. They have no respect for their fathers. After a while the father ~~gets~~ becomes so depressed that he has to leave the home. But he's a human being, he needs love and affection and sex, so sooner or later he meets up with another woman, and they have a a couple of illegitimate children. But that probably becomes too much for him, and he moves on. This ~~x~~ is all out of the basic economic fact that there

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economic stability for the Negro male.

Now I think people must understand that there comes a point for this male when he has to assert manhood. And in a society in which violence is related to manhood, ala the Westerns, ala the way in which we destroyed the Indians, ala the way that people in the South and the West carried guns, the gun becomes for him a phallic symbol, defiance for him becomes a phallic symbol. There was one young man who had 3 families who said to me I never felt like a man until I stood and watched while something I set on fire was burning.

Now these are deep psychological aspects to the problems but they are not aspects which we dare ignore.

PAUL

" The impression given by the newspapers was either that the riots were a plot or that it was madness. The reaction of people was deranged and could not be explained by reason or by need but was something unexplainable."

BAYARD

I think that whenever you're dealing with a mob, which is what a riot is, that it does not have, in one sense, a head. It is a physical thing ~~that~~ which rolls on with its own logic. Nevertheless, in every situation, a mob does have a certain predictable manner in which it is going to behave. For an example, in the 1943 riots in Harlem, it started out as a protest against

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hight prices, because the O.P.A. was not watching prices in Harlem but on Park Ave. where people complained and had influence. But after the riot had been going on for a short time it became anti-Semetic , because many of the Jews were merchants. But that soon lost any interest for the masses and it became anti-white in general. But it is interesting to note that the 1942 riot ended with the destruction of Randolph's March on Washington office in which they said, Randolph, why don't you mmakx march? So that there was a hidden logic in it which brought them finally back to a responsible programmatic aspect of the civil rights movement.

Why do I point this out? I point this out because the rioting in Los Angeles did have a logic. Where people put up signs "I am a poor, working Negro trying to make a business" they were not touched. Where it said"blood brother"they were not touched. Where signs in the window said "This is a Negro business" they were largely not touched. In the shops where the merchant gave them a break - given at terribly highx prices - of being able to buy certain things on time - some of these were not touched. Where the merchants were known to be gougers, they were destroyed. It is interesting that they destroy and burn and steal from all the liquor stores, because while on the one hand needing liquor to live in that kind of community, they also reject the fact that they have to live on it. Itx was said that many more bottles of liquor of a riot there is a kind of logic that people instinctively sense the things which destroy them.

You also have what you had in the Harlem riots last year, that where the police are fearful and use excessive violence this stimulates Negroes to behave excessively which then stimulates the police to use more violence which then stimulates the people to use more. Then you call the National Guard with their helmets - a frightening aspect. But then the National Guard begins to shoot wildly which then frightens the people. Violence has its own logic. And therefore it is not only the Negro people who behaved irrationally, it was also the police who were irrational, who used more force than was needed. It was the Mayor who behaved irrationally by denouncing the Negro leadership and refusing to meet with them early enough. It was the Police Commissioner who behaved irrationally by calling Negroes monkeys, which heightened their disregard for him and for law and for order.

PAUL

"Was there any way that the riots could have ended earlier before they worked themselves out?"

BAYARD

"Well, this is a very ticklish point and I want to talk about Dick

Gregory for a moment. If I learned anything on the streets of Harlem last summer, it is that we have not yet evolved as a Negro leadership a way really to deal with riots. Because when Dick Gregory did what he did and I did what I did ~~that~~ last summer in Harlem, it is not so simple, it is very complicated. When I say to Negroes who feel a just grievence against the nature of the life they are living, why don't you disperse and go home and behave yourselves, I am really saying to them, over and above the objective situation, subjectively I am saying to them, why don't you really accept these conditions? Because for them this is a response against the conditions they are in. And therefore I'm not surprised that they booed me, or that Dick Gregory got shot, or that Martin ~~Luther~~ King had a hard time, because to ask for normal behavior in what for them is an abnormal situation is indirectly asking them to accept their ~~situation~~. Now naturally Martin King, Dick Gregory and I have urged people in other situations to march, to protest ~~against~~ without violence, to be prepared to go to jail for freedom but in that situation where a riot is in progress you have a totally different dynamic.

PAUL "What about the other part of the theory, that it was a plot?"

BAYARD "I don't believe it was a plot, and if you will remember in the New York riots last summer I pointed out a four point - uh - stages, four

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stages; one; that it was spontaneous; two; that the police then came in with excessive violence, which then caused a reaction of excessive violence; third, that the thieves then took over as thieves, justifying their thievery ~~x~~ through civil rights; and fourth, that political elements came in.

I think ~~thxx~~ there is a parallel here. I am thoroughly convinced that it was spontaneous in its beginning. And I was not through this riot ~~but~~ and therefore I ~~xxxxxxxxx xxx~~ cannot be conclusive about what ~~xxxxhappening~~ then happened. ~~But~~ I am sure that the second stage was police ~~andxthexix~~-excessive use of force, causing the people to become even more frustrated/~~thxxxxxxxx~~ and angry, followed again by thieving. But I think ~~thatx~~ there is evidence of much more organization in this riot than occurred in Harlem. There is evidence that there were at least three centers at which Molotov cocktails were made and dispersed. There is evidence of a number of people being arrested with Molotov cocktails and gasoline in their cars which emerged from these centers. I am very suspicious of the number ~~f~~ of young people who talked to me about Vietnam. I felt that some of these 8, 10, 12 year old kids did not get this from themselves. "We won't fight in Vietnam for freedom we don't have here," was a slogan heard too often to be spontaneous. I think also the fact that great numbers of youngsters said to me, "You know, Mr. Rustin, this is not really what they're calling it, a race

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riot - this is a class struggle," - indicates to me that of a political nature was in there with propaganda. The very fact that there was such a degree of organization in passing guns out indicates to me that this was not all spontaneous. I think the spontaneity began it, but again - political elements moved in to exploit it. Another indication of this, and I think a very serious one, is the fact that a number of people that I have confidence in, told me that there was a gang of some 15 older Negroes who would go over and break in windows, then go urge the crowd to wreck the place and to loot. They would then move to another part of town, or to another store, break the windows and urge people to loot, and move on. Now it seems to me that while I am in no position to determine what these elements were, there is an indication that someone was in there, with the expressed purpose on a given point, probably on the second day, to organize to keep it going. But this is not surprising since there are always elements in the community which philosophically believe that the society is no good, that it all has to go down the drain, and that therefore, now that the people are completely demoralized, are they capable of rising up in revolt. This is a part of their no-win policy.

PAUL "What kind of role did the Nationalists play in the situation?"

BAYARD "Well, if you are referring to the Black Nationalists, I think there is every evidence that they followed the basic position of Elijah

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Muhammed, which was stay home, don't get involved. But if in any situation you happen~~s~~ to get involved and you are brutalized, brutalize back! Black Muslims - in terms of the Black Nationalists, I don't think they played a very important role, except ~~that~~ for one person, whose name I do not want to call, who in fact broke with Elijah Muhammed, ~~and~~ is a Black Nationalist calling himself a Muslim, and obviously did everything he ~~could~~ and his group could to stir up and keep the thing moving. Now however, I think it is clear to point out that there was a fantastic nationalist strain, by which I do not mean Black Nationalist in the usual sense of that term, by which I mean the remnants of the Garveyites. But precisely because these people felt that the white power structure is never going to give us anything, and that the black bourgeoisie, and much of the leadership of the standard civil rights organizations are not going to fight for us, there emerged the nation that we black people in the ghettoes - ourselves have got to put up a fight. And that that fight had no logic to it, except, as they argued, that we've gotta have visibility. And that's what the young man meant when he said, Mr. Rustin we won. We made the whole goddamned world look at us. We made the police chief and the mayor and the governor come and see us. And we won because we put Watts on the map.

And in that degree it was nationalist.

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PAUL"The police and the mayor said that they had contact with the Negro community, and they deny that there was no relationship whatsoever."

BAYARD "Well both the May and the Chief of Police turned to me and Dr. King and said, how could you gentlemen say there is any discrimination or segregation in L.A.

Well, I then turned to the police chief and Mayor and said, "I'd like to ask you a question. Three to one the people voted against Proposition 14 here (NOTE: IT SHOULD BE "VOTED FOR" - PROP. 14 IS WHAT REPEALED THE ~~XXX~~ FAIR HOUSING ACT). Is that an indication of prejudice? " And they refused to answer the question. The interesting thing is that I am convinced that as far as Chief Parker is concerned, he has prejudice but doesn't know it. He has the most dangerous combination of any man on earth. He is a zealot, and he is naive, and if you put those things together you have an explosive ~~xxxxxxxxx~~. proposition. When we ask him why he used the kind of language he did, he ~~xxxxxx~~literally gave us to understand that this is the only kind of language Negroes understand. And he did not realize that in this kind of violent expression he was expressing prejudice. For Negroes respond as all other people respond - some to love and kindness, some to threats, some to violence. Most people respond in the way in which yourespond to them. This he could not see.

but more importantly, when we raised the question with him about upgrading Negroes, his attack was upon Negroes. "They won't stay in the department, we can't upgrade them, they're not willing to go through the discipline that others are..." We both- Dr. King and I - came out of the~~xx~~ meeting with a feeling that this man was utterly hopeless, that he could not see the problem - and no problem which is not seen can be solved.

PAUL "Was Yorty more sophisticated than Parker?"

BAYARD "Yorty was not more sophisticated. He tried to appear so. But at each point he backed up everything Parker stood for, he made it clear to ~~m~~ us that he was not going to make any move. Now I think Yorty'~~backing~~backing up Parker sprang from fear. Parker had convinced Yorty that there was going to be riots in the prison. Therefore Dr. King and no other Negro minister could visit the prisoners for spiritual sustenance. He was convinced that the Negroes were going to again attack white people. He had encouraged white people to buy guns. He is a frightened man who is a zealot~~x~~ in the defense of his police department and white people, and therefore you can expect any kind of behavior from a man who acts as if the truth is not true.

PAUL "What about the question of right wing and Birch influence on the Los Angeles police department?"

BAYARD "Well, the degree of Birch influence I cannot [illegible] ~~know exactly~~, but I

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can give you a story which indicates. About a month before the riots a most scarrulous pamphlet, describing Martin King as an immoral person, a liar, a Communist and many other things was put up in the police station in L.A. And it took the ~~fx~~ concerted efforts of the combined Negro organizations to get that pamphlet out of the police station. Let that speak for itself.

PAUL: "What about the McComb Committee?"

BAYARD: "Well, I'm convinced that the membership of the McComb Committee is made up of a number of vitally dynamic men who I am convinced will come in with a good report."

PAUL: "Are there no decent leaders in the Negro community, or are there decent leaders who the Mayor has refused to deal with?"

BAYARD: "There is a great number of responsible and relevant Negro leaders in the Negro community. They are not, however, those that the Mayor chooses to deal with. Because he is fundamentally interested in the perpetuation of his political dynasty. The Governor, on the other hand, because he basically takes a more liberal position on these questions, has thus surrounded himself with Negroes of a more liberal strip.e"

PAUL "Did the Mayor make any effort to reach ~~x~~ the Negro community before the riots?"

BAYARD: "Now I felt that Mayor Yorty was completely out of touch with

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the nature of the problem, ~~t~~ its causes, objectively, subjectively, he has no real sympathy for the Negro revolt, in terms of its American idealism. I would not call him a racist by any means, but I think he is small, a midget. I think he is a man who has no political insight beyond what is good for his own city. I think he is insensitive to what is going on.

PAUL "Is he representative of ~~xxxxx~~ white community - what about the liberals, the labor ~~xxx people~~ movement - were they all united in that kind of attitude towards the Negro community or were there differences?"

BAYARD "No I feel that the labor movement, many elements in the churches, many liberals, educationists, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~, intellectuals, are definitely for freedom for all. But California is a peculiar, mad place. And great masses of Californians who have recently come from the South, who are reactionary~~xx~~, who were not on the right side in the Proposition ~~xxx~~ 14 fight, who attempted to scuttle the Democratic party in the last election, who voted for a glamorous movie star against a man who at least had had some experience in government - this is not only an attitude towards Negroes, this is California, which is a confused, reactionary place. Now I don't mean all of California, I'm talking about Southern California.

(SOME QUESTION ABOUT THE POVERTY PROGRAM)

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BAYARD "While I don't think the poverty program was decisive, I do think that had the poverty program come in, it might have mitigated the timing, it may have had an effect upon the intensity. But in a situation where there had been no economic response, it tended to create utter despair.

PAUL "Is this because there is something wrong with the poverty program - its not big enough, or the quality of it or participation...?"

BAYARD "Well I think the poverty program, which I'm all in favor of, has ~~certain~~/very real limitations. But what I'm pointing out is, that with no economic relief at all, it helps to make the situation even more desperate. Where had there been a War on Poverty at least where people could see young people being helped, they would have taken something os a different attitude.

RACHELLE: "During the Harlem riots it was possible to organize peace patrols. And there were also young kids - that incident you had with Serevane, that is, young kids who really were dying to be organized, and could have been organized by the civil rights movement. Now was there the same kind of lack in Los Angeles, or were these people in fact already organized into something?"

BAYARD "I feel that once it got into the second day, there really was no opportunity for organizing the people in this situation, so deep was

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was the despair, into wanting to stop it. Most of the people in that area were caught up in it. The greatest number of people arrested had no real criminal desires. They were stealing things they thought they would never otherwise have, and a great number of amusing stories came out of this. Such as when the husband and wife who are over 60 are carrying a couch about 8 blocks home. They get so tired with this enormous couch that they just plop down in the middle of the street and rest on the couch until they can carry it further. These were not criminal people - they were people caught in a kind of carnival atmosphere of stealing. There are allk kings of stories of where people would find a chair, take it home and decide to throw out the other chair they had and go back and get its mate. Great numbers of people were arrested trying to match up furniture. There is also a story which is frightfully amusing of a Negro woman who had gone out with with her children to get a kitchen suite of furniture. And they leave a chair. And she adds up and discovers that they need another chair in order to feed the family around the table. They go back to get the additional chair and they all get arrested. There is an amusing, tragically amusing side to the manner in which people who are not basically criminal can get

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got caught up in mob situations where they these things. Or there's a picture which appxeared in the papers of this Negro fellow who goes into a shoe shop, leaves his shoes with holes in them on the sidewalk, finds a nice pair that fit him, and comes out dancing, and asks everybody to see what a pretty pair of shoes he has. This is not a criminal. This is a guy who caught up in something. And the greatest number of arrests were not for arson or murder, but for looting.

RACHELLE "What explains the fact that ~~X~~ the Watts area which has got about 10 times better slums than Harlem has an outburst that is more deeply rooted, ~~and~~ much more serious and much more (devestating?) dedicated than the Harlem riots?"

BAYARD "I think we have here the difference between physical and psychological. The Watts looks better, and it has lawns here and there; according to the state figures 35% of the heads of families are unemployed

And as I said before, if you had 35% of the American people unemployed, you would not have rioting, you would have revolution. Furthermore, Michael Harrington, who was out there studying the situation maintains that the unemployment is closer to 40% of the heads of families. We never had any such figure in Harlem.

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PAUL: "Did you say that those people were more hopeful, originally, than the people in Harlem?"originally?"

BAYARD: "Yes I think that it's the fact that most of these people are a new generation out of the South as a result of automation on the farm. They came with a fantastic expectation to an expanding state in a situation where when they got there their hopelessness ~~gx~~ became one of utter despair because they found there was not any possibility of responding to their hope. Negroes in Harlem have learned to take it. In addition, in Harlem you have ~~thex~~ an Apollo, you have a Palm Garden, you have all kinds of diversions. This is almost like a suburb of New York in which people's clothes are stolen off their line as they put them out, in which living by your wits is all the more tragic because you don't have these high rise buildings and because it looks as if it ought to be better.

PAUL: "Would you say that most of the people in Watts were sympathetic to the rioters?

BAYARD: Well I wouldn't say that most were sympathetic, I wasn't able to make that kind of survey. I would say that almost all that we were able to talk with in Watts felt they had won. Felt they had won because they had made the United States, the President of the United States, the Mayor, Governor, and the people of the world look at their problems. And in a

The question is often raised as to why Negroes at the very moment they are apparently achieving freedom would revolt as they have in the Watts district of Los Angeles. The fact of the matter is that people must understand that although there have been many Supreme Court decisions indicating that Negroes should have more justice, even though the President has spoken out as no President has ever spoken out in our history, both in the Howard University speech, and on the eve of the March from Selma to Montgomery, even though Congress passed a Civil Rights bill in 1964 and a voting rights bill in 1965, except for the FEPC section of the Civil Rights Bill which did not go into operation until this July and thus has not had any effect on the situation, not a single thing done by the government has had any effect on the North. All of these measures were directed to improving the conditions of Negro life in the South. Thus, as Negroes find the ghetto spreading, unemployment deepening, and quality schools far from realization, there is a frustration in the North which leads Negroes to feel nothing has been done about our condition. It is deepening, it is getting worse day after day. And therefore it ought not to be surprising that this kind of reaction which took place in the Watts district of Los Angeles could take place.

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Rustin
Remark

situation where those of us who call ourselves relevant leaders have not been succesful in dealing with the major problems which haunt the ghetto and/ where we therefore therefore have no alternative to put to their violence, they doubly felt they had won.

PAUL " Was it mostly the young who were the sparkplugs for the..

BAYARD "Yes, it was the young who were the sparkplugs, but certainly there is ~~xxxxx~~ all evidence that many/, many older people came into the situation and looted and robbed in it.

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AFL-CIO FREE TRADE U

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# Riots in the U. S.—The Causes and Cures

### By BAYARD RUSTIN

**Bayard Rustin is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.**

THERE is a newspaper before me proclaiming in bold front-page headlines: "U.S. Troops Sent Into Detroit—19 Dead, 800 Injured, 2000 arrested," "New Outbreak in East Harlem, 2 killed, 12 Hurt," "Englewood Snipers Clash With Police," "President Calls on Nation to Combat Lawlessness." Just a few days ago it was Newark and Plainfield and Nyack and Cairo, Illinois. During the same month it was Buffalo.

As the outbreaks erupt across the country, the question which went up last year, and the year before, and the year before that, goes up all over again: Why? You would think that by now everyone would know. Well, the answer, which will be good for next year too, is simply this: Anger, Frustration and Despair.

Why anger and frustration? Because:

—In all our urban ghettoes, the police treat Negroes and Puerto Ricans with contempt.

—Unemployment among Negro adults is double that of whites.

—Unemployment among Negro teenagers is triple that of whites.

—The median income gap between Negroes and whites has widened.

—There are more Negroes in segregated classrooms now than there were before 1954.

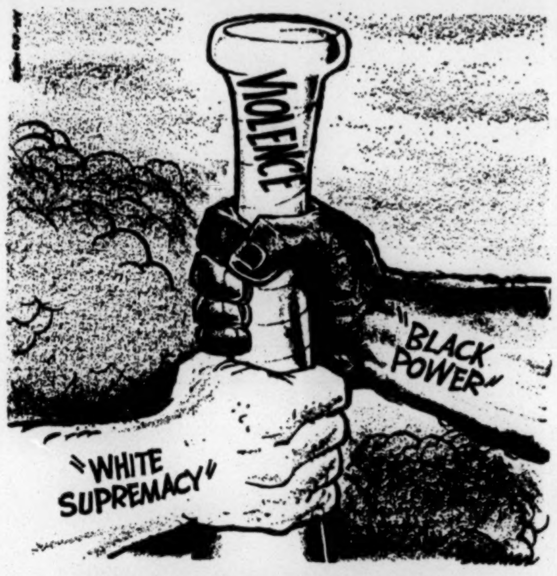
—The slums have grown more intolerable, and show no signs of improving.

And why despair? Because:

**After all the civil rights bills, and the war on poverty, there has been no appreciable improvement in the economic conditions of the majority of the Negro masses. Jobs have not been created for them, there are no better schools and there has not been improved housing. In fact, the war on poverty has intensified the despair of the Negro masses, because it raises expectations which it cannot or does not fulfill.**

These failures, coming after the great hopes of the civil rights revolution, are interpreted by the masses as a sign that the society does not mean to deliver. Therefore, they do not feel that they can be patient any longer. They lose faith in democratic strategies, and take recourse to violent behavior and super-militant demands.

For instance, some of the resolutions drawn up at the Black Power conference that met in the ruins of the Newark riot, are an inevitable outgrowth of this frustration and despair. They are full of militancy and emotional aspiration but are not the kinds of demands that seem to have any chance of practical implementation.



**The Game Nobody Wins**

Resolution after resolution called for: two separate nations, one white and one black; rejection of the free choice by any Negro to live in a white world; a nationwide buy-black movement to exert economic pressure for better jobs; para-military training for Negro youth; a black militia to train black families in all aspects of racial defense; permanent contact with African nations; black colleges for every black city; denunciation of birth control as a policy to exterminate Negroes.

**None of these resolutions addresses itself to practical programs to create full employment, abolish hunger, clean up the slums, improve education, and open up housing—the very evils that lead every year to frustration and violence.**

Still, these are not the only catalysts at work in the syndrome of Negro frustration and violence.

One of them has to do with the fact that a class warfare has erupted among Negroes themselves. Since the passage of the civil rights bills, the Negroes who have benefited most and advanced most rapidly have been the middle class. The educational and economic status of the middle class makes it possible for them to enjoy public accommodations and higher paying jobs that the masses still cannot enjoy.

American industry has stimulated this middle class progress by upgrading educated Negroes as fast as it finds them, a fact which is both appreciated and scorned by the unemployed. This class resentment is as likely to show up in hostility towards the

(*Continued on Page* 6)

# Riots in the U.S.—The Causes and Cures

(*Continued from Page* 1)

whites who "have it" as towards the Negroes who have "made it."

Another catalyst has been the attitude of the society to riots in the past. It indicates clearly to the Negro masses that the society will neither recognize them, nor do anything for them, however token, until they become violent.

There are several examples of this:

In Watts, after the 1965 riots, young Negroes boasted to me: "We won! You know we won! We asked the Governor to come, he would not come. We asked the Mayor, we asked the Chief of Police, none of them would come. But after we burned and looted they all came."

In Chicago, last year, young Negroes said again: "When we wanted sprinklers, we went out in the street, forgetting nonviolence and patience and we tore up the street, and in 24 hours we had not only the $8 sprinklers we wanted, but they also gave us swimming pools."

In Buffalo, recently, it was only after the young Negroes had rioted that the Mayor begged them to hold off while he ran to the Chamber of Commerce to get jobs that had been promised a whole year before.

The same thing had happened in Harlem. For some years prior to the riots of 1964, A. Philip Randolph had been urging the New York City administration and the police department to upgrade Negro officers, and specifically had proposed that a Lieutenant Sealy be made a Captain and placed in charge of central Harlem.

**For years, Randolph's appeal fell on deaf ears. But less than 24 hour after the 1964 riots, the city officials and the Police Department announced that Lieutenant Sealy had been made a Captain and placed in charge of a Harlem precinct.**

Three days later, in a discussion with a Negro youth group, I was told by one of the leaders: "You and Randolph, with your ideas about peace and non-violence, are useless. You have been begging whitey to make Sealy a Captain—but they paid you no mind. When we tore up 125th Street, they got the message. We upgraded Sealy with sticks and stones. You and Randolph ain't no leaders. You fools are beggars, and begging is out of style."

## AFL-CIO Hails Unification Of Australian Trade Unions

*Cable sent by AFL-CIO President George Meany on August 22 to the congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions:*

In behalf of the AFL-CIO, I extend warmest greetings to your great congress. We are confident that its decisions and deliberations will be fruitful for the working people of Australia and the entire international free trade union movement.

Unification of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Australian Workers Union is an historic landmark in the annals of the Australian labor movement, which is destined to play an increasingly important role as a bulwark of democracy and social justice against Communist aggression and subversion and all other reactionary forces throughout Australasia.

The greater strength which unity will bring to the Australian free trade union movement will likewise inspire the Asian, American and the entire free world labor movement to redoubled efforts in their fight for a world free from poverty, hunger, dictatorship and war.

All of this reveals not only that the society has been acting in such a manner as to lead young Negroes to rely upon violence, but also that this violence is being perpetrated largely upon Negroes themselves. In all the riots, only a handful of whites have been killed, while hundreds of Negroes have died and thousands injured and arrested. The hunger and misery that is left in the wake of the riots is borne only by Negroes, many of them who took no part and had no interest in the riots. Though white store owners have suffered the greatest economic loss, Negro store owners are also wiped out.

Lately, it has seemed that the violence is slowly being turned outwards upon the white community, but by and large, it is still concentrated in Negro communities. The fact, however, that violence is now being turned outwards may be a sign that those who riot are becoming increasingly aware of the self-destructiveness of violence. But even so, it is still socially destructive behavior, and not by any means creative.

As the riots erupt, they reveal something far more significant and troubling. The causes of the riots lie fundamentally in the absence of federal programs to eradicate poverty and frustration. Yet, even now, at the peak of unrest, we are treated to the spectacle of the national Congress investing all its energies in passing a bill to control Stokely Carmichael. No sooner it does this than it concentrates almost equal energy in defeating a bill that would have alleviated the problem of rat infestation in the ghetto. I am not at all in favor of riots or violence, but what, with this evidence of congressional attitude before them, must young Negroes say?

Finally, in these conditions of frustration police power is revealed as an inflammatory symbol, particularly in the ghettoes. As we have seen, many of the violent outbreaks have been preceded by incidents of excessive police action. And the fundamental reason for this is that to the ghetto residents the police personify the contempt and indifference and oppression to which they have been subjected by society at large. More responsible police action will not by itself abolish frustration but it can play a great role in restraining already inflamed passions.

**As I have said many times before, I am opposed to rioting. I have always insisted that riots, rather than help to solve our problems will, in fact, compound them. The problem will never be solved until the United States adjusts its national priorities and faces the fact that deep-going social change is required to meet and remedy a revolutionary situation.**

The country cannot buy social peace with anything less than a plan which goes to the very roots of our socio-economic relations to abolish poverty. And such a plan must include the following:

(a) National planning to put America's poor back to work through public works, and through building those hospitals, roads, schools, transportation systems, etc., that all Americans will benefit from.

(b) Establishing a guaranteed income for those too old, too young, or too crippled to work.

(c) On-the-job training for the uneducated and unskilled to find work in American industry.

(d) Redefining new areas of work through human services to humans that automation and cybernation cannot touch.

(e) Raising the minimum wage to not less than $2 per hour and subsidizing those employers who cannot afford to pay such rates in the same way we now subsidize farmers through price supports.

(f) Tearing down the slums and creating new towns, thereby employing the people in the slums.

Such a plan must become part of a multibillion dollar program to eliminate poverty and despair for America's 50 million poor, black and white, since there is no just way to isolate the American Negro and do anything special for him.

Such demands, therefore, though they represent the basic demands of the Negro community are demands whose implementation requires political action that goes beyond any special party. They must be supported and fought for by the only socially conscious coalition in America, the coalition of labor, civil rights, liberals, churchmen, and intellectuals.

**But the chief partners of this coalition must be the civil rights and labor movements, for only these two movements are at the present moment committed and dedicated to all the programs that can end economic frustration and despair among all of America's poor.**

And therefore, the chief hope for social and economic justice in America over the next decade rests heavily on the combined action of the civil rights and labor movements in cooperation with all other communities of good will. Under no other circumstances will the national congress be moved or compelled to legislate the kind of economic programs that will put an end to our nightmare.

## Soviet 'Free Enterprise'

The Soviet Union has informed the Indian government that it cannot stop anti-Indian broadcasts from the Russian station "Radio Peace and Progress" because it is privately owned; expressing the views of individuals and not necessarily reflecting the attitude of the government.

The broadcasts attacking Indian leaders, including Cabinet Ministers, emanate from Tashkent. Indian monitoring teams believe that the Russians have set up a booster station there.

The attacks have surprised Indians, who cannot understand the Russian attitude in the light of the cordial relations between the two countries.

—*The Times, London*

# SUMMER & SMOKE

BAYARD RUSTIN

Each year now, as summer comes to some of the big cities across the nation, thoughts turn inevitably to the possibility of violence and disorder, particularly in the Negro communities. Simultaneously, as the authorities think about heat and restlessness, they also begin to dream up emergency measures to keep tempers cool till autumn comes again.

And each year the problems get worse and the solutions stray further and further from what is really needed. The situation I am about to describe has been repeated in city after city. I merely use New York as an example because I know it best.

First, the War on Poverty promised a summer of peace and jobs and training for youth. Sure enough, hundreds of youngsters were put to work cleaning vest-pocket parks and the like. There were only three drawbacks: their supervisors earned two and three times as much money as they did; there were no jobs available for them in the fall; and, finally, there were thousands of other young people who were not helped at all.

This year Congress has not provided funds to permit the OEO to continue that meagre, inadequate effort. And so we see Mayor John Lindsay, appointing a task force that will go from borough to borough to see if there is trouble brewing. Lindsay is to be applauded for his ceaseless efforts to get money for the city, but we shouldn't be deluded about the possibilities of his task force: it will not be able to practice really preventive medicine but will, in effect, engage in nothing more than ambulance chasing.

## NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE

The first thing to say about these summer programs, not only in New York but all over the country is that they are not the way to buy or secure social peace in the Negro community or any other economically depressed community. For everybody knows that to solve the problem of our summers we need to let people know and see that we care about their problems in autumn, in winter and in spring. In other words, people are not going to be quiet in summer until we begin to provide them with the opportunity of jobs at a decent wage all year round, provide them with decent living conditions, and, on the whole, create a social and economic climate that provides for them a clear avenue out of their poverty and social frustration.

**The second thing to say about this emergency approach is that it does not even address itself to the problems of one of the most important segments of our population — our high school students out on vacation. For many of these students, summer work is a vital need not simply to keep them from being recruited into disorderly activities, but also to make it possible for them to earn enough money to go back to high school, or even to go on to college, when the summer is over.**

Many of these students need an opportunity to develop the skills that society needs and which it demands of them as a condition of their entering meaningfully into the economic process. But even more importantly, many of them have skills — hidden skills which the society can well use but which it does not appreciate.

## A PROGRAM

It might well be a good thing, therefore, for the City of New York, which may at this very moment be working out peace plans for the summer, to make some deliberate provisions for the needs of this high school population, and, in doing so, take care of some of its own summer needs. There is no doubt in my mind that a temporary program can be worked out by the city in which the services of thousands of youths can be used, and for which they can be paid an adequate salary. Therefore, I recommend the following: PLAN TO EMPLOY 20,000 YOUTHS AND ADULTS IN NEW YORK CITY:

*Bayard Rustin and Dr. Martin Luther King at a street meeting in Watts during the riots.*

1) PARKS: 1,000 youths can be employed to deal with erosion, planting, cleaning, repairing benches, etc., in Central Park and other parks throughout the city.

2) PLAYSTREETS: Up to 250 new play streets can be opened in congested ghetto areas for safety and recreation. Using one skilled adult and 5 youths for each street, we could employ some 1,250 people.

3) JUNIOR RECREATION ACTIVITY: Some 1,500 additional young people could be employed as Junior Recreation counselers, to work under the direction of the Youth Board, the Board of Education, and the Park Department, and assigned to schools, churches, and parks to help direct recreational activities.

*Unemployed Negroes and "the long, hot summer."*

4) DAY CARE CENTERS: We badly need an additional 150 Day Care centers for the children of working parents. If three youths and two adults were employed in these centers, we could provide some 750 people with immediate employment. Such centers could be established in schools, churches, and settlement houses.

5) HOSPITAL WORK: Conditions are so critical in our hospitals that we could easily use at least 3,000 unskilled workers, many of them youths, to help meet the urgent need for the proper care of the sick.

6) NURSES AIDES: We could train 1,000 girls, with pay, and place them in hospitals as semi-skilled workers.

7) TEACHERS' AIDES: Up to 5,000 additional women can be used in the summer school program and Headstart this summer to assist teachers and care for students.

8) ANTI-DROPOUT INCENTIVE: As a bold experiment, 5,000 school dropouts could be paid $50.00 a week as part of a work-study program to encourage them to go back to school in the fall.

9) TENEMENTS: 500 young men could be given training with pay in rat-and-roach extermination in ghetto tenements.

10) MUSIC AND ART: About 500 of the many unemployed artists in minority communities can be hired to teach dancing, writing, singing, instrumental music, and painting to the ghetto poor.

11) EDUCATIONAL TOUR GUIDES: Another 500 people (50 adults and 450 youths) could be employed in 50 teams (ten per team) to help local community institutions take children on educational tours of historic sites around New York City.

I believe that by instituting a program of this nature, New York City will be demonstrating that it has a deep and continuing interest in the problems and needs of high school youths in the Negro and other low-income communities, and that it is not simply a summer soldier in the once-a-year war to keep the ghetto cool.

Finally, though I am suggesting these measures to the City of New York, I have no doubt that they are also vitally needed in other large urban centers across the country.

**_Next Issue:_**

- **Father David Kirk on Catholicism and Democratic Socialism.**
- **Bayard Rustin on Vietnam**

***Special May Day Issue***

# THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

## *AN ANALYSIS*

*by*

BAYARD RUSTIN

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The Report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders is a valuable and historic document. Its declaration that the problems of Negroes are caused by white racism is forthright and truthful; and its commitment to integration is both welcome and realistic.

One only hopes that the declarations of the Commission will end the long years of talk around these problems and move us on to unified and constructive action. Negroes, as the Report states, have known in their bones for many years the hard facts of their situation in America. Now that whites themselves have been bluntly confronted with the role they have played in creating and perpetuating this situation, there is nothing left for the entire society to do but to get to work on solutions. This ought to be the last Report of its kind in America.

I do, of course, have some criticisms of the Report, but what chiefly interests me at this point is that its major recommendations incorporate many of those that have been made over the past few years by the relevant civil rights and liberal leadership. Some of the recommendations:

- A national, comprehensive and enforceable open-occupancy law that applies to all housing.
- Development of a national system of income supplements to provide a basic floor for the economic and social security of all Americans.
- One million new jobs in the public sector of the economy over the next three years; and an additional million jobs in the private sector -- with the aid of government contracts or tax incentives.
- Six million new housing units within five years -- 600,000 to be built the first year.
- Elimination of the "man in the house" welfare rule, and scrapping of the one-year residency requirement for welfare recipients.
- Better teachers in ghetto schools and better trained and more compassionate policemen on ghetto streets.
- Limiting future federal education aid to those schools which have achieved a fixed level of integration.
- Neighborhood city halls where ghetto residents can get a sympathetic hearing and response to their problems.

- A national gun-control law.
- Expansion of the Head Start program to include younger children.
- Expansion of most existing programs aimed at promoting integration and combatting poverty in the ghetto.

## II

Some of the Report's recommendations are more effective than others: I heartily support some, but others appear to me to be inadequate and will not significantly remedy the present situation of Negroes. However, the recommendations that seem to be most significant are the ones that reflect a commitment to full employment, low cost new housing, and income maintenance.

The Report's major deficiencies in these areas are in its lack of cost-analysis, the slowness with which it urges implementation of programs, and its failure to call for the destruction of ghettoes and construction of new towns. Also, with regard to full employment, the Report failed to declare unequivocally that the government must be the employer of first and last resort for the hard-core poor.

There is yet another aspect of the national problem that the Report seems to ignore. Our cities have been shamefully neglected: during the last few decades such public facilities as education, transportation, health, water supply, storm sewers, and waste disposal have been deteriorating. Under the prodding of the AFL-CIO, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress drew up an inventory of the needs in those areas and found them startling. The needs were so startling, in fact, that they will be effectively met only by a planned national effort with vigorous federal leadership and financial aid.

The Joint Economic Committee's inventory was entitled "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing," and is an excellent supplement to the President's Commission's Report. It seems to me that together they provide the basis for the major legislation and national planning that we need.

One of the strengths of the Joint Economic Committee's report is that it attempts to make some estimate of what it will take for us to meet our needs, and the benefits, particularly in terms of long-range employment, of in fact meeting those needs.

## III

Let us look at a few specific problem areas and a rough estimate of what it will take to meet the needs in those areas:

EDUCATION: Over the next ten years, 750,000 new classrooms will have to be built if we are to cope with the present backlog of students, future deterioration, and expected increase in enrollment. What does this mean in terms of cost? It means an expenditure of $5.3 billion in 1975, as compared with $3.7 billion in 1965. And for elementary education alone, the cost over the entire ten years totals $42 billion. Now higher education: If the growing demand for higher education is to be met, then state and local governments will have to spend $13.9 billion for academic facilities during the next decade, and another $6.1 billion to provide housing and related facilities for the students. Thus, expenditure for higher education will have to climb from approximately $1.2 billion in 1964 to nearly $2.5 billion in 1975.

TRANSPORTATION: To meet the needs estimated for 1975, spending for highways, roads, streets, bridges, tunnels, airports, marine facilities, mass transit, etc., will have to climb to nearly $18 billion in that year. Mass transit is especially important if we are to open jobs up to Negroes in the suburbs and end the isolation of ghetto life.

PUBLIC FACILITIES: Whereas in 1965 we spent $500 million on health facilities, by 1975 $13 billion will be required if the health needs of our people are to be adequately met. Moreover in such areas as sewage and waste disposal, capital outlays will have to rise from $385 million and $625 million, respectively, to $1.1 billion and $1.2 billion, respectively, in 1975. In the area of public water supply, the needs projected for 1975 will require $2.25 billion.

Writing in the March 1967 issue of the Federationist, AFL-CIO economist Marvin Friedman cogently sums up the significance of this inventory of American needs. Pointing out that the labor force will increase at the rate of 1.5 million per year in the next decade, Friedman goes on: "A logical policy would be to see to it that these two needs -- the growing need for jobs and the pressing need for public facilities -- are brought together in a planned program.

"The employment impact of these construction activities is substantial. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated that each million dollars spent in this way creates approximately one hundred jobs for the year -- about forty jobs at the construction site and about sixty jobs in industries supplying building material, equipment and services, including unskilled and semi-skilled jobs badly needed in an automated economy.

"Moreover, to this must be added the indirect impact -- that is, the impact felt as the result of the wages and salaries paid to these workers. As these wages and salaries are spent, retail sales are increased and still more jobs are created -- in stores and warehouses and in companies producing consumer goods. This adds another 50 to 100 full-time jobs.

"This would mean that a billion dollars spent on public facility construction is worth 100,000 jobs directly created on the construction site and in the production and distribution of equipment and material, plus somewhere between 50,000 to 100,000 more jobs as the result of increased sales to consumers."

Here, then, is what the AFL-CIO rightly calls "the foundation for a nationwide program...based on federal financial and techincal assistance to the state and local governments, including federal grants-in-aid and guaranteed loans, as well as direct federal aids."

Let us turn now to the area of HOUSING. Nationally, America requires a housing goal of 2 1/2 million new dwelling units each year for the next ten years. There has been no significant or substantial construction since World War II. It follows, therefore, that there has been very little housing construction for low-income families since Negroes started migrating in larger numbers to the big cities.

Low-Income Housing: Rentals for poor families should be not more than $40 - $70 a month. Since the private enterprise cannot provide housing at such cost, public housing and public rehabilitation are essential. However in recent yearsthe total number of new public dwelling units has been only about 30,000 - 40,000 per year. Urban renewal has, in fact, been tantamount to Negro removal. The urban renewal program which has bulldozed slum areas has concentrated mainly on the construction of commercial buildings and luxury high-rise apartments. Relocation of families has been neglected or ignored, and there has been virtually no replacement of low-rent housing. For these reasons, the Commission's estimate of 600,000 new unites per year is a low estimate. I strongly support an adequate rent supplement program, but this program should be a supplement to, not a substitute for, a major effort to provide new and rehabilitated low-rent homes for low-income families.

Middle-Income: Another large-scale program is needed to provide decent housing for middle-income families -- such housing to range no higher in rental than $85-$135. Federal housing legislation should also make it possible for cooperatives nonprofit and limited dividend corporations to acquire existing properties. And trade unions, limited dividend corporations, cooperatives and churches should be encouraged to take part in providing decent housing that lower middle-income families can afford.

We must have open housing. Residential restrictions against Negroes and other minority groups must be put to an end. No effort to rebuild our metropolitan areas can be meaningful without open housing. And no solution of our total housing grievances is possible unless all people, regardless of race, religion, or origin, have the legal right to buy or rent dwellings that they can afford.

Regarding urban renewal: The emphasis of this program must shift from the provision of expensive high-rise construction; the emphasis should instead be put on homes for lower and middle and lower income people, balanced neighborhoods, community facilities and services. Those families who are displaced by the elimination of slum housing must be helped to find decent accommodation at rents they can afford.

JOBS: The Riot Commission's Report falls short in the area of public service jobs as well, urging the creation of only 1 million jobs over the next three years. There is now before Congress a bill by Congressman O'Hara of Michigan and 76 associates to provide Federal,State and local agencies as well as non-profit organizations with the necessary funds to help them create one million public service jobs now for those who are unemployed or seriously underemployed. Senator Joseph Clark introduced a similar bill last summer but it was narrowly defeated. However, this year he has again introduced legislation calling for jobs and job training for 2.4 million hard-core unemployed over the next four years. I believe both Senator Clark's and Congressman O'Hara's bill should be supported. I am somewhat disappointed that the Commission did not recognize the existence of either piece of legislation.

## IV

RURAL AND FARM POVERTY: Our farms and those who work on them have been sorely neglected. Millions of acres have been retired from production, and millions of people who make their living off the farms have been forced off the land. They have drifted into underemployment and poverty elsewhere. On a family or per capita basis, the concentration of poverty is about 2 1/2 times as high in agriculture as in nonfarm areas. Despite improvements in farm income during 1965, per capita farm income from all sources in 1965 was only $1610, and per capita income from farm sources only $1060, compare with per capita nonfarm income of $2800.

In light of this situation, a long-range full-employment, production and purchasing power budget for agriculture is essential. The Freedom Budget for All Americans, published by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, develops such a farm budget. Its features are: 1) Goals to assure adequate, balanced and pleasant diets for the U.S. poor through expanded food stamp and other distributional programs. 2) Goals to eradicate farm poverty, and to bring farm families very close to parity of incomes with others by 1975. 4) And goals for improved public services in rural areas with respect to education, health, subsidized housing, and social security and welfare payments.

The achievement of these goals depends upon a complete reversal of recent and current attitudes toward farm outlays in Federal expenditure. Heretofore, most of the money spent under the farm program has not consumed our economic resources; it has merely distributed them so that the farm population has received a larger share than it otherwise would, even though a totally inadequate share. This has been beneficial to the rest of the society; it has protected the whole economy from the catastrophic declines in farm incomes and prices which used to spark general economic downturns.

Other related farm goals are: (a) Programs of resource conservation and replenishment to provide millions of jobs, and, as in the case of housing and urban renewal, to provide a high product of relatively less-skilled jobs. (b) Programs for the relief of "distressed areas" massive and comprehensive enough to embrace full-scale efforts at economic development.

## V

COST ANALYSIS: We must have a time table and an analysis of what it would cost to institute programs in all of the foregoing areas with a view to ending poverty. There is no reason why the reasoning behind the Freedom Budget should not apply to programs outlined in the Riot Commission's Report and other programs mentioned in this paper.

The Freedom Budget is based on the assumption that an expenditure of only 6 percent of the national budget would suffice to realize specified goals.

The key to the 6 percent projection is an economic growth rate of 4 1/2 to 5 percent. According to Woodrow L. Ginsberg, the reaearch head of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, such a growth rate is "highly feasible," given a bourgeoning population, an improvement in output per man hour, and the will to utilize all our manpower. "It would not strain our manpower capacities," Ginsberg says, "and is reasonable in light of early postwar experience as well as in most recent years."

As to financing, the economists who drew up the Freedom Budget (men like Leon Keyserling and Vivian Henderson) estimated that if its provisions were enacted, the federal government would receive an additional eight to ten billion dollars a year on the average during the next decade even without raising the rates which existed in October 1966. This sum, amounting to some 400 to 500 billion dollars more for the decade as a whole would more than cover the cost of the increased federal outlays called for by the program.

But would the program, or another like it, be inflationary? A look at our economic history may be helpful here. The two periods of serious inflation in recent times were World War II and its reconversion aftermath, and the Korean War era (1950-51 specifically). Those inflationary movements could have been checked much more effectively by higher taxes during World War II, a less precipitate ending of controls following the war, and by a prompter imposition of controls during the Korean war. But let us leave these matters aside. Nobody said during those wars that we should cut back on what we needed least. Today the President is attempting to raise taxes to pay for the war in Vietnam while cutting back on the war against poverty. It is a question of priorities, not of inflation, and in the present case the priorities are being set in an immoral and costly fashion.

Even before the Vietnamese war our national economic policies and our campaign against inflation served to redistribute income in the wrong direction -- to hurt those who needed help the most, and to help those most who did not need our help at all. Then, in the period 1962 through 1965, instead of investing in massive social programs, we cut taxes to stimulate the economy. Yet by 1966 there had emerged a growing recognition that the investment boom in plants and equipment had become excessive and now constituted the main inflationary danger. And so taxes were raised. No doubt a large part of our increased output and job opportunities resulted from the tax cut, but we could have been better served had a different balance between tax cuts and increased federal spending been achieved. If it should prove impossible to carry forward the priorities we have stressed without tax increases, we should increase taxes by whatever amount may be necessary. But the burden must be placed where it can easily be borne instead of being hung on the necks of the downtrodden.

## IV

THE 1968 ELECTIONS AND THE SOUTH: All of this, naturally, has significance for the 1968 elections, since the passage of needed legislation to implement the Riot Commission's Report depends on our electing or re-electing a majority of liberal congressmen.

Perhaps the key to the election of such a liberal congress lies in the South. Negroes in the South can therefore play a major role in determining the outcome of the elections, as well as the future of social legislation, because this year more of them will be able to vote than at any time since the Reconstruction.

The chances of achieving massive social legislation will depend largely on whether the labor, liberal and civil rights movements can jointly remain at the center of a coalition whose political, economic and social objectives can bring about a reordering of our economic and social priorities.

This implies, of course, that white liberal and trade union workers will be expected to take substantially the same position regarding the outcome of the 1968 elections as the black population. It is only right that this should be so because the organized white worker and the unorganized white poor are exploited from the same quarters as are Negroes. They are, in different ways, both plagued by racism, the Negro as victim and the white working poor as helpless ploys in the economic and political interests of a demagogic racist system. The outcome is the same: white worker and white poor are set at the throats of black worker and black poor, while the exploitative interests of businessmen and politicians prosper.

Both black and white in the South are plagued by the conditions that multiply behind the aristocratic support of states' rights and callous opposition to federal programs. As long as states' rights are affirmed and federal programs opposed, it becomes more difficult to achieve programs for housing, public works, education, rural electrification and medical care.

As I said in a recent article in Commentary magazine, the civil rights movement has made great strides in winning the vote in the South and, by taking vantage of those victories, the southern Negro can now play an important part not only in remedying his own plight but in affecting the nature of American politics as well. It is true that only half of the eligible voters below the Mason-Dixon line are registered, but they have already begun to have an influence upon their region as Negroes sit in state legislatures and city councils for the first time since the Reconstruction. This should serve as an encouragement for a further intensive campaign to register and educate voters, for an increase in the percentage of Negro registrants will inevitably mean a growth of Negro political power.

This new political power, however, cannot by itself transform either the South or the rest of American politics. If will have, in the South as well as in the North, to seek out allies and create a new majority consisting of labor, liberal and other progressive forces.

From what we have been able to observe, and from some of our own experiences, there are no more promising allies of this new political power than the labor and liberal movements. And if Negroes were to register, organize themselves and make alliances with these two movements, then there could come about a powerful realignment of democratic politics that would be an effective counterbalance both to the reactionaries on the far right and the alliance of Dixiecrats and Republicans. Viewed in this perspective, a dynamic Negro political movement would make an enormous contribution to solving the problems of the black ghettoes in the entire society. Such a political force cannot emerge without a clearly defined economic program for all Americans.

This was one of the thoughts in the mind of A. Philip Randolph when he insisted that the Freedom Budget be drawn up so that it would apply to every citizen and not just to Negroes. But the point has only begun to be made. And there is a crying need right now for Negroes to lay the basis for a qualitatively new civil rights thrust. Black people must ideed organize black people and assert their rightful power, but this can only be done if there is a serious, practical political strategy and a social and economic program.

But let me return to the implications of the 1968 elections. Next year, the United States comes to a fork in the road. We confront not just rhetorical but also real political and social prospects of returning to yesterday -- or, what amounts to the same thing, of standing still while the world keeps moving and our internal problems deepen.

Looking back over the past seven or eight years, we can see that far too little has been done to eradicate poverty and resolve the basic contradictions of the society. But important beginnings were made; historic commitments were undertaken -- in civil rights, poverty, minimum wages, education, civil liberties and so forth. Indeed, just to speak of the '60s in American life is to denote not only a point in time but a resurgent spirit of social reform.

It was not decreed from above by the Kennedy or Johnson Administrations. It emanated from concerted action by thousands, even millions of Americans. They were determined that this society should achieve justice and equality in the second half of the 20th Century. And the organized political base of this determination has been the labor-Negro-liberal coalition and the creative dynamism that emerged from activity in the South.

The achievements of the 1960s represent the greatest advances in social legislation since the New Deal, but no one suffers from the illusion that the gains have been adequate to the need. In fact, the turmoil in our cities -- and the confusion in our political life -- are signs that, having made a beginning, we have not gone far enough. We have gone far enough to arouse expectations but not to satisfy them -- and that is a dangerous thing to do.

Nonetheless, it is hard for me to understand the view, now fashionable in some quarters, that to make more progress requires the denial of progress already made. This view not only dishonors our own struggles and the sacrifices they entailed; it also blurs political vision and saps political will. For if the gains of recent years are worthless, why bother to defend them against conservative and reactionary assaults?

But much more is involved in the 1968 elections than the preservation of past victories. The road ahead is much longer than the distance we have come. At stake is whether we shall travel that road, and at a faster pace, or be detoured onto a path that leads back whence we came.

This country boasts resources, human and technological, which no land in the history of mankind ever had or dreamed of having. We can perform miracles in practically every field. As we have sent vehicles to explore the atmosphere of Venus, so we can make devices to cleanse the atmosphere of our cities. We can not only abolish slums and poverty but reconstruct the face of the nation.

Will we build new slums into this second America, or decent, pleasant housing for all its inhabitants? Will we build 4 percent unemployment into this second America, or meaningful jobs with good pay for all? Will we build overcrowded, inferior and segregated schools into this second America, or quality, integrated education? Will public employees have the right to bargain collectively and to strike in this second America, or will an increasing number of workers be reduced to peonage for the state?

These questions will not be explicitly stated on the ballots in 1968, but they will be answered nonetheless, perhaps decisively for a generation.

The elections of 1968 may prove to be as crucial for the national destiny as the elections of 1860, 1876, and 1932. For the Negro, 1968 threatens the repetition of the fateful election of 1876 and the infamous Compromise of the following year -- when the federal government removed its remaining troops from the South, and the nation turned its back on the Negro.

The parallels are disconcerting. As in 1876, there is today among many whites a weariness and disillusionment with the cause of the Negro. As in 1876, when the conservatives exploited alleged excesses of Negro politicians in the Reconstruction governments, so today the riots are used to deny the Negro an equal place in American society.

In 1876 they said: "We fought a bloody war to free the Negro. Must we also give him 40 acres and a mule?" Today they say: "We have given the Negro the right to eat at our lunch counters. Must we also give him a job so he can afford a hamburger?" As Southerners know (better than the rest of us), had the answer been "Yes" in 1876, the question would not have arisen in 1967. And if it is not answered affirmatively in 1968, it will be with us in the year 2000.

I do not mean that a victory of the right wing in 1968 would lead to the reimposition of legal segregation and discrimination, or the disfrachisement of Negro voters. But it can bring the kind of social and economic stagnation in which the existing problems will fester and multiply. After all, although the Eisenhower Administration did not consciously legislate the slums into existence, the priorities and policies it followed encouraged the spread of, and further dterioration in, the slums of the nation.

The nation simply cannot afford -- and the Negro and labor least of all -- a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties. We cannot afford four years of substituting cliches about the genius of private enterprise for intelligent and vigorous public policy. We cannot afford four years of rhetoric about states' rights -- North and South -- in place of massive federal action, of highway construction at the expense of mass transit; of subsidized suburban sprawl at the expense of urban reconstruction; of budget-balancing at the expense of starved school systems; of soaring profits at the expense of wages and salaries; of lucrative technological rampage at the expense of jobs and human dignity.

This prospect can -- and must -- be averted. Just as we possess enormous technological resources for social progress, so do we possess potentially overwhelming political resources for advancement. We have a powerful labor movement, the largest organized social force in the country. It has acquired increasing experience and sophistication in political and economic action in the past generation. It is on the verge of even greater growth, particularly in the South.

We have in the 10 percent of the population represented by the Negro people another consistent force for social reform. In the urban centers the Negro vote has proven decisive in important contests. And in the South, where Negro voting is on the rise, dramatic political shifts have taken place. The power of the Dixiecrats can now be undermined at its source.

We have seen a resurgence of liberalism in the middle classes among professional, technical, and academic people. Many religious groups have displayed an awareness of social problems, and the need for solving them, such as we have not seen in a very long time.

While many elements of middle-class liberalism are in a state of disarray and uncertainty, they nonetheless represent an enormous potential for progress in our political and social life. That potential will be severely tested in 1968. And the results depend largely on the ability of the labor,liberal and civil rights movements to project strong leadership around clear issues.

If all these forces could be brought together and united behind common objectives, then I am convinced they could prevail against all the obstacles to progress now being created. For proof, we need only look back to the historic victories of the liberal coalition between 1963 and 1965 -- including the smashing defeat of Barry Goldwater and the Dixiecrat Republican coalition of 1964.

But as powerful as the liberal forces can be, a number of factors have contributed to delaying or weakening the union among them that is indispensable for a sure -- and even easy -- victory for all of us.

The first factor is the Viet Nam war. The tragedy here is not that there are disagreements over the purposes and conduct of the war, for such disagreements are inevitable in so complex a war. It is, rather, that the disagreements threaten to weaken the liberal coalition in its struggle for domestic progress. Thus, instead of resisting conservative efforts to use the war as an excuse for cutting back the war on poverty, many liberals are fighting among themselves and with the labor movement.

Indeed, some liberals unwittingly assist the rightwing by arguing that such programs as the"Freedom Budget" must be shelved until the war in Viet Nam is over. Only their proposals for ending the war distinguish these liberals from Senator Dirksen.

The second factor weakening our coalition grows out of the riots, the disunity within the civil rights movement and the white backlash.

The divisions within the civil rights movement are irreconcilable. They cannot, should not and must not be glossed over, patched up or concealed in the interest of preserving the facade of unity. Some important disagreements existed all along, but they did not challenge the fundamental principles on which the movement was based -- democracy, integration, opposition to racism in all its form. These principles are today rejected and their advocates reviled by a fresh crop of adventurist demagogues and apostles of violence who claim to speak for the black masses but consistently demonstrate their inability to attract or organize mass support. For such support they substitute intimidation, sensationalism and authoritarian political styles. And, in making this substitution, they have the full cooperation of the mass media.

It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss the Rap Browns and Stokely Carmichaels, for they do articulate the growing frustration, anger and bitterness of the ghettos. These feelings have been created by broken promises, by the failure of government programs to live up to their rhetoric. The rightwing will exploit this failure; it will call for the promises to be revoked. All of us must see to it that the promises are fulfilled.

Throughout the Negro's struggle, the labor and liberal forces have been obvious and natural allies: the enemies of one have traditionally been the enemies of other. Now that the Negro's struggle for legal and constitutional rights has largely been won, and his attention has turned toward social and economic equality, his alliance with labor movement becomes more crucial. For while he finds that many groups in society are prepared to support his constitutional right, the labor and liberal movements are preeminent among those who believe that he has a right to a job, good pay, a decent home, quality education and the other good things in life.

More needs to be done, however, to educate Negroes and liberals as to labor's economic program. The Wall Street Journal has already noted with satisfaction that underlying the strident Black Power ideology is an economic conservatism with which big business should be sympathetic. The emphasis is on self-help and local initiative, as against political action and national economic policies. It is not surprising that the Black Power Conference in Newark was financed by Bell Telephone and other large corporations. Another company advertises in a full page that its hiring practices are "the American Way to Black Power." Needless to say, these activities are coupled with a propaganda campaign which blames the unions for discrimination in employment.

The discontent in our black communities, if it is not to take a politically as well as literally destructive form, must be channeled into constructive action for economic reform. The"Freedom Budget," which embodies the Negro and labor economic program, is a start, but more needs to be done to counteract conservative propaganda and the pseudo-economics of Black Power.

Even more important, no doubt, is the educational work that must be done in the white community and among trade union rank and file, as well as among Negroes gaining the franchise in the South. This is not an easy task; I do not have the final answer as to how to go about it.

But somehow it must be done. The white worker must be made to look behind the riots and beyond the Rap Browns to the essential, underlying economic and political interests which bind him, as a white American, to the Negro's aspirations.

And so the nation moves toward 1968, a year of historic importance, in a mood of confusion, unrest and uncertainty. Exploiting Viet Nam and the Negro's agony, the rightwing prepares to launch a comeback. If successful, it will profoundly alter the direction of American politics and most grievously set back the Negro. What it has neither talent nor power to do is to resolve the fundamental problems in American society. It can only prolong and exacerbate them: it can only twist the country out of shape.

There is no alternative to the programs that liberals, labor and civil rights forces propose and which they are committed to fight for. And the country has no choice but to implement the recommendations, and similar ones, made by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders.

## VII

In 1965, Whitney M. Young of the National Urban League called for a domestic Marshall Plan for the elimination of poverty in our society. One of those who welcomed Mr. Young's proposal was Mr. A. Philip Randolph who immediately called together a number leading liberals and economists to formulate a broad program that would include a cost analysis. This program was published in October of 1966 as the Freedom Budget for all Americans.

We still believe that a series of disconnected projects, lacking a total overall planning and realistic cost analysis may in the long run do as much harm as good, since such an approach raises aspirations beyond the capability of such piecemeal methods to meet them.

Therefore, we reaffirm the major proposals of the Freedom Budget which were:

1. To provide full employment for all who are willing and able to work, including those who need education or training to make them willing and able.
2. To assure decent and adequate wages to all who work.
3. To assure a decent living standard to those who cannot or should not work.

4. To wipe out slum ghettos and provide decent homes for all Americans.

5. To provide decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities to all Americans, at a cost they can afford.

6. To purify our air and water and develop our transportation and natural resources on a scale suitable to our growing needs.

7. To unite sustained full employment with sustained full production and high economic growth.

The Commission Report now gives all of us an opportunity within a new framework to push vigorously for the total elimination of poverty and racism in this society. And we believe every individual and group in the society can play a role in using this report for the achievement of those ends.

We therefore recommend the following forms of action:
1. That the urban coalitions and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights should be encouraged to introduce legislation for the implementation of the recommendations of this report.

2. That Congress be pressured to act on a national scale, since no city or state has adequate funds to meet the demands made in the report.

3. That the 47 liberal Congressmen and the 3 liberal Senators who were defeated in the 1966 elections be re-elected. Their defeat in 1966 remains the significant difference between the very creative 89th Congress and the 90th which has cut back on fundamental programs. Therefore no group or individual can argue that there is nothing to be done to encourage implementation. The job is to work in the areas of voting and voter registration. And the aim should be not only to replace the 50 liberals who were defeated in 1966, but also to elect additional liberals to Congress.

4. That the President be asked to enlist the power and prestige of his office in support of the recommendations. And also that the society should pressure the President to introduce legislation in behalf of the recommendations.

5. This report gives all concerned an opportunity to conduct a balanced election campaign, emphasizing not only international but also domestic issues. One of the greatest tragedies of the present campaign would be if we permitted it to become a single issue -- Vietnam -- campaign. Therefore, pressure should be put on all candi-

dates to state their views clearly on the implementation of this report. It is imperative that we avoid the fiasco of 1952 when Mr. Eisenhower was elected on a single issue campaign -- stop the war in Korea. At that time Mr. Eisenhower interpreted his tremendous plurality as a mandate exclusively related to international questions. And for eight years he did practically nothing on domestic issues affecting poverty and racism. Those eight years of inaction contributed substantially to the present crisis in which the society now finds itself.

# # #

Agenda Article

In the coming weeks and months there will be a flood of words, written on paper and spoken into tape recorders, on what set off the rioting in our cities. Politicians, sociologists, policemen, social workers, and eyewitnesses will present their versions of the immediate causes. They will look for patterns, parallels, and precidents.

With all due respect, we don't need to wait for these reports. We already know the underlying causes of the riots. After all, racial disorders have hit more than 70 U.S. cities in the last four Summers, and the reports on them fill volumes. It is time we stopped searching for new twists and began to deal with the basic problem.

And that problem is simple to describe: conditions of life in the black ghettos have been deteriorating. Unemployment there remains unconscionably high -- especially for teenagers -- despite the slight tightening of the labor market resulting from the Vietnam war. The U.S. Commissioner of Education recently stated that more Negro youngsters are in segregated schools today (whether de jure or de facto) than in 1954, the year of the famous

Supreme Court decision. The housing picture is equally bleak; in fact, urban renewal programs so far have destroyed more low-income housing than they have replaced. The slum ghettos have not been skrinking; they are growing at the rate of 500,000 inhabitants a year.

What we are witnessing is not simply increasing misery in the Negro communities but the disintegration of our cities. This is not simply a "race problem"; it is a social and economic problem of staggering proportions. It cannot be solved by so-called anti-riot bills or by locking up Stokeley Carmichael and Rapp Brown. It *can* be solved when the nation makes up its mind to reorder its priorities and to reallocate its resources in favor of massive social investments. We must begin to ask ourselves what our national purposes are.

The riots cannot be explained merely in terms of statistics in unemployment, housing and education. Misery in itself does not lead to revolt. Those at the bottom must feel that they don't *have* to be there, That their fate is not sealed, that their situation can be better. They must feel that their conditions are the product of injustice.

In a society like ours, characterized by rapid technological and social changes, it is not easy to convince the downtrodden that they belong underfoot. They cannot accept the notion that a society that now has a spaceship on the way to Venus cannot provide decent jobs, incomes and housing.

Moreover, the political atmosphere of the sixties has held out the promise of economic justice. The Civil Rights Revolution, though still far from completed, won impressive victories against segregation and discrimination; young Negroes who have lived through this Revolution (even when not participating in it) will not "stay in their place." The war on poverty and the other Great Society efforts were rightly construed by the poor as a promise of better things to come.

The lesson is simple: if a society is interested in stability, it should either not make promises or it should keep them. It should keep its downtrodden utterly bereft of hope or it should fulfill that hope. We have not kept the promises; we have not fulfilled the hope. Our failure helped set the stage for the riots -- futile and tragic outbursts of destructive violence whose greatest victim is the Negro himself -- and for a right-wing counter-revolution with far-reaching political consequences. Unless we head off this counter-revolution, whose aim is to capture the White House in 1968, the result will be a disastrous blow to the liberal coalition, in which the labor movement plays a vital part, to the Negro people, and to the political future of the country.

In 1964 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition that controlled Congress since the end of the New Deal was smashed in the Johnson landslide victory over Goldwater. With the liberals in control, a spate of desperately-needed social legislation, much of it developed in the Kennedy Administration, finally came out of Congress. It seemed to presage a new era of liberal progress. Indeed; some optimistic commentators proclaimed the permanent demise of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition.

Only two years later, however, the right-wing resurgence was underway. Playing on the riots of '65 and '66, and the frustrations over Vietnam, the Republicans scored major gains in the Congressional elections. (Still, there were optimistic commentators talking about how liberal some of the Republican victors were.) The reactionary coalition was re-established. We are now saddled with a Congress hell-bent on stagnation, a Congress that has wrecked rent-subsidies, halved aid to education and the war on poverty, and exhibit~~s~~ed a new low in social responsibility by defeating the Administration's modest $40 million rat-extermination program the very same week it authorized $10 million for a new fish acquarium in D.C.

The strategy of the right-wing coalition is revealed in the sickening effort of Dirkson and Ford to turn the present anguish of the Negro people to political advantage by blaming the Administration for the riots. Their theme between now and the elections will be that the Great Society's promises aroused unreasonable expectations. Their solution will be, not to fulfill, but to revoke these promises. ~~But~~ they will pursue ~~their~~ this course vigorously, because, as Roy Wilkins has said, "They think they smell victory in the air." And, indeed, with George Wallace threatening to remove Southern electoral votes from the Johnson column, and with talk of a "peace ticket," which would divide and confuse some liberal elements, the conservatives have reason to be hopeful.

All of this poses a severe challenge to the liberal coalition -- the unions, the Negroes, the religious groups, the liberal intellectuals, and the poor. It must develop a common strategy and program if it expects to bring a powerful counter pressure to bear against the right-wing resurgence and to win liberal victories in 1968.

By definition the coalition is composed of forces that cannot agree on all questions, but there is sufficient common ground to make effective action possible -- and sufficient danger to make it imperative.

Much will depend on our ability to respond to the riots, to educate the American people as to their underlying causes, and to project remedies that not only promise but are able to ~~bring~~ produce tangible change.

The key to such change is decent jobs. It is easy to lose sight of this amid all the sociological jargon which tends to project a hundred different problems where one multifaceted problem exists. Some people say that housing is the ~~keyxxxOtherxxpointxtoxx~~ xx ~~educationxxxxasxifxthexxwerexnoxconnectionxbetween buildingxthex750,000~~ key -- as if there were no connection between the snail's pace of housing construction and unempolyment in the construction industry. Others point to education -- as if the building of the 750,000 new classroom units we need over the next ten years s can be built without manpower, ~~had nothing to do with employment~~, or as if reducing the teachers' load by hiring ~~having~~ teacher's aides had no meaning for the unemployed in the ghetto. Still others point to family instability -- as if one could not show a ~~point to~~ direct statistical correlation between family instability and male unemployment rates.

It has already been ~~shown~~ remarked that, by and large, the participants in the riots were not the Negro working class, but the Negro "lower class" -- what Karl Marx called the "lumpenproletariat" or the "slum proletariat." They are the unemployed, the underemployed, the marginally employed. They lack the discipline and cohesion of the working class. They lack its sense of a stake in the society.

The depth of the unemployment problem in the slum ghettos is indicated in a recent Department of Labor report on "sub-employment" in U.S. cities and slums. While the traditional unemployment rate counts only those "actively looking" but unable to find work, the sub-employment index reflects, in addition: 1) those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair, 2) those working part-time but wanting full-time jobs, 3) heads of households under 65 working full-time but earning poverty wages (less than $60 a week), 4) individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than $56 a week in full-time jobs, and 5) a conservatively estimated portion of males known to be living in the slums but who somehow do not show up in employment or unemployment counts.

The report states: "If the traditional statistical concept of 'unemployment' (which produced the nationwide average of a 3.7% unemployment rate for January 1967) is applied to the urban slum situation, the *'unemployment rate' in these areas is about ten percent...three times the average for the rest of* *the country."* [Original italics.] The figure for Detroit's Central Woodward area, incidentally, is 10.1%.

The sub-employment rate in the ten cities surveyed, however, yields a figure of 33.97%. Here is the a breakdown: ~~of the ten areas surveyed, contrasting~~ this rate with the traditional unemployment rate:

| | Unemployment Rate (%) | Subemployment Rate (%) |
|---|---|---|
| East Harlem | 9.0 | 33.1 |
| Central Harlen | 8.1 | 28.6 |
| Bedford-Stuyvesant | 6.2 | 27.7 |
| Boston (Roxbury) | 6.9 | 24.2 |
| New Orleans | 10.00 | 45.3 |
| Philadelphia | 11.0 | 34.2 |
| Phoenix | 13.2 | 41.7 |
| St. Louis | 12.9 | 38.9 |
| San Antonio | 8.1 | 47.4 |
| San Francisco | 11.1 | 24.6 |

The sub-employment rate, though possibly in need of further refining, is the more meaningful figure. Not only does it include the categories listed above, but in so doing it tends to reflect the number of people who experience unemployment over a period of time; by contrast, the official rate counts those unemployed at a point in time (i.e., the time the survey is taken).

Meanwhile, within the slum proletariat, youth constitutes a subdivision of increasing economic and political importance. While, according to the official unemployment rates, the joblessness gap between Negro and white men over 20 has been narrowing since 1961, even this official rate records a widening of the gap between Negro and white teenagers since 1957. In 1954, ~~the year of the Supreme Court decision,~~ 15% of Negro teenagers were out of work; in 1961 it was 25%; in 1963, 28%. Right now it is still at 25% nationally -- but for 16 - 19 year olds in the ten slum areas surveyed, it is over 38%. Moreover, this rate was unaffected by the downward trend of the nation's overall unemployment rate late last year. For white teenagers, on the other hand, unemployment since 1957 never went beyond 15% and is now at 10%.

High unemployment and low income are not the only problems afflicting the black slum proletariat, but they are the crucial ones. Without adequate income, there is no access to the decent housing market, to educational opportunity, even to proper health care. We need a full employment program geared to the satisfactions of our unmet social needs. In the process, we can transform the black "lower class" into a working class.

Such a program has been embodied in the $185 billion "Freedom Budget for All Americans" -- a ten year plan for the abolition of poverty. In the immediate run, an "Urban Coalition" of labor, civil rights, and business groups has proposed an "Emergency Public Works and Reconstruction bill to create one million new jobs now at a cost of $4 billion.

The task before the liberal coalition is to make the American people understand that such massive programs are not wild-eyed utopian schemes but, in the light of cold facts, the only practical answer to chaos and reaction.

# The Roots of Rioting
(Article for Canadian Newspaper)

As the rioting has subsided in Newark, New Jersey, many people ask, "where next?" The answer to that question is simple. The next riot can occur in almost any major city or small town in the United States. For the root causes of the rioting in Watts, Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland and Newark are present in almost every Negro ghetto of America:

-Universally the police treat Negroes with contempt.

-Unemployment amongst Negro adults is double that of whites.

-Unemployment amongst Negro teen agers is triple that of whites.

-There are more Negro children in segregated class rooms than there was before the 1954 Supreme Court decision (while this fact springs not only from discrimination, the majority of Negroes believe segregation is the major cause).

-The slums are more crowded with rats, roaches and despair haunting them than was true this time last year.

-The median income between Negroes and whites has widened steadily since 1954.

In other words, the war on poverty, the 1964 civil rights act, the 1965 voter rights act and other efforts to bring progress to the American Negro have not been sufficient to make any real difference in the lives of the people crowded into the ghetto. But beyond this, that progress which has been made, has not kept pace with the intensely growing standards of aspirations which the affluent American society imposes on the poor through television and other news media.

In the face of such affluence, there is a growing sentiment among many young Negroes that the United States' "power structure" never intended to give Negroes their rights. They must be taken.

Thus, as they have become more alienated, they take the position that "whitey" can only respond to violence. This attitude is further heightened by the war in Vietnam and the disproportionate number of Negroes fighting and dying there. Many young Negroes say, "If we have to die in Vietnam fighting yellow people who have not kept us down, why not fight the white bastards here who brutalize us."

## II

I am still amazed to hear affluent Americans,bboth black and white, wondering why Negroes riot. "Why" they say, "with all the progress that's been made, is there so much turmoil?" Turmoil? Even the fancy words they use give them away. Anyway, what do they mean by progress? Progress for whom? If these people are looking at the black middle class, then I suppose some progress has been made. But if they are looking at the low-income blacks in or out of the ghetto, then I wonder what pr progress can they point towards.

But that is the problem: these people never look at the lives of black people in our urban ghettoes. Nobody ever looks, not even the government. That is, they never look until the people in the ghetto make them look at the chronic unemployment, overcrowded housing, inferior schools, rats and roaches feeding on young babies. So in the summer, Negroes riot. They riot to force society to stop and to look.

And only then- only in the summer - does the government scurry frantically about, knocking make-shift remedies together, and rushing into the ghettoes with string, scotch tape, paste, and first-aid kits. But, evidently, this is not the answer. The string and paste fall apart by winter time, and by next summer, the people in the ghetto, facing worse conditions, tear up things again.

So it ought to be clear why Negroes riot. Society is teaching them more clearly every day that their only way of getting any help is through violence. The evidence grows.

In Harlem, they didn't raise Negro policemen to the highest ranks and put them in charge of ghetto precincts until young Negroes rioted. And only after riots did the city and federal government rush in with summer money and summer programs.

In Watts, the young Negroes said: "We won! You know we won. We asked the Mayor to come, he would not come. We asked the governor, we asked the chief of police, none of them would come. But after we burned, baby, burned, they all came." It might have been a token victory, but, to the hopeless youths, even to be noticed became a victory nevertheless.

In Chicago, last year, young Negroes said again: "When we wanted sprinklers, we went out in the street, forgetting non-violence and patience, and we tore up the street, and in 24 hours we had not only the $8 sprinklers we wanted, but they also gave us swimming pools." Another token victory, but, to the demoralized youth, a victory; since Martin Luther King had been in Chicago for a year with no notable victories.

In Buffalo, just the other day, it was only after young Negroes rioted that the Mayor begged them to hold off while he ran to the Chamber of Commerce to get jobs that had been promised a whole year before. So it took two riots to obtain 100 inferior summer jobs.

So the society is teaching Negroes that they won't get anything until they tear up everything. Why? Beacuse society is fundamentally concerned with cheap ways of buying social peace instead of establishing social justice. This is the tragic lesson that America is teaching young Negroes.

## III

The second tragic aspect of the society's handling of the "Negro Problem" is this: As the powers that be respond to rioting with petty accomodations such as sprinklers and half fulfilled promises, they separate further the relevant Negro leadership such as Mr. Wilkins of the NAACP, Mr. Young of the Urban League and Dr. King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from the masses of unemployed Negroes.

An excellent example of this problem was brought home to me following the Harlem riot in 1964. For some years prior to 1964, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, highly respected dean of Negro leaders, had been urging the New York City administration and the police department to upgrade Negro officers and specifically had proposed that a lieutenant Sealy be made a captain and placed in charge of central Harlem. For years Randolph's appeal to the city administration and the police department fell on deaf ears. Now to the point: less than 24 hours after the Harlem riot, the city officials and the police department announced that Lieutenant Sealy had been made a captain and placed in charge of the central Harlem precinct. Three days later in a discussion with a Negro youth group, the militant leader of that group said, "You and Randolph, with your ideas about peace and non-violence, are useless. You have been begging whitey to make Sealy a captain - but they paid you no mind. When we tore up 125th Street, they got the message. We upgraded Sealy with sticks and stones. You and Randolph ain't no leaders. You fools are beggers and begging is out of style".

## IV

If in a given city five or six Negroes were to loot or to stone police, that would be criminal behavior. When hundreds and perhaps thousands become involved in such activity, one is facing social breakdown, a social pathology inspired by social and economic failure, for which the entire society is responsible. And nothing is helped when Governor Hughes of New Jersey describes the Newark rioting as "plain and simple crime and not a civil rights protest". What the governor misses is the vast number of Negroes who either engaged in the riot or approved the looting and police resistance of those who rebel. The governor failed to see that although highly misguided, the riot in Newark was in fact a violent protest against bad housing, inadequate schools, massive unemployment, police arrogance and political powerlessness.

The attitude of the Johnson administration is also open to question. Having failed before the riot as was requested to propose an answer to unemployment for Negroes in Newark ghettoes, President Johnson was quick to call Governor Hughes in the midst of the riot to propose federal troops - or whatever else is required. To Negroes inNNewark and across the country, even to those like myself who certainly feel that civic disorder must be quelled, Johnson's proposal was an offer of more billy clubs, machine guns, and rifles instead of more federal money for jobs - the most central factor for maintaining social peace. His proposal for whatever else is required obviously did not mean a social and economic program. It meant restraint.

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## V

I am against rioting. I have always insisted that riots, rather than help solve our problems, will, in fact compound them. But social projects tantamount to spit, scotch tape and paste won't solve the problems either. Such limited, riot-inspired summer-made work projects will only compound the social unrest.

The problem will never be solved until the United States adjusts its national priorities and faces the fact that revolutionary action is required in this revolutionary situation:

Such a radical plan must include the following:

(a) National planning to put America's poor back to work through public works, and through building those hospitals, roads, schools, transportation systems, etc. that all Americans will benefit from.

(b) Establishing a guaranteed income for those too old, too young, or too crippled to work.

(c) On-the-job training for those too uneducated and unskilled to find work in American industry.

(d) Redefining new areas of work through human services to humans that automation and cybernation cannot touch.

(e) Raising the minimum wage to not less than $2.00 per hour and subsidising those employees who cannot afford to pay such rates in the same way that we subsidise farmers through price supports.

(f) Tearing down the slums and creating new towns, thereby employing the people who live in the slums.

These items must become part of a multi-billion dollar program to eliminate poverty and despair for America's 50 million citizens, black and white, since there is no just way to isolate the American Negro and do anything special for him

Like everyone else in America, the poor and especially the Negro poor, deserve justice and employment in all seasons. When we establish dignity and justice, and not until we have done so, will rioting cease, for the prophets have written:

"Where there is justice, order can prevail
Where there is injustice, disorder is inevitable."